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With kind regards,

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METHODISM IN AMERICA:

WITH THE

PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF THE AUTHOR,

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1849

DURING

A TOUR THROUGH A PART

OF

THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

BY JAMES DIXON, D.D.

THIRD EDITION.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS volume has been prepared for publication under the influence of one only sentiment; namely, a desire to make the Methodist body in England acquainted with the state and progress of their system of religion in the United States.

The author is not conscious to himself of any peculiar bias in his opinions; his aim being simply to state facts as they presented themselves to his attention, and leave his readers to draw their own inferences.

Not being a political agent, he has not felt himself called upon to enter—except incidentally—into questions of civil government. His general impression is, however, that the Americans possess a larger amount of social prosperity than any other people upon earth.

But the vexed question of republicanism lies beyond his purpose; and he begs to inform his reader beforehand, that whatever he may meet with is not to be construed into an expression of opinion for or against this or any other form of government, but must be regarded simply as historical.

One thing, however, bearing on this subject may not be deemed out of place: it is, that the author's impressions of the true greatness of his own country were never so strong as during his visit to the States. America is the offspring of England. England has been reproduced in America. The character of the parent is seen in the athletic growth of the son. The blood, the religion, the ideas, the opinions, and, *in substance*, the institutions, of England exist in the United States. On this soil the Anglo-Saxon race is asserting its supremacy on a gigantic scale, and with a rare energy and vigour. It is a singular

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phenomenon, which every visitor must perceive at once, that his own country's type of humanity is predominant. People from all nations in Europe are seen in large numbers on the western continent; but they all become anglicised. Just as the "father of waters," the Mississippi, receives the innumerable tributary streams which flow in every direction to swell and deepen its flood, and then in turn are blended with and become one with the parent current; so, in like manner, all the races which flock to America feel the force, do homage to the superiority, and fall into the current, of Anglo-Saxon life. In two or three generations nothing of the German, the Dutchman, the Frenchman, the Celt, remains, but his name. He has lost his foreign distinctness, much of his physiognomy, and all the peculiar characteristics of his origin; so that the true identity existing between England and America is an identity of race. Other things are but the external adornings of the same soul and body, the same mental and material organization. England's sons, language, sentiments, freedom, enterprise, courage, religion,—all live in America; and are uniting to form the greatest *empire of race* on which the sun ever shone. England consequently re-appears on American ground; and it is impossible *historically* to separate the destinies of the same people; the annals of the Anglo-Saxon race must ever include the American branch.

The *survey* now presented to the public can lay claim to nothing more than an outline. It would require much more leisure and information than are in the possession of the author, to give a full, a complete, narrative of—as he conscientiously believes—the most gigantic and extraordinary developement of religious truth which has taken place in modern times.

The work, even in its present state, appears under some disadvantage, from the fact that, when in the States, the author had not the most remote idea of writing a book; his notes were consequently not taken with any view to such a purpose. From this circumstance his *matériel* was necessarily scanty; but the scenes through which he passed,

and the facts and incidents which came before his attention, were very vividly impressed upon his memory. He has had, consequently, to draw largely on this resource. With what success, those on the spot alone can judge; but, though many things may not be so full and circumstantial as if he had entertained the intention of publication, he is persuaded that no fact is falsified; and no scenery, whether of nature, society, or religion, has received an *untrue* colouring.

In addition to the desire, as before stated, to give information respecting the state of the Methodist church, as the predominating motive, the author feels himself under an imperative obligation, as a mere matter of justice, to communicate his impressions respecting his reception by the American body. If they received the messenger of the British Conference with affectionate respect *as such*, is it not fitting that their good-will, their fraternal regard, their unabated affection towards the parent body, their continued unity and oneness with us in spirit and faith, should be made known? And, moreover, as it has pleased God to bless, to prosper, to enlarge, and to render triumphant that church which, in its ecclesiastical form, was planted by John Wesley, and nurtured by some of his most distinguished sons in the gospel; does it not seem proper that such an occasion as a visit to this church should, in some way, be connected with a report of its actual state? With these impressions, though with great reluctance, the author is impelled to publish this volume, not doubting but that the hearty good-will of the American-Methodist church will be as heartily reciprocated by the Methodist body in this country.

Birmingham, March 26th, 1849.

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METHODISM IN AMERICA.

PART I.

PERSONAL NARRATIVE.

CHAP. I.—*The Voyage—Company on Board—Sunday—Reflections—Atlantic—Agitation—Steam Power—Miracles—Banks of Newfoundland—A Snow-storm—Halifax—Nova-Scotia—Passengers—Morality.*

WE went on board the "Acadia," Captain Stone, at Liverpool, bound for Boston, on Saturday, April 8th, 1848; a beautiful vessel, well fitted up with a fine and spacious saloon above deck. I found my friend, Mr. Kaye, had engaged for me one of the best berths, which I went at once to possess. I had not been there long, before a Quebec gentleman entered to share it with me,—a good-looking, open-faced man; and, as I supposed I must necessarily have a cabin-mate, I thought myself well suited in my companion. This, however, was evidently not the impression of my friend. Whether he was alarmed at the sight of a parsonic name on my trunks, or uncomfortable on other grounds, I know not; but he instantly became fidgety, exhorted me to go to the Purser, and get a berth to myself; saying, that I should have more influence than himself. I concluded this was perfectly unnecessary on my part, feeling quite sure he would accomplish the change for himself, if I left him alone. In a few minutes he came for his luggage, having obtained a berth "forward;" and, on seeing the Purser, he told me they had agreed to leave me "alone in my glory." This, to me, was joyful news, and seemed a good beginning.

It is customary for passengers to choose their seats at the table, and they who are first on board have the best

chance. Being in good time, I had the opportunity of selecting my own place. My friend, Mr. Willey, who went on board with me, and knew much more of such matters than myself, fixed upon a corner-seat, saying it would be out of draughts. For my part, I did not much like it, inasmuch as I thought it would place me at the lower end of the table. I had no objection to a mid-way place, but felt unwilling to be at the very bottom, and out of the way of everybody. However, for the reason above mentioned, I submitted, rather reluctantly, to my fate. This seat, however, turned out to be on the right-hand of the chair of the second table. The company one falls in with on board ship, is very important. The manners, temper, conversation, disposition to accommodate, are vital points in such contiguity; and, in the many squalls which must take place in a voyage at sea, it is possible for people, closely packed, to make themselves and others very unhappy, if so disposed.

When dinner was announced, I took my place in my new locality, somewhat curious as to what the issue would be. The chair was taken by an elderly officer of the royal navy, dressed in his uniform and the insignia of his rank. We looked upon him with interest. He proved to be, as is generally the case with men in his situation, a complete gentleman, courteous, urbane, and communicative. A more beautifully placid and benevolent countenance cannot be imagined. He had been in the service forty years; had travelled in most parts of the world; had passed through many interesting scenes; and willingly communicated his stores of anecdote and information. On my right hand sat an elderly person, a perfect pattern of an English country gentleman of the old school. It turned out that his home was Baltimore; and, if he might be taken as a sample of the citizens of that place, they are certainly a fine race of people. Before our meeting, I had seen a gentleman on deck, whose face and bearing arrested my attention. I said to myself, "There is something in you." I did not much like him, however, at first sight, because he seemed to resemble a famous statesman of our country, once very popular, now very low. This gentleman sat exactly opposite me. We looked rather askance at each other. He opened out very slowly, but did so by degrees; and I suppose it was the same with myself. This gentleman I found to be one of the most intelligent and well-informed men I ever

met. I afterwards understood he was an American of the old Bostonian school; that he lived near Plymouth, the landing-place of the "Pilgrim Fathers;" had seen all America; thoroughly understood the character of its institutions, civil and religious; had travelled through Europe, and in some parts more than once; was conversant with literary subjects; knew all the leading politicians of his own country, and many in European nations; and, like all such men, was extremely courteous, free from dogmatism, and, though a decided American, perfectly open to conversation respecting their institutions, and equally willing to admit the excellency of other countries, especially that of England. I found this gentleman a most interesting companion. Thus ensconced in the outset of the voyage, other things being favourable, we had the promise of an agreeable passage.

On the following morning, Sunday, whilst at breakfast, an officer came with Captain Stone's compliments to desire me to conduct divine service. To this I cheerfully and thankfully assented. Going to the Captain, I asked him if it would comport with their usages, and be agreeable, for me to preach. He consented, on the condition that the discourse was short; stating, that it would be inconvenient for the men to be engaged for a long time. On going to the desk, I found the crew and passengers in their places,—the former neat, clean, and well-behaved, and the latter perfectly orderly, and some of them apparently devout. There sat beneath the desk as clerk a fine young officer, dressed in his official habiliments. He responded most nobly, and like a person accustomed to the employment. When the service was concluded, this young officer came to me, (he proved to be the Surgeon of the ship,) and said, "Perhaps you may have some knowledge of the name of my grandfather. My name is Paley. I am the grandson of Archdeacon Paley." I assured him I was intimately acquainted with the writings of his great and honoured relative, and, like everybody else, greatly esteemed them. This young gentleman bears a striking resemblance to the pictures of the Archdeacon; and appeared perfectly frank, open-hearted, and honourable.

Sunday on board ship is a melancholy day; at least so it proved to me. The thought of the assemblies of the saints; the order and religion of the study, the closet, and the family; all now broken in upon by the strife and

agitation around:—this, together with great anxiety for those left behind, pressed painfully upon my mind. Wesley's Hymns were a great solace. Nothing is broad, deep, and elevated enough for the soul in her solitude, her sorrows, and her joys, but sacred poetry, connecting one with the Saviour, with the mysterious, with the eternal. The sea is calculated to heighten this feeling; for what is the ocean, but a mirror of God's infinity? and what is the roar of its mighty waters, but the voice, the poetry, the music of that infinity?

On leaving Cape Clear, and entering the Atlantic, we were met by its surges as if in regal wrath! The majestic ocean seemed perfectly infuriated by the invasion of his domain. I could compare this seeming anger to nothing but to that of a mighty animal taking up a diminutive one in his teeth, and furiously shaking him in his rage. Our noble vessel was no more in the jaws of the Atlantic than a lap-dog in those of a lion. The wind blew right a-head, and met us in the teeth, dashing the waves and spray furiously against our bow. We had not to encounter a storm, in the usual sense of the expression; but our old sea-officer of forty years' standing, declared he had never seen the sea so rough. We were, probably, encountering the effects of distant hurricanes. The agitation and swell were indescribable. The "fountains of the great deep" seemed as if "broken up;" and from beneath, as well as from every point of the compass, the waters presented the appearance of universal anarchy, confusion, and agitation.

This state of things continued for four or five days, the effects on the passengers being such as are usual in these cases. The ladies were entirely absent, cooped up in their cabin, or rolling in their berths, as the case might be; no doubt amiably bearing with good temper such feelings as a bilious stomach is calculated to excite; and, being fellows in misfortune, expending upon each other those delicate sympathies which companionship in misery always produces. The gentlemen were seen, some groaning in their beds, some lying in mummy fashion, as if deprived of the characteristics of animated, talking, and thinking beings; and others, more resolute, or a little less miserable, than their fellows, were seen staggering about deck, eagerly hastening, every now and then, to the sides of the ship for a purpose not to be named. One woe-begone French Canadian fixed himself in a camp-chair near the

chimney to keep himself warm, and, with a rare heroism of the passive sort, continued to occupy his post nearly to the end of the voyage. By this means he preserved some sort of equilibrium, and held up in the midst of the general discomfiture. For myself, I was as good a sailor as any of them; and much better than the majority. Resolution does great things in these matters. If a *voyageur* wishes to have a feat of sea-sickness, as an adventure, to put into his book, he may easily obtain one; the power of sympathy will soon do its work; and, in case he possess and indulge a certain fastidiousness in the sight of things not very delicate, he may pay the penalty of his sensitiveness by becoming just as loathsome as any of those which excited the disgust of his olfactory or other nerves. For my own part, I entertained no ambition or desire to describe the sensations peculiar to these sea-adventures in my own person, resolutely braved every temptation to yield, which were sometimes forcible enough, and nearly altogether escaped.

But the effects of these agitations of the sea, in other respects, were very singular. I was obliged to stuff some solid material on both sides when in my berth; in the one case, to keep me from rolling against the hard side of the ship; and, in the other, to prevent the more serious catastrophe of tumbling out upon the floor. Some of the passengers had the precaution to employ the carpenter to fasten a board to prevent the last disaster; but I contented myself in the use of trunks and other appliances, and by these means preserved my balance.

But this motion was not by any means the only one. The giant ocean not only shook the ship, making every timber creak as if some of her bolts and screws must every moment give way, but a similar trial of the timbers of the human frame was equally produced by the conflicting agitation. This to me was a matter of curiosity and observation. The motion seemed to pull, jerk, toss, twist one in every possible manner. Now the action would be rolling, then longitudinal, pulling a-head and then astern, backwards and forwards, as if an irresistible power had resolved to make sport with one.

During several days we made but slow progress. But that we made any progress at all, was a remarkable proof of the genius and the mechanical skill of man. Nothing gives so striking an illustration of the wonderful effects of steam-power as progress made in such circumstances.

The waves were constantly rolling against us; driven by a mighty swell which, no doubt, was increased in strength by the accumulated impetus of storms, currents, tides, all flowing in the same direction, and meeting us in all their power. And yet we made way against this combination of adverse elements. We appeared in some sort to beat nature in a battle with her mightiest forces. How amazing this power! There must be something providential and divine in this. God seems to have bestowed upon man the means of surmounting the difficulties of his position, and of overcoming even the ordinary current and course of his own laws, as they are developed in tides and winds. We decry miracles; what is a steamboat crossing the Atlantic, in the midst of opposing powers, but a miracle? Have we not here a force above nature? What is this but a miracle, in the sense in which miracles are generally described? Is not a miracle the mastery of natural elements by mind, whether immediately by God, or mediately by his commission to man? Do we not in this, and in similar things, perceive the God of providence intrusting to man a physical and a social power, perfectly distinct and isolated, above the laws of nature, so far as this is concerned? Do we not see the mighty machine, instinct with artificial life,—imparted, it is true, directly by the skill of man, but given to him by the teaching and providence of God,—majestically riding above the storm and the waves, in despite of all opposition? If in this—may we call it *humanized?*—miracle we behold nature beaten in some of her forces and forms of power; why may not miracles, on a higher scale, and for more sacred purposes, wrought by the immediate interposition of God, be true and real? We are surrounded by mysteries and miracles, if we had eyes to see them; and, certainly, one of the most remarkable which are made visible is, that man's skill and science should be able to achieve so great an exploit as to impel a ship of fifteen hundred tons across the ocean, in despite of the united forces of wind and waves.

Nothing more occurred in our outward voyage of any consequence, till we arrived on the banks of Newfoundland, when whales appeared, snorting and blowing above the surface of the mighty deep, and a remarkable snow-storm. The whales I was not permitted to see, being confined to my cabin; but the snow-storm was such as I had never witnessed before. It continued for the

space of fifteen hours: during this time the snow descended incessantly, in quantities which, had they fallen on the land, must have covered the surface to a great depth. This storm gave us a notion of the miserable condition of Newfoundland and Nova-Scotia, from which direction it came. No iceberg, however, appeared, and we continued our course in the midst of the dismal scene around us.

We made Halifax in the middle of the night, and many of the young and active spirits on board landed, and, by moonlight, perambulated the place, being much delighted to set foot again on *terra-firma*. I was denied this pleasure, being still confined to my berth, and not daring to stir to encounter the climate which, a day or two before, had sent us the present of the snow-storm. On inquiring of a lady, who was about to land at Halifax, if she knew Mr. Bennett, our long-tried and excellent missionary there, she told me she was well acquainted with him, and lived nearly opposite to his dwelling. One of my anticipated pleasures, on reaching Halifax, was to see and converse with this venerable and eminently useful man, and the other missionaries; but, being deprived of this gratification, all I could do was to send my Christian salutations.

The next day we steamed along the coast of Nova-Scotia, which was clearly in sight for many leagues. It had the appearance of sand-hills, and seemed most dreary and barren. No doubt a nearer approach would have given a different view; and a sojourn in the country itself, I was told, would, in a short period, as the season advanced, have banished the illusion altogether. We lost sight of land again in crossing the Bay of Fundy; but were cheered by the expectation of seeing the shores of the United States. This expectation of soon landing produced mighty changes in the appearance of everybody. Countenances which before had been bilious and gloomy, brightened up; parties whose lips, which had been closed by taciturn propensities, were now opened, and their tongues unloosed; those who had confined themselves very much in their cabins, spending the time as best they could, were seen stretching their necks on deck, to gain a first glimpse of land; and many who seemed, up to this time, to take little interest in those about them, became very friendly. Before parting, a sort of con-fraternity was established.

Family interests and affections appeared to have grown up; and a number of strangers, who never saw each other before, parted as if bidding adieu to near relatives. These were certainly my own feelings, and I have reason to believe that they were shared by others; and, moreover, the sight of one of these fellow-passengers now, or at any time, would gladden my heart in a manner very unusual with the casual knowledge of men met with on land.

While mentioning passengers, justice requires me to record the fact, that through the whole of the voyage not the least unpleasantness, in word or deed, arose in any quarter. The Captain was a most courteous and kind-hearted man. But to myself favours were shown from other quarters. Perceiving that I was suffering great pain, several young gentlemen, some of whom I had reason to believe were officers in the army going to Canada, manifested a degree of sympathy and attention not only very agreeable, but surprising, in young men full of life and spirits. But they had just left a home endeared to them, no doubt, by the attachments of parents, sisters, brothers; and it seemed to be no constraint, either upon their nature or their education, to manifest sympathy and regard to a stranger in suffering. I saw, in some of these young gentlemen, signs of strong emotion when conversation recalled their thoughts and feelings to their parents and homes. Let us do justice to man in all conditions of his existence. It is a pleasure to meet with exhibitions of filial piety anywhere, but especially so in such circumstances. And, so far as my observation went, the morality of our little community on board the "Acadia" was unsullied by any external vice.

CHAP. II.—*Boston—The Sabbath—Changes of Doctrine—Methodist Preachers' Meeting at the Book Depôt—Bunker's Hill—The Common—The State-House—Churches—The City—Daniel Webster—Set out for New-York—Railroad Cars—The Country—New-Haven—The Sound—Scene on board the Steamer—New-York Harbour.*

ON Sunday, April 23d, after a passage of fifteen days, we made Boston. To an inexperienced eye, the approach to the harbour is extremely intricate; and several points are well fortified. One channel is so narrow, and the works so completely command the entrance, that it seems

impossible for hostile ships to enter. The view of the city from the sea is exceedingly picturesque and beautiful. The greater part, standing on rising ground, presents to the observer the aspect of a place finely laid out, and adorned by numerous churches and public buildings. The water was sufficiently deep to allow us to place our noble vessel alongside the wharf, and step from the ship to the shore. We reached the landing-place about five o'clock in the afternoon, and were glad to set our feet again on solid land. The business of opening our trunks for the inspection of the Custom-house officers immediately commenced. Standing quietly on the outside of the crowd, I was warned by my good friend, Dr. Paley, that if I did not bestir myself, and do something to get the officers to inspect my portmanteaus, I should be the last of the batch, and should be driven far into the dark; saying, at the same time, he would help me to open them, and speak to one of the officers. Both these kind offices he performed; and after the man had glanced at the contents, he went away, and Dr. Paley told me I must pay three shillings for the trouble of inspection.

This business being finished, I wended my way to the Rivier Hotel, recommended by Mr. Weston, the American gentleman before mentioned, and found most comfortable accommodation. Having been advised by the Doctor to have my face examined by a dentist as soon as I got on shore, the preliminaries of eating and drinking being over, I sent for one of these gentlemen. He was at church, and could not be obtained for some time. It may be proper to mention that the blessed Sabbath appeared, in our passage up the city, to be strictly observed by the descendants of the pilgrim fathers. They have very much changed their creed from stern Calvinism to the liberal system of Channing; but seem to retain their church-going habits in the midst of the change. The streets were perfectly quiet, few persons were seen in motion, whilst every place of worship was filled with orderly worshippers. It is, however, a painful reflection that the churches of such men as Cotton Mather should now be occupied by a race who preach a diluted kind of Socinianism. The glory has, in this case, surely departed; for though the rugged doctrines of the first settlers were not, in our views, exactly according to the truth, yet the bold, broad, deep faith of the pilgrims in the verities of grace, the work of the Saviour, and the sovereign provi-

dence of God, were certainly infinitely preferable to the meagre and flimsy philosophy now announced in their pulpits. Is not this an instance of re-action? The bow, as in many other cases, was pulled too far; and the consequence has been, that the perception of the error has led to a rebound on the other side.

After divine service, Dr. Hitchcock made his appearance. As soon as he entered he exclaimed, "Why, I am sure I have seen you before. Did not you preach missionary sermons at Jewin-street, London, on such an occasion, and at such a time?" "Yes, I certainly did," was the reply. "Ah, then, I heard you; I was stopping at Mr. Cave's; and you gave out the words, 'Those dark Americans convert:' now that was too bad." I had, of course, to explain that the hymn, which was composed more than a hundred years ago, could not relate to the European population of America, but to the aboriginal inhabitants, the Indians. The effect of seeing a man who knew me was like magic. The pain left me, and I willingly took his advice to put off all idea of operations until the following morning. After performing two the next day, this gentleman generously refused the proferred fee, saying, he never took a fee from a minister.

On Monday morning Dr. Hitchcock undertook to inform the Methodist ministers of the place that I had arrived. In a short time the Rev. A. Stevens, editor of "Zion's Herald," made his appearance, with a profusion of apologies that none of them had met me on landing, and conducted me to the house of one of the friends, who had kindly engaged to find me lodgings in case I landed at Boston. I found this first Methodist minister whom I had the happiness to meet in America, a very intelligent and superior man, full of kind feeling, and prepared to make my short stay as agreeable and instructive as possible. He first took me to the Book-Concern, where the preachers of the city were holding their weekly meeting. They had finished their business; but I found a dozen or more of these good men, and had much very friendly conversation with them. They put many questions respecting English Methodism, and seemed greatly interested in our affairs. In turn, I proposed some queries to them, and obtained information, of which I was before ignorant, respecting the nature of their work, and their modes of proceeding. Whilst this conversation was going

on, my good friend Stevens had hired a vehicle to take me through and round the city.

We set off in grand style, after the American fashion, dashing away through the crowded streets, and were not long before we were neatly jammed in the narrow space betwixt the body of a cart and its wheel. The collision broke no bones, and did no damage to our vehicle, though pretty severe and sufficiently alarming to any one but a Yankee. My companion drove me to Bunker's Hill, the scene of the famous battle of that name, and one of the first fought in the war of independence. The battle-ground is now surmounted by a pillar commemorative of the event. The site on which it stands has not much the appearance of a hill, being only sixty-two feet above the level of the sea. The foundation-stone was laid by La Fayette, on June 17th, 1825, being the jubilee, or fiftieth anniversary, of the battle. Its form is that of an obelisk, thirty feet square at the base, and sixteen feet four and a half inches at the top. The height from the base is two hundred and twenty-one feet. At the summit of this pillar is an elliptical chamber, seventeen feet high and eleven feet in diameter, with four windows, commanding a view in the direction of the four points of the compass. Ascending the steps of this monument, we obtained a most magnificent view of the city, the sea, and the surrounding country. The town, or rather three or four towns, as seen from this point, are curious enough. Boston Proper is built on a peninsula, three miles long and one broad; chosen probably as furnishing the means of defence against the attacks of the Indians; so, at least, it struck me at the time. But the moderns have managed to add to it what is called South Boston, formerly a part of Dorchester, and East Boston, anciently Noddle's Island. The peninsula had originally an uneven surface, and the place received the name of "Trimountain," so called from its three hills. The new portions are connected with the old and principal city by various bridges and ferry-boats, all of which are seen from the monument. The place may not resemble Venice in its chief features, but it is Venetian in the fact of its apparently standing, if not in, yet very much surrounded by, water.

My friend seemed to doubt whether I should have the magnanimity to ascend this monument of American prowess and independence, and was evidently surprised

when he found that it was my purpose to do so. In such circumstances, however, I thought the wiser way was to forget past quarrels, and make the best of present opportunities of observation and pleasure. It is of little use to cherish old grudges; and, certainly, it can indicate nothing but folly for Englishmen and Americans to entertain ill feelings on account of national differences.

After descending from the monument, my kind conductor hastened to the Common; a fine piece of ground, ornamented with trees, which is, in point of fact, what we should call "a park." This Common is the public promenade of the good citizens of Boston, who resort to it for fresh air and recreation. This place possesses, also, some Methodistic traditionary fame. Let my friend Stevens give the history.

"In the centre of the Boston Common still stands a gigantic elm, the crowning ornament of the beautiful scenery. On a fine summer afternoon in July, 1790, a man of middle age, of a serene, but shrewd, countenance, and dressed in a style of simplicity which might have been taken for the guise of a Quaker, took his stand upon a table beneath the branches of the venerable tree. Four persons approached, and gazed upon him with surprise while he sang a hymn. It was sung by his solitary voice; at its conclusion he knelt down upon the table, and, stretching forth his hands, prayed with a fervour and unction so unwonted in the cool and minute petitions of the Puritan pulpits, that it attracted the groups of promenaders who had come to spend an evening hour in the shady walks, and by the time he rose from his knees they were streaming in processions from the different points of the Common towards him. While he opened his small Bible, and preached to them without notes, but in the demonstration of the Spirit and of power, the multitude grew into a dense mass, three thousand strong, eagerly catching every utterance of the singular stranger, and some of them receiving his message into 'honest and good hearts.' That bold evangelist was Jesse Lee, —the founder, under God, of Methodism in New-England." *

After exploring the Common, we visited the State-House, that is, the Parliament-house of the State of Massachusetts, standing on elevated ground at the upper end of the Common. The House was in session, and, at the time, engaged in their legislative functions. We met, on entering, in one of the lobbies, a tall athletic gentleman, about sixty, his face and brow being marked with intelligence and deep thought. He belonged to the

* Stevens's "Memorials of the Introduction of Methodism into the Eastern States," pp. 1, 2.

Senate, or Upper House; and, after shaking hands with Mr. Stevens, was introduced to me as one of our brethren,—a noble Methodist. On leaving the Senate, we entered the House, as it is called, meaning the House of Representatives. We were conducted into the body of the chamber, and took our seats amongst the members. This being the first time I had seen an American legislative assembly, I, of course, felt curious to see and hear all I could. The hall is circular, or semi-circular, the seats of the members rising gradually above each other in amphitheatrical style, each being understood to belong to the gentlemen returned for certain constituencies, and furnished with a desk for the convenience of writing. The debate going on was not very interesting, having relation to a fishery. We heard three or four speakers. There was nothing that could be designated eloquence; for who could be eloquent about catching fish? But we had good sense, and no more imperfections of English and of style than may be heard any day in our own House of Commons. The chamber was nearly full of members; every man seemed to be attending to his duties, and intent upon the business before him.

We saw here portraits of all the old Puritans of former times; such as Winthrop, Elliot, and others; a fine group of noble heads and glorious characters. But the chief attraction was a statue of Washington, by Chantrey. Without pretending to any great skill in the fine arts, this statue arrested me, I must say that, more than any work of sculpture I ever beheld. The form, the drapery, the attitude, the features, the expression, are exquisitely given. The great patriot met, in Chantrey, an artist worthy of himself. By the by, it struck me that some of the features of Washington and John Wesley are much alike. Washington's features, indeed, seem to be larger and broader than Wesley's, and may not present to view so prominent and beautiful a profile; but the lower part of the face appears very much to resemble that of Wesley, and the expression is very similar.

From this central point of interest we made our way through the entire city, and beheld its churches, public buildings, shops, and private dwellings. Some parts of Boston have an air of antiquity, somewhat unusual in an American town. Fenouel Hall, erected in 1742, is much celebrated, and is, in reality, a fine building. The old State-House, at the head of State-street, is also a vene-

rable pile. It was originally built in 1658; and, after suffering from fire, was rebuilt in 1747. It is said there are seventy-three churches in the city, of various dimensions and architectural beauty. I was most attracted, through the power of association, with those which were occupied by the Puritan fathers. The old churches bear the stamp of the plain, simple, spiritual faith of their founders; the curious will meet little to gratify taste, but the serious Christian much to elicit reflection. The shops are handsome, and apparently well furnished; and in the suburbs there are fine private houses. The city of Boston is thought to be more like an English town than any other in the Union, and this opinion is well founded; but the resemblance is not exact in all respects. Many of the shops are stores; the private houses are not laid out in our style, but often much better, being more spacious and airy; the windows and ventilation are different, being framed to suit the state of the climate; and the hotels, the accommodation, the attention paid, so far as I was concerned, far exceeded any thing ordinarily to be met with in England.

The Bostonians are considered the most intellectual and cultivated community in the United States. But of this my opportunities furnished no means of judging. They seemed, indeed, different to the New-York people; the latter exhibiting a much more commercial character. But do they excel the people of Baltimore? Not, it struck me, in gentility of bearing, though they may outvie them in intellectual strength and cultivation. At any rate, they have taken the lead in all social and political movements of any consequence. They form the true Yankee stock, amongst whom the name originated, and their sentiments and opinions have given law to the whole Union. I just saw the shadow of their great citizen, Daniel Webster, passing in the street; who had returned from his senatorial duties to attend the obsequies of a beloved son, who had fallen in the Mexican war; and, to complete the affliction, it was thought by the time the remains of the son had arrived in Boston, a daughter would have ceased to exist, and be prepared to share the same grave with her brother. Such are the events of every quarter of the world! Neither talent nor station can ward off the misfortunes and sorrows of life. The people were not wanting in sympathy; but what sympathy can reach such woes as these?

The day after visiting Boston, I set out in company with Mr. Stevens, who, with his wife and other parties, was going to New-York, on their way to the Conference. We travelled by railroad to New-Haven. This was the first time I saw an American "railroad-car," as it is called. My reading had furnished me with a good stock of prejudice, and I expected any thing rather than an agreeable journey. Bad rails, jolting carriages, disagreeable and odious accommodation, with the likelihood of getting off the line, and being maimed or knocked on the head, were the several ideas which filled my mind. First appearances did not tend to remove these impressions. The carriages looked like great monstrous machines; the wheels much larger, and the bodies prodigiously higher, than in our own country. These feelings were soon dissipated. I found myself in a spacious saloon, with an aisle, or path-way, down the middle, and high enough for the tallest man to stand or walk upright. The seats appeared more promising still. They were placed across from the aisle to the window, and intended to hold two passengers each, beautifully lined and cushioned with velvet. These seats were so constructed as to turn up, and form a sort of family pew, in which the inmates might sit face to face. These compartments, so formed, accommodate four persons; who might, if they chose, hold a friendly *tête-à-tête* as they journeyed on. The saloon is windowed from end to end; and these windows draw up and down to admit the fresh air, at the discretion of the passengers; and are also furnished with an excellent stove, heated as the weather may require. I know not exactly how many persons one of these rooms will accommodate, but certainly not less than sixty or eighty, and they are generally full. The speed is not so rapid as our first-class trains, but equal to some of those which move at a moderate rate.

Travelling on, I began to think the thing was not so very bad. Apprehension of an overthrow soon gave way to confidence, and, so far as safety was a question, the matter was settled. But then the great room, and the juxta-position with all these Americans! What of this? I soon found occasion to be satisfied with this matter also. By the spaciousness of the saloons, and the means of moderating the atmosphere as occasion required, we obtained good air; much more so than in the draughts or heated carriages of our own country. Then, again, the

windows being continued from end to end on each side, we were spared the mortifying disappointment always felt when a fine view is within range by one of our lines; we could gaze for a considerable length of time, and to a great extent, upon every object worth notice in the country. The landscapes obtained in this way were often very fine and picturesque. The state of the country, the progress of cultivation, the buildings and towns, and, in fine, every thing going on within sight of our route, might thus be pretty accurately seen. And then to be brought into contact with the people,—what can be so interesting to a traveller as this? He is in search of living men; he desires to witness their habits, to judge of their character, to hear their conversation, and to join in it. A "railroad-car" in America furnishes fine opportunities for all this. These considerations soon put an end to my disquiet of mind, and I began to think that, in this affair, the Yankee had improved on the Englishman; and that his mode of constructing carriages, and managing railroad business, did no discredit to his sagacity and business-talent.

The country through which we journeyed did not present many points of interest. The cultivation was on the whole good; but the soil rocky and poor. The season, I found, was not so far advanced as in our own country when I left it; and now, towards the end of April, but little vegetation appeared. The Americans declaim against our beautiful hedge-rows; I suppose, on the principle of people who, not possessing an advantage themselves, are jealous in the case of others enjoying it. Be this as it may, there are few, scarcely any, quick-set hedges in America; and I was told that the English thorn would not grow in their climate. Nothing can be more odious than the fences of the country; the landscape is perfectly deformed by their appearance. The farmers employ long pieces of wood, no doubt cut up for the purpose. These are laid lengthways, crossing each other at the end, and piled up one upon another a sufficient height to keep their cattle from going astray. This mode of fence causes the whole country to look like one prodigious wood-yard; and, in the absence of this wood, stone is employed. The enclosures are of greater or less extent, in which cattle and sheep are seen grazing, or corn growing, as the case may be. The villages and towns on our route appeared very pretty; the houses being chiefly built of wood,

painted white, and the window-sashes and blinds green. By these means an air of great cleanliness was secured, and many of these wooden buildings rose to magnificence, having a mansion-like appearance. I found afterwards that houses thus built are capable of excluding wind and weather, and securing as great an amount of comfort and warmth as the more substantial erections of brick or stone.

Springfield, the location of a Methodist collegiate establishment, and once the residence of Dr. Fisk, is a very beautiful place; the whole country having a most picturesque appearance, well cultivated, and the soil much better than any we had passed over. Our line, for many miles, lay by the side of the Connecticut; and, as this was the first of the great American rivers which I had seen, I felt greatly excited by its appearance. It is a magnificent stream, though vastly inferior to many which I afterwards visited. The banks are very beautiful, and rich in meadow-land, studded with farm-houses and peaceful villages. My reading furnished me with some reminiscences respecting the first occupancy of this country by European settlers. How different now to the time when Indian tribes paddled their canoes in these waters, and disputed with the white man, by war, by stratagem, by fire and blood, the possession of the soil! These sanguinary contests had taken place on every foot of ground we were traversing. Women and children had been cut off, and taken into a cruel captivity, in the absence of the men; and it was not till a vast amount of human life had been sacrificed, that peace and abundance were made to take the place of a ruthless contest, which ended in the extirpation or banishment of the original lords of the soil. Peaceful flocks were now grazing, watched over by the children of the villages, where the war-whoop and the scalping-knife used to hold dominion.

We finished our railroad journey at New-Haven, and embarked on board a steamer. Our course lay up the Sound, skirted on one side by the Connecticut shore, and on the other by Long-Island. The Sound is a most magnificent inlet to New-York from the great Atlantic. Being now on board an American steamer for the first time, I was intent upon seeing whether the people indulged in those *tobacco* habits which travellers have almost uniformly attributed to them. We had been pretty free from any thing offensive in the railroad car; and I began

to doubt whether the reports were true, or to think they were exaggerations. I was soon undeceived. The practice in question was almost general; and nearly the whole deck soon became coloured and almost impassable. Amongst the rest of the passengers were two young people, male and female, who were evidently not man and wife, but in the probable way of becoming so. They were very respectable in their appearance and attire,—the young man having the bearing of a farmer of the first class; and the lady, it is to be presumed, a farmer's daughter, of prepossessing appearance, dressed very genteelly, and withal wearing, what seemed to be pretty generally the fashion in America, a green veil. Our young couple, of course, avoided the public, kept themselves in close quarters in one corner of the deck, and were in ardent conversation. In pacing backwards and forwards, my attention was attracted to this scene; and I observed that the young gentleman, about every five minutes or less, poured forth a stream of tobacco saliva at the lady's feet. This, it is to be presumed, was by way of libation to his goddess; it was an offering of love. The thing seemed a perfect matter of course; and neither the lady, nor any body else, appeared in the least annoyed. It may be as well to dismiss this whole affair at once; and I am sorry to say, that, though I saw occasion to differ in opinion with American travellers on many points, in this I was obliged to agree with them. The deck of steamers seems to be the favourite arena for this kind of exploit. I declare, I saw men, again and again, sitting under the awnings of their beautiful vessels, when it would have been quite as convenient, and often more so, to pour the contents of their mouths into the water as upon the deck; but they invariably preferred the latter, and rendered it next to impossible to move without treading in this liquid nuisance.

Heaven is always propitious. In the midst of what was so offensive in man, nature presented great beauties and glorious scenery on every side. The entrance into New-York harbour on the side we took is very intricate, requiring great skill on the part of the pilot. We had to pass a place which English jack-tars, when New-York was a British province, designated "Hell-hole;" not a very religious, but certainly a very appropriate, name. It is a sort of whirlpool, and the waters are much agitated; whilst the rocks in the river are of such a

nature as to narrow up the channel, and render destruction certain if the exact course is not hit by the pilot's skill. In a bend of this intricate channel we were within an ace of running down a vessel, which, turning the point unseen, and getting into the current, was rendered perfectly helpless in herself, and was exposed to the instant rush of our steamer. With great promptitude and skill our Captain turned his vessel nearly round, so as completely to avoid the ill-fated ship, and she passed safely down the channel. The sight for some minutes was horrific. I felt perfectly certain that nothing could save us from being brought into collision; and, had this taken place, one or both vessels must have gone to the bottom very near the place so ominously named "Hell-hole." We were spared this fate by a gracious interposition of Providence.

As we ascended, we obtained a good view of the buildings on the banks of the channel. Some of these are on Long-Island, and others in Brooklyn. The villas of the citizens of New-York are seen on each side; and many of them are splendid and superb. The wealthy merchants and others seek repose from business, and invigorated health, in these princely retreats. Ship-building establishments, of great magnitude, are found in these quarters; and there is a goodly number of hospitals, asylums, prisons, and places of a similar description, in view. New-York harbour itself breaks upon the view of the voyager on turning a promontory, all at once. The sight is dazzling. Nothing can be more imposing than the harbour, the shipping, and the city, thus bursting upon the astonished beholder.

It is difficult, without drawings, to convey a true idea of this magnificent port,—one of the finest in the world. It is necessary to remark, that the city stands upon the fork of two great rivers; one to the east, called East River, the other to the north, called North, or Hudson's, River. Opposite this tongue of land, at a considerable distance, is the upper end of Long-Island, which has the effect of land-locking the harbour, guarding it from storms, and breaking the swell of the Atlantic. By reason of this contiguity of Long-Island, the harbour possesses all the qualities of a prodigious bason, with the tongue, on which New-York stands, projecting into its centre. This fine piece of water is entered by two channels; the one from the Sound, which we passed, and the other immediately from the

Atlantic. This latter entrance is so narrow, that it is capable of perfect defence; and it seems impossible for any vessels to pass without being exposed to certain destruction from the raking fire of the batteries. The other inlet to the harbour possesses natural defences, as no ship of war can ascend the rocky and shallow channel we passed.

The ships are moored around the tongue on which the city stands, which forms a sort of crescent with the outward circle projecting into the water. Many hundred vessels of all sizes, some of the largest class, lay at anchor around this point of land,—if it can be called at anchor,—for there is depth of water sufficient to permit them to touch the wharfs without the use of the anchor. Here, in crescent form, these vessels lay, apparently all round the lower point of the city; and many of them ascending the two rivers, find a resting-place on the banks of these beautiful streams. From this it will appear, that in case Long-Island was removed, New-York would be any thing but a harbour; and it would be altogether indebted to its rivers for a place of shelter for its ships. Long-Island is the patron saint of New-York, the guardian of its interests, —indeed, the cause of its greatness.

CHAP. III.—*New-York—Harper's printing and publishing Establishment—The Methodist Book-Concern—The Exchange and Custom-House—Excitement respecting an anticipated Revolution in England—Charitable Institutions—The City—Leave for Baltimore—David Cramer, Esq.—The Journey—New-Jersey—Newark—Princeton—Trenton—The Delaware—Philadelphia—The Chesapeake Bay.*

ON making the landing-place, we were met by Dr. Bangs, the historian of Methodism in America, Dr. Carson, author of "Loiterings in various Countries in Europe," and two of the Harpers, who all welcomed our arrival with hearty greetings. I was appointed to take up my residence in the family of Mr. Fletcher Harper, who at once conducted me to his hospitable home. Besides Mrs. Harper, sen., I here found a young lady recently married to one of Mr. Harper's sons, a countrywoman, from London, the daughter of Mr. Jeremiah Smith. Of course, I was at home at once; had it not been so, I must have possessed a most morose and misanthropic nature; for every thing was done for my comfort which friendship and affection could suggest. This was the first private family

I had been domiciled with in America; and certainly the reception I met with, and the habits of the family, tended to give me a most favourable impression of the virtues of private life in the United States.

But besides the order, decorum, and happiness so apparent in this Christian family, the house itself struck me as one of the most perfect I had ever seen. Every thing in America is executed on the most improved scale of common-sense. Not that there is any want of taste, of elegance, of decoration; but the basis of every arrangement seems to be that of utility and comfort. This house, so excellent of its kind, is but a sample of the rest. It stood in one of the streets, was one of a row of houses of the same size and form, and was neither greater nor better in appearance than those by which it was surrounded. This gives some insight into the style in which the higher class of merchants and tradesmen in New-York live.

I had only two days to spare for visiting the lions in New-York, and therefore set about the business in good earnest. It is surprising how much may be done in a short time, when resolution and industry are brought into requisition. On the first day, my good friend Mr. Harper conducted me through the city, showing me first his own establishment, the Methodist Book-Concern, the Custom-house, the Exchange, Trinity church, Broad-Way, the land-side of the harbour, visiting several magnificent ships, warehouses, and the rest.

Mr. Harper's printing and publishing establishment is as remarkable as any thing in the way of business can well be imagined. Every thing is done on the same premises. A great number of presses are at work; and one, called the "Adams press," from the name of the inventor, is remarkable. It was partly self-acting, an instrument of the nature of pincers, or rather a hand, taking hold of the paper as a roller revolved, and placing it so as to receive the designed impression; which, on coming from under the cylinder, was received by a child, and placed in order. I understood that this machine could print, if necessary, letter-press to an indefinite length,—if the paper would admit it, of miles in extent. I saw the workmen forming stereotype plate-models,—a curious process. Vast piles of these plates, having done their duty in time past, were lying in store for further orders. In these extensive premises a great number of females were employed in stitching,

and matters of that nature. These females were under the inspection of a Roman Catholic forewoman, of great intelligence and energy. She was from England, had lived in London; and, though a Romanist, had strayed into City-Road chapel, and, having heard me preach at that place, at once recognised me, and seemed well pleased to see any one from home. We had, on entering the work-room of these females, an example of American character and manners. How did Mr. Harper, one of the principals of the firm, and master of these people, accost them? Did he rudely vociferate his orders in dictatorial and imperative language, after the English fashion? No! On entering their apartment, he took off his hat, paid them the compliments of the morning, inquired after their health, and addressed them by the term "young ladies." Was this affectation? Not in the least. It had all the appearance of habit; and certainly in their bearing, dress, the absence of all sluttishness, these females deserved respectful treatment. This will be sneered at by many of our countrymen, as a specimen of Yankeyism. Well, be it so; but, let us ask, Which is the man of breeding, the gentleman?—the boisterous, imperious, swearing John Bull, giving his orders to his servants as if they were his slaves?—or this American, thus addressing the people who supply the hands, the sinews, the labour, (though he may furnish the genius,) which are creating his fortune? Besides the extensive business transacted at this establishment, these gentlemen have branch-establishments in various parts of the country, on a large scale.

This firm reprints many English books; and, having nothing to pay for copyright and authorship, they are enabled to get out and publish our most approved works at a very cheap rate. By reason of these cheap editions of our literature, the fact is that English authors are more extensively known in America than in our own country. The light reading of the day, the leading periodicals, novels, and productions of this class, have a prodigious circulation. But standard works by our best writers, whether in history, philosophy, theology, or the sciences and arts, are in universal circulation. This importation of knowledge is, no doubt, a present advantage; but it sadly militates against creative talent in the States. It is, indeed, considering their youth as a nation, and the hard and material work they have to do, a matter of astonish-

ment that the competition is so successful, and that America has furnished so many able writers.

I was extremely sorry to perceive, as I thought, that the Americans exceed us as a novel-reading people. At every public place, the termini of the railroad, landing-places of the steamboats, and often on board as well, numbers of lads are found vending this trash. The people in general, the ladies especially, are continually seen amusing or exciting themselves by revelling in this world of fancy, often extremely vulgar and foolish. To give an instance: On one of my journeys by railroad, there sat before me a family, consisting of a husband, wife, and child perhaps two years old. This mother and wife, a very genteel and lady-like person, got hold of one of these novels, and scarcely lifted her eyes from her book the whole of the distance they travelled, which occupied the greater part of the day. The husband, in the mean time, had the entire care of the little boy. It cried, and he patted it into good humour; it slept on his lap, and he fanned it; it required food, he ransacked the reticule to find cakes and sweetmeats, and, in fact, was a perfect nurse. All this time the mother was completely absorbed in her tale, and took not the least notice of either husband or boy; and, in fact, seemed unconscious that they were present, or that she had any duties to perform towards one or the other. This pernicious habit is eating into the American mind, and will produce sad and deleterious effects on a great scale.

We went next to the Methodist Book-Concern, a large and well-conducted establishment. The premises are very extensive, being designed to facilitate both the printing and publishing departments. This institution is the centre of Methodist literature in the United States. As in this country, this literature is of a somewhat distinctive character; the Methodist press being chiefly, though not exclusively, engaged in the publication of works emanating from the body, and designed for its use. The "Christian Advocate and Journal," and the "Methodist Quarterly Review," constitute the periodical literature of this establishment. But though the former of these works makes its appearance in the newspaper form, it partakes much more of the character of a magazine than a newspaper. The latter is what its name designates, and it is conducted with considerable ability. The standard theology of the Methodist church being the same as our own, it

follows, that the Works of Mr. Wesley, and the most distinguished of our English writers, constitute the staple of their trade. Vast piles of these books are seen in their warehouses, prepared for circulation through the country; and it is pleasing to know that the instruction, comfort, and encouragement which these writings are so well calculated to afford will alike find their way into the log-hut of the backwoodsman, to the Negro in his bondage, to the Indian in his expatriation, and to the abodes of the more wealthy citizen.

But though the fathers of the Methodist body on this side of the water are in general circulation, yet the Americans are not destitute of sterling and valuable writings of their own. Theology, sacred criticism, specimens of pulpit eloquence, biography, narrative, abound amongst them. But, as in the case of the community at large, the Methodist body is too busy; is too extensively engaged in the vocation of the evangelist pioneer; has too much rough work to accomplish in clearing away rubbish and laying the foundations of their church; is obliged to carry on operations on too extended a scale, and in the midst of populations demanding incessant pastoral and ministerial care; to make it possible to devote themselves, in any numbers, and to any extent, to recondite studies. The Methodist press, notwithstanding these disadvantages, is effecting good service for religion, and the progress of general knowledge. As their colleges become more efficient, as residence and leisure are accorded to the professors, as facilities for study and learning are furnished, no doubt the religious literature of the church will become progressively much more rich and elevated.

But at present this Book-Concern must be chiefly considered as a centre of religious light and influence, in aid of the living ministry. In this view of the subject it will be seen as possessing immense value and importance. Its immediate and great purpose is now to promote the work of God, to incite to pious and zealous activity, to confer instruction on the privileges and duties of the religious life, and to point out the way to heaven. It deals but little in speculation. The condition of the church will not allow of this. It is not sufficiently advanced to find leisure for either the higher or the more polished subjects of religious literature. The philosophy, the poetry, the refined abstractions of theology, must, in every case, rest on the foundations of general knowledge. To lay these founda-

tions is, at present, the business of the Methodist church. In this department they are making admirable progress; and, this being the vocation of the institution, its utmost energy is devoted to this object. Its radiations of light reach through thousands of miles, to the remotest extremities of the Union; its voice of exhortation, of admonition, of reproof, of warning, is heard in the wilderness, the village, the city, of every part of the continent; its life, like electrical fire, is fusing itself into the masses of the population; and its lessons of divine truth are, as we trust, laying the basis of a pure, holy, practical Christianity, as extensively as the habitations of this numerous people.

In connexion with these premises is the Committee-Room, for the management of missionary affairs; a plain and humble place, with an elevated seat for the chairman, and wooden benches for the members. Suspended upon the walls of this room were the portraits of the bishops of the church, living and dead,—plain, but intelligent and sedate, men; Bishop Asbury standing out from the rest by his robust character, and fine features. On the premises was a vile picture of Dr. Newton. I remember, at the time of the Doctor's visit to the States, reading a newspaper description of his person and preaching, in which the moral painter said, amongst other things, "with a little of the d—l in his eye." The author of this sketch might have been the real painter of our beloved countryman; for he has most certainly put a sufficient quantity of the evil one in his eye. This is unreal; there is no demon there; nature, or grace, has done just the reverse, and given to that eye, with its intelligence and genius, the bold, direct, simple expression of truth and honesty.

We visited the Exchange and Custom-House; splendid buildings, finely laid out for business, and constructed of massive blocks of granite. To obtain a new view of the city and harbour, we mounted to the top of one of these edifices, and were well repaid for the trouble. The city was seen to a great extent, with its churches, public buildings, and busy streets; and the harbour, the sea, Long-Island, and the adjacent country, appeared in all their beauty and glory.

Mr. Harper, who was known to the heads of these establishments, introduced me as an Englishman just arrived. They were very solicitous for news, and desirous

to elicit my opinions respecting our state, and the probabilities of a revolution. We had sailed from Liverpool on the Saturday previously to the great Chartist meeting held on Kennington Common on the following Monday; so that our packet carried out the announcement of the intended demonstration, without its solution. This produced great excitement and apprehension as to the result. These gentlemen pressed me as to the real facts of the case, and the probabilities of revolutionary success. This they did, not in a spirit of glorying, or desire of conquest on the side of the Chartists, but, on the contrary, of a real sympathy with our country, and of anxiety for the preservation of the public peace; but they evidently entertained strong apprehensions. I endeavoured to dissipate these alarms, and told them I was certain we should have no revolution; that the Chartists had no hold in the country, they were mere chaff, a bubble on the surface of the waters, and that the Government would gain a very easy victory. "Well," said they, "the queen is gone to the Isle of Wight; the ministers must have some reason for dread, or they would not have advised her removal to that place." It was replied, that she was partial to that residence, and her circumstances made it necessary for her to seek the quiet and bracing air of that retreat; that there was nothing at all in that fact. "Well, but then there is Ireland," it was said; "the Irish are threatening a rebellion; and will not they and the Chartists coalesce, and bring about a revolution?" The answer was, If any other parties had employed the language which the Irish agitators had made use of, there would be reason to fear; but the bombastic bellowing of these people, which had been heard so loud and so long, would come to very little; and, moreover, it was questionable whether they would really make any movement at all, inasmuch as the assassin never made his purpose known; and it was very unlikely that these men would proclaim their rebellious purposes, in case they really intended to revolt. In the course of these conversations the Chartists were called "the people." It was replied, that they were not "the people;" that the real people of England were a very different class; were well satisfied with their institutions, and would certainly defend them, and have the ability to do so successfully.

From these interviews and conversations I felt convinced, that the class of men with whom I thus casually

held intercourse had no sympathy with the malcontents of either England or Ireland; and that it was their anxious desire that we might escape the dangers which threatened us. Whether my notion be true or not, or to what extent, I know not; but I certainly fancied, at the time of these conversations, (for in substance they were constantly occurring,) that some of the parties seemed somewhat relieved of their fears and anxieties. Be this as it may, it was a pleasure to deal fairly by one's country; and a greater pleasure still, to find that the true, the genuine, the home-born Americans were not so inimical as to desire her overthrow. At dinner with a party of ministers, and other friends, the conversation turned on our institutions, compared with the American; and some reflections being in pleasantry made on our queenly office and the aristocracy, this called up Mrs. Harper, jun., our countrywoman, who most heroically defended the queen and nobility, naturalized, as I suppose she was, as an American. Her kind-hearted father-in-law, I perceived, delighted to put her on the defensive, which always called forth a fine burst of English feeling. How long does it take to extinguish the love of home, of country! In fine natures, this can never be effaced; it is an undying, an immortal passion.

The next day our good friend Mr. Francis Hall, and other gentlemen, took me to see the charitable institutions belonging to the city. We visited an hospital, presided over by Dr. Reece, a Methodist physician; a man of remarkable energy, and of great celebrity in his profession. We then made our way to an establishment, a Refuge, half prison, and half school, for the reformation of young delinquents of both sexes. This institution we found also under the management of Methodists. The matron, a strong-minded and sensible woman, took us to view the female department; and from her, as well as from the master on the other side, we were informed that their success was very considerable, that many of the boys and girls, through the influence of this institution, turned out good and virtuous citizens. The Dumb and Deaf Asylum has been so often described by such writers as Basil Hall, Charles Dickens, and others, that it cannot be necessary to enter into details. The inmates, however, are the most interesting class of human beings which can well be met with. Nature seems, in some measure, to have compensated the loss of one sense, by giving peculiar

delicacy and vividness to others. As every thing is done by the eye, this organ seemed to possess extraordinary flexibility and power. The whole soul appeared to throw herself into this bright and beaming orb. Such expression I never saw. Let us mention one incident. I desired the principal to convey to them, by the usual means, our sincere thanks for their kindness in allowing us to put them to the trouble of going through their various exercises for our gratification. The expression on their countenances, and in their gestures, but especially in the eye, when this was conveyed to them, was indescribable. At how small a cost is it often in our power to excite emotions of pleasure! Who would not do this in the case of those who are shut out, by the inscrutable providence of God, from so many sources of enjoyment?

But that which most interested me, in this day's excursion, was the African Asylum for the orphan children of people of colour. Here, again, we found Methodists engaged in the entire management of the institution. The master, mistress, and teachers were all of our own persuasion. The design of the establishment is to provide a maintenance and education for the orphan children of the poor afflicted African race. The name, the wrongs, the colour of these children, I must confess, awakened all my sympathies. The building is spacious, and wears the appearance of perfect order and cleanliness; and the domestic portion of the business is evidently well conducted, the children having the look of health and happiness. We were taken into the school-room to see the little orphans; and what a sight! They were of all imaginable colours, and nearly of all sizes; some almost infants, and others nearly grown up. What seemed most astonishing to the ignorant in such matters, was the fact that some of them were, to our unpractised eye, perfectly white; not exactly the white of the European, but pale, delicate, and very beautiful. The countenance had altogether lost the Negro cast,—thick lips, prominent cheek-bones, woolly hair, and all the other characteristics; and, in their place, the aquiline nose, black, straight hair, in most cases a beautiful mouth gave them a Circassian cast, without the florid complexion and vivacity of the race. Why these fine and beautiful specimens of human nature are treated as Africans in the United States, and on this flimsy plea cast out of society, who can tell? Others of these children, however, had retained the per-

fect African physiognomy, and were as black as jet. Indeed, this interesting group varied from white, through every shade of colour, to perfect ebony. There sat one little creature at her desk, scarcely high enough to reach its edge, perfectly black, and an inimitable picture of docility and happiness. The image of this child can never be forgotten! Poor African, it had no consciousness of misfortune or trouble, of degradation and injury! To know that that innocent little creature must grow up in the midst of a system of proscription, and be punished as long as life shall remain, for no other imaginable crime than the colour of its skin, is painful to think of, but absolutely certain.

These forlorn children were put through their school-exercises, and evinced no deficiency of intellect, but, on the other hand, great acuteness and aptitude to learn. They sang us some of their sweet and pathetic ditties, having relation to their circumstances; which, with the thought of their fate, went to the bottom of one's soul, and stirred every emotion. Being presented with some little gratuity to procure them sweetmeats, their happiness seemed complete; and we took our leave in the midst of their child-like farewells; but on our own part with something more than even powerful emotions.

On our return we called to see the Croton water-works, connected with a remarkable aqueduct of that name, thirty-three miles in length, thrown over gullies, rivers, valleys, ravines, and all sorts of impediments, to the point which we visited; from whence it pours its life-giving streams by innumerable pipes through the entire city.

The city of New-York, the commercial metropolis of America, bears all the marks of increasing wealth, and of a great destiny. Its mercantile establishments, its banks, its shops, its hotels, are on the most magnificent scale. Wall-street, Broadway, and other streets, are equal to any thing which can be imagined, as thoroughfares and places of business. The public buildings, except those which are connected with trade, are not first-rate. Romanism never established itself in this place; and Romanism alone, of all religious systems, has left great ecclesiastical monuments behind it: where it has not prevailed, we look in vain for any splendid specimens of antiquarian grandeur. Here are pretty churches; as Trinity, a very beautiful specimen of architecture; but it is like an infant

in a costly dress, compared with the old remains of Europe. Aristocracy, another element of greatness, which has left behind noble remains of feudal grandeur, never obtained here; and is now more out of vogue than ever. We have no venerable castles, manor-houses, mansions, from this quarter. Riches will produce their accustomed results at a future day; but not yet. At present the laws of property dissipate large fortunes, by dividing them equally amongst children; and, even the demi-aristocracy, such as it was at the period of the Revolution, is now very much brought down to the American level. It seemed strange, in such a city, to see no gentlemen's carriages with footmen in livery. They may, for aught I know, exist to some extent; but, as far as I recollect, I never saw one. This may be considered a good or an evil, according to the taste and notions of men; but to people who witness these pageants so constantly, and in such numbers in this country, the contrast is striking.

The streets of New-York are very spacious; and what adds much to their beauty and comfort, is found in their being planted with fine chestnuts and poplars, which throw their agreeable shade over the foot-passengers.

I had no opportunity of attending any religious service, so that I cannot speak on such questions as pulpit eloquence, the manner of conducting worship, the numbers and spirit of the auditors, and the fervour or decorum observable in these assemblies. But the people and ministers whom I had the pleasure of meeting, appeared to me to be very intelligent, thoughtful, and eminent Christians. Our people, indeed, were going to regard the day I left as a day of fasting and prayer, for God's blessing on the Conference;—a most laudable arrangement. They urged me to stay to preach, which I desired to do; but had I done so, I must have sacrificed Washington; and this could not be thought of. Hence, after spending two of the most interesting days of my existence, I prepared to start for Baltimore on the Friday morning.

Our party consisted of the Rev. James Porter, a presiding elder in one of the New-England Conferences, and author of a good and heart-stirring little volume, called "The true Evangelist,"—and David Cramer, Esq., a merchant living at Baltimore, with others. This gentleman left an employment dear to his heart, at New-York, for

the purpose of accompanying me to his native city. He had been engaged for several years in studying the hymns and poetry of the Wesleys; and was, at the time, employed in bringing out a work, partly historical and partly critical, through the press, on this interesting subject. He had spared neither trouble nor expense in the pursuit of his object, employing all sorts of agents in Europe to collect every edition in existence of Charles Wesley's poetic effusions; and, besides, had personally visited Europe, and catered for himself by a diligent canvass of the gentlemen of the "Row," and all other places in the metropolis. I am not able to give an opinion of this work, as it was not published at the time I left; but from a portion of "copy" shown me on our route, I judged it would prove an acceptable and useful addition to the literature of the American Methodist church. It had been submitted to the inspection of a Committee of the Baltimore Conference, who reported favourably, and the Conference recommended the work to the public. This gentleman, like all fine enthusiasts, seemed to live in his theme, in Wesleyan poetry. It was his ideal of every thing beautiful and glorious; his mind was fascinated and absorbed in his subject; he discoursed not of politics, or merchandise, or material things, but of Charles Wesley, of sacred songs, of metres, sublimities, and devotional praise to God. It was really refreshing to see a young man, a merchant, in active life, enabled to turn his thoughts so completely from "buying and selling and getting gain," as to devote his time and energies to a subject so delicate and sacred. But these Americans are an amazingly energetic race; and, besides, every body has scope, room, encouragement. To develope every thing having life, soul, intellect, seems to be the American principle, whether found in poetry or prose. The public, and the churches as well, glory in any man, no matter whether lay or cleric, belonging either to the category of talent or piety. Their rule evidently is, to give every body a chance, to foster, to prompt, to lead on, and make the best of every one's faculties and power. Talent is sure to meet with a market; it is admired, applauded, honoured, and, when connected with piety and goodness of character, cannot fail to elevate its subject to an honourable position in the church.

Our route lay through a portion of New-Jersey, embracing Jersey city, Newark, New-Brunswick, Princeton,

Trenton,—famous in the history of the American war, as the scene of one of Washington's victories, and the capital of New-Jersey. Here we crossed the Delaware into Pennsylvania, and travelled by its western bank to Bristol, and thence to Taconey. This town is six miles above Philadelphia, where we embarked on board a steamer, and reached the city by water. The scenery was most magnificent; made so by the breadth and sweep of the river; the banks being rich, fertile, varied, and well cultivated; and, moreover, studded with excellent houses, and beautiful mansions and villas. There stood the Quaker city, peering towards skies as bright as those of Italy, resting on the bosom of a country as fertile as imagination can conceive; touching one of the finest rivers and bays in the world; receiving and giving a rich and varied commerce; and presenting to view the general aspect of industry, virtue, peace, and happiness. It seems impossible that WILLIAM PENN, the great Quaker, could have selected a finer site for his city. If any thing can be perfect in this world, one would say Philadelphia presents a perfect ground-plan and *locale* for the abode of man. This is considered by the Americans themselves as their most beautiful city. Taken as a whole, it may be so. The assemblage of favourable circumstances seems complete. Earth and sky, land and water, all combine to produce this effect. Nature has certainly selected this spot as for the purpose of showing, in the beauties of even a ruined world, some faint outline, some faded image, of what Paradise must have been.

But yet I did not like Philadelphia as a city. It is too uniform; a beautiful landscape cannot be imagined without variety. Is not this principle of variety equally necessary in every thing else having extent, space, magnitude? A city is not like a cottage, a lodge, a little box. There may be uniformity, and yet taste may not be offended; but place these neat boxes in a row, in a straight line, of, say a mile or two long, without any thing to relieve the eye, and then it will be found that the straight line without a curve, the uniformity of buildings, unbroken by any variation in elevation, streets crossing each other at right angles, and at equally-measured distances, produce impressions which are not in agreement with our notions of the beautiful. The houses, indeed, are not exactly uniform; but the streets are perfectly so, securing ventilation and a good circulation of air,

but giving the notion of a town in livery, dressed in the prim costume of the people who founded the city. The Quaker mind has left its impress on the material form of their city; though it is to be feared the Quaker spirit has long since evaporated. I saw very few persons in the garb of Friends; though some few were observed passing along in grave and sober dignity. The population is now perfectly miscellaneous, as much so as any other place, and its peculiarities are only seen in the town itself. The following statistics will show this:—"Of churches there are Episcopalian, English, 27; Methodist, (Episcopal,) 22; Methodist, (Protestant,) 6; Presbyterian, New School, 13; Old School, 12; Reformed Presbyterian, 4; Associate, 4; Associate Reformed, 2; Roman Catholic, 12; FRIENDS, 7; German Reformed, 3; Independent, 2; Lutheran, German, 3; English, 2; Universalist, 2; Dutch Reformed, 2; Mariners, 2; Unitarian, 1; New Jerusalem, 1; Moravian, 1; Disciples of Christ, 1; Jewish synagogues, 3; churches of different denominations for coloured people, 12." Thus the Friends, in their own home, have been far outstripped by other religious denominations.

Time would not allow us to remain long. I had only an opportunity of running into one or two public buildings; of passing down a few streets, so as to obtain a general idea of the place; of getting a hasty dinner, and then starting off towards Baltimore. I promised myself the pleasure of a second visit, which could not be accomplished; so that my adieu to Philadelphia proved to be final.

We travelled partly by railroad and partly by steam, which, by reason of the diversity both as to mode and scenery, is very pleasant. In this excursion we crossed or sailed upon the Delaware, Elk river, the Patapsco, and Chesapeake-Bay. The latter, on the portion we traversed, had widened into a sea, and had a most magnificent appearance.

CHAP. IV.—*Baltimore and Washington—The City and Capitol—The Senate—General Cass—Captain Frémont—Mr. Calhoun, &c.—The House of Representatives—Debate—Visit to the President—To the Vice-President—The National Institution—Baltimore—The Sabbath—The aristocratic Air of the Place—Leave for Cumberland—Slavery—Harper's-Ferry—Cumberland—The Alleghany Mountains—A Mirage on the Mountain—Brownville—The Mononyahela—Scenery of the Banks.*

WE reached the city after dark, having travelled one hundred and eighty-four miles. We were met by the Rev. Thomas H. Sargeant, who conducted me at once to my appointed place of abode, the residence of a widow lady of the name of Wilkins, with three or four daughters, and a great number of black servants. This lady, I found, had entertained the Rev. Richard Reece, Dr. Hannah, Dr. Newton; and, in fact, all our brethren who had visited the States as a deputation from England. She evidently retained a very pleasant recollection of these visits. Her eulogies of the VENERABLE and Rev. Richard Reece were perfectly enthusiastic. His fine person, urbanity, piety, and labours, had left a deep impression on her mind. Nor had the excellent qualities of the other brethren been less cherished. Indeed, they were recollected with great admiration by all. The eloquent labours of Dr. Newton will not lose their impression at Baltimore, nor indeed at any other place he visited, during the existence of the present generation. They are engraven indelibly on the hearts of many hundreds and thousands of grateful and admiring people. Dr. Hannah was a young man at the time of his visit; but many of the preachers especially speak of his sermons as amongst the best and most finished specimens of pulpit eloquence they ever heard. I found, indeed, that the ministrations of all my predecessors had left a most happy fragrance behind. Their memory is cherished, their services affectionately appreciated, their mission honoured, the bonds of brotherhood strengthened, and the character of England, as well as English Methodism, is judged of by these specimens of the manners and spirit of the fatherland. It became evident to me, that the religious public, our own people at least, are not disposed to take their cue of England from newspapers, political sources, or the disputes of diplomacy; but from the men of their own community

who may be sent over, and from the general body of Methodists.

I had known Mr. Sargeant in both England and Ireland, on his visit to this country, as the companion of Bishop Soule. His fine spirit had lost none of its elasticity, or depth of affection. His recollections of our country, of the men he had met with, of the Conference, of any, the least, attention which had been shown him, and the pleasures which fell in his way, all lived, most vividly, in his warm and ardent mind. It is delightful to meet with such specimens of Christianized human nature. I blush to think of the affection and kindness he manifested to me. It embraced every thing. It seemed to be the entire business of his life, for the time being, to make my visit as agreeable, as instructive, as profitable, as possible. The charm such a spirit throws over every thing enhances its loveliness ten-fold. It puts life, vivacity, delight, and joy, as well as piety, into the most ordinary transactions; and seems to add grace and beauty to every subject of conversation, to every object seen. It is a kind of music in the midst of the solitudes of nature; a joyous fragrance intermingled with her productions; sunshine thrown upon all things on earth. To meet with such a man, is worth crossing the Atlantic; and to have made his friendship, gives a new zest to life, and increases one's hope of augmented happiness in immortality.

This dear friend soon fell in with my desires to see Washington the next day, and made instant arrangements to accompany me there. My travelling companions, the Rev. J. Porter, and Mr. Cramer, agreed also to be of the party; and we set out by the first train for the capital. The distance is forty miles, which we soon reached. We had six or eight hours to remain, being obliged to return the next day, which was Sunday, when I had engaged to preach in Baltimore. "What can be done in seeing the metropolis of a great republic in six or eight hours?" some one will say. Let us see.

But before we proceed, it may be as well to remark, that this capital is very unlike London, or any metropolitan city of any of the nations of Europe, indeed, of many of the older cities of the New World itself. It is a great unfinished village, laid out on a magnificent scale, but remaining for completion. The points of attraction are, consequently, few, and easily reached.

The following account of Washington is, in the

main, so accurate, that we cannot do better than insert it :—

"The city is laid out on a plan of great magnitude, and will, if the design of the founders be carried out, and their anticipations realized, be a magnificent memorial of the great man from whom it is named, and a city, the gigantic proportions of which shall harmonize with the power and extent of the mighty republic of which it is the capital. The ground on which the city is built has an elevation, for the most part, of about forty feet above the level of the river. The streets cross each other at right angles, those running north and south being intersected by others running east and west. The different parts of the city are connected by broad avenues. When the intersection of these avenues with each other and with the streets would form many acute angles, rectangular or circular spaces are left. The avenues and principal streets radiate from important public points, and are from one hundred and thirty to one hundred and sixty feet wide. The former are named after the states of the Union; the latter, beginning at the capitol, are ranged in the order of the letters of the alphabet; as, A North and A South, B North and B South, &c.: and east and west, they are designated by numbers; as, 1st East, 1st West, &c. Pennsylvania avenue, from the capitol to the president's house, is the most compactly built, and much the handsomest, thoroughfare in the city. Of the avenues, five radiate from the capitol, and five others from the mansion of the president; thus affording these prominent places the readiest communication with all parts of the city.

"Of the public buildings of Washington, the capitol, situated near the centre of the city-plot, on Capitol-Hill, is the most splendid. This edifice, in its ample proportions, in the style and execution of its architecture, and in its embellishments, both exterior and interior, is believed not to be inferior to any Senate-House in the world. Elevated seventy-two feet above tide-water, it affords a commanding view of the city and the surrounding country. From its immense size, and its elevated position, it is the first object that fixes our attention on approaching the city. The building, which is of freestone, occupies an area of more than an acre and a half. Including the wings, the front is three hundred and fifty-two feet in length, and the depth of the wings is one hundred and twenty-one feet. The projection on the east or main front, including the steps, is eighty-five feet wide; and that on the west, with the steps, is eighty-three feet. The projection on the east front is ornamented with a splendid portico of twenty-two lofty Corinthian columns; and a portico of ten columns in the same style, adorns the west projection. In grandeur of design, and beauty of execution, the portico in the eastern front has no superior. To the top of the dome, the height of the building is one hundred and twenty feet; the rotunda in the middle of the building, under the dome, is ninety-five feet in diameter, and the same in height. From the cupola which crowns this apartment, there is a fine view of the city and surrounding country.

The walls of the rotunda are adorned with magnificent paintings by Trumbull, the figures being as large as life. These fine national pictures represent interesting incidents in American history,—the Presentation to Congress of the Declaration of Independence; the Surrender of Burgoyne; Surrender of Cornwallis; and Washington resigning his Commission. Congress has recently farther enriched the rotunda by the addition of two fine paintings,—the Baptism of Pocahontas, by Chapman, and the Embarcation of the Pilgrims, by Weir. This room is also adorned with sculptures, in *alto relievo*, representing the Rescue of Smith by the interposition of Pocahontas; the Landing of the Pilgrims; Daniel Boone's Conflict with Indians; and Penn treating with the Indians at Coaquenac. To other attractions of the rotunda has lately been added, Greenough's splendid statue of Washington, a colossal figure, in a sitting posture, twice as large as life. The library-room of the west of the rotunda is ninety-two feet by thirty-four, and thirty-six feet high, and contains upwards of twenty-eight thousand volumes. There is here also a valuable collection of historical medals, designed by Denon, the Egyptian traveller; and paintings, statuary, medallions, &c., are distributed about the room. The Senate-Chamber, in the northern wing, is seventy-eight feet long, and forty-five high, and of a semicircular form. The vice-president's chair has a canopy of rich crimson drapery, held by the talons of an eagle. In front of the vice-president's chair is a light bronze gallery, chiefly appropriated to ladies. Above and behind the chair is a gallery, supported by fine Ionic columns of variegated marble, from the Potomac. The walls richly ornamented with stucco, the magnificent chandelier, the gorgeous lamps and furniture, &c., give the room an imposing appearance. Adjoining the Senate-Chamber, is the office of the secretary of the Senate. Under this room is the apartment in which the Supreme Court holds its sittings. It is nearly as large as the Senate-Chamber, but is much less elegant. The hall of the House of Representatives, in the south wing, is semicircular, like the Senate-Chamber, but larger, being ninety-six feet long, and sixty feet high. The dome of the hall is supported by twenty-four beautiful columns of the Potomac marble, with capitals of Italian marble, of the Corinthian order. The seats are so arranged that the members face the Speaker, whose chair is considerably elevated above the floor, and approached by avenues that radiate from the chair as a centre. A gallery for men surrounds the circular wall opposite the speaker; and that appropriated to ladies is in the chord of the arc at the back of the speaker's chair. The room is ornamented, like the Senate-Chamber, with fine statuary and paintings, and its whole appearance is imposing and elegant."

Such is the capitol. Some persons look upon objects of art as connoisseurs, having some knowledge of its productions; others judge of every thing merely by such sense and feeling as nature alone supplies. There are advantages and disadvantages in both cases. The connoisseur will be able to detect flaws, blemishes, and beau-

ties, which the other will not be able to see; but the latter will be capable of a true impression, as a whole, which the critical taste of the former may prevent. Without any pretensions to be a connoisseur, we may be allowed to refer to such impressions as these various objects made at the time.

Some of the pictures were found to be very impressive, from the grandeur of the ideal. I was struck with what seemed to me to be a very delicate design in the picture representing the Surrender of Cornwallis. Washington is placed in the back-ground, on horseback, at a considerable distance, looking on with intense interest, whilst an inferior officer approaches the British commander, for the purpose of receiving his sword. But, when near, instead of demanding the sword, he is seen stretching out his hand, and offering it in friendship and peace to the vanquished general: the effect is irresistible. Cornwallis is subdued; serenity and benignity beam in his countenance, and the two enemies meet as brothers. The surrender of his sword, by General Burgoyne, is perfectly different. The American officer is seen approaching in an imperious and commanding attitude; and Burgoyne is represented as giving up his sword under the influence of tumultuous passions, resentment, pride, and contempt, though conquered. Such is the fate of war! Here are two high-minded soldiers; the pride and glory of the British army and nation, surrendering themselves and their glories to men, no doubt, whom, when they took the field, they considered as despicable foes; probably, not as soldiers at all. Great issues turned on these two events, —the independence of America, and the humiliation of England.

The pictures of the Embarcation and Landing of the Pilgrims are exquisitely impressive. In the first, the minister of the church in Holland, the Rev. John Robinson, who could not sail with the first expedition, on account of the duty of taking care of the flock left behind, is seen in the attitude of prayer, bare-headed, with outstretched hands, and eyes lifted up to heaven. At a short distance there sits a venerable figure, the personification of calm, contemplative, abstract, and believing piety,—his hand resting on the pages of an open Bible, through whose sacred teaching he appears to be looking into the invisible, the future, the divine, with unruffled composure and hope. A little in the back-ground the form of a matronly female (a real

character who distinguished herself greatly by her piety and fortitude) is exhibited in the costume of the times, attending, with profound and reverent looks and feelings, upon these devotions. Groups of children and young people hang around, with a mixture of awe, surprise, hope, and youthful joy, depicted in their countenances. I never saw religion materialized so perfectly as in this picture: it cost an effort to get away. All the graces may be said to have their type in this canvass. Wisdom, devotion, faith, meekness, love, courage, hope, all beam in those heaven-illumined countenances. They appear as if they had some forethought, some prescience, of their great destiny. Any looker-on would think that they were either dressed in their bridal robes for the "wedding-supper of the Lamb," or that they were under the influence of some extraordinary inspiration, preparing them for great and glorious work. The artist seems most fully to have caught and comprehended the *morale* of that greatest event in American history.

The picture of the Baptism of Pocahontas, an Indian princess, is very striking; and, coupled with her marriage to an English gentleman, is an interesting historical fact. She is represented in a kneeling posture, whilst the venerable clergyman is performing the rite. Her figure is beautiful, her face interesting, and the whole effect is exquisitely impressive. Poor Indians! Had this laudable beginning of the admixture of the races been continued, how different would have been their fate!

Some of the *alto relievos* are very fine. One, which represents Daniel Boone's Conflict with an Indian, disputing, in fact, for the dominion of Ohio, is fearful. The passions of the savage warrior are exhibited to the life, in dreadful ferocity. The two men are wrestling in personal combat; and each is employing the weapons of their respective modes of attack and defence. The catastrophe is not given; but, of course, the child of nature, the lord of the forest, was obliged to yield to the white man,—a distressing emblem of an historical fact. The passions, the ferocity, the undying resolution, the tenacious grasp, the courage of that Indian chief, and his fall, were only representative of the dispositions and of the doom of their race. They struggled, as he struggled, through the long years of their eventful story; and as he fell beneath the blows of his antagonist, so their nations and tribes fell before the aggressions of a superior foe.

Whilst we were examining these works of art, it was announced that the Senate had broken up. This was occasioned by information just brought from the city, that one of their number, a Mr. Ashley, was dying. We hastened to the Senate-House; and to me it seemed a great disaster, as I desired to hear some of the members in this first assembly in the United States. In some respects it was an advantage, however, inasmuch as it gave us an opportunity of entering the body of the hall, and holding personal intercourse with many of the members. Our friend Mr. Slicer,* who seemed perfectly at home with the senators, knew them all, and appeared to be much respected, introduced me to many; telling them who I was, and informing them of the nature of my mission to the States. They all shook me cordially by the hand, welcomed me into their country, and expressed the hope that I should be pleased and gratified. Amongst the gentlemen to whom I was thus introduced, were General Cass, Colonel Benton, General Foote, Colonel Davies, Captain Frémont, Mr. Calhoun, and many others. Of course, I looked with some attention upon General Cass, many of whose violent and belligerent speeches against this country, in connexion with the boundary and Oregon questions, I had read; and, moreover, who was then understood to be a candidate for the office of president. He is a stout, athletic man, about the middle size, but, for an American, rather corpulent and sanguiferous in his appearance; and, if his physiognomy did not greatly deceive me, he is a man of strong passions, capable, one would say, of being exalted into the furioso. His keen eye turned upon me, as I imagined, with a somewhat sinister glance; and, after a few remarks of no importance, he seemed glad to get away. Colonel Davies had been wounded in the Mexican war; was just recovering, but limped very much. This officer had greatly distinguished himself, but seemed, by his modesty, to be unconscious of his own fame. We had considerable conversation with this gentleman about Mexico and the war; and he showed himself to be a most amiable and well-informed man. Captain Frémont, who, I believe, is the son-in-law of General Cass, is a first-rate man. He conducted two or three scientific expeditions, for the purpose of exploring various portions of Oregon, California, and the Rocky Mountains, and making

* One of the chaplains of Congress.

observations on altitudes, levels, rivers, soils, mountains, &c. His reports of these journeys, now in my possession, are most interesting and able productions. But he showed, in one of these missions, that the man of science can also become the man of war. Believing that a certain course would be favourable to the political interests of his country, he laid aside the sextant for the sword; and it was very much owing to his exertions that California became American.

But we had most conversation with Mr. Calhoun. This distinguished senator is now in the autumn of life, the leaf is yellow. He is tall and thin, with an upright and erect bearing. His face is full of intelligence, of the sharp and acute kind; he looks as if it would be perfectly natural and easy in him to catch a poor wight bungling in his logic, and quite as easy to trip up his heels. With a visage somewhat elongated, pale, after the American fashion, there beams a keen eye, not devoid, however, of benignity, surmounted by a good, square, but not very lofty, brow, with snow-white hair, turned back after the clerical fashion. We spent considerable time in the body of the hall in conversation with this gentleman. He seemed anxious respecting our country, and European affairs in general; and urged the usual questions respecting the Chartist riots, the state of Ireland, the prospects of a revolution, and all the rest. The customary answers were given. I came from the presence of Mr. Calhoun with the impression that I had seen and conversed with a really great man; one of the first, if not the very first, I had met with in the United States. I was grieved not to hear him speak. He had just been delivering an interesting speech on a message that morning received from the president on a very important subject. However, as we were not permitted to hear, we were much pleased to see, so distinguished a citizen and statesman.

The House of Representatives were in session, and we hastened from this conversation to listen to the debates. The President had that morning sent a message to the two Houses, recommending a military intervention in the affair of the Yucatan civil war, then raging between the Indians and the people of Spanish descent. This promised to be an interesting topic. We heard some five or six gentlemen deliver their sentiments. Their mode of debate seemed peculiar. Very little was said on the

merits of the question; almost all the speakers arguing on constitutional points, as to how the matter could be rightly disposed of, how it could be made to agree with this and the other rule of the House, and the provisions of the law. This, of course, prevented all effusions of eloquence, all fine bursts of feeling, all argument on the real question. A dry detail of opinion on the subjects mooted was nearly all we heard. One gentleman, indeed, Mr. Joseph Ingersoll, was impassioned and eloquent, and indicated that he was in possession of considerable powers of debate. There sat in the chair one of the Winthrops. Honoured name! Descended from a good stock; the first, one of the fathers of America, and his descendants amongst the most virtuous and patriotic of the citizens. It is delightful to see talent and virtue hereditary; and the expectation and belief was expressed, that the present worthy Speaker of the House of Representatives would some day be the president of the United States.

From thus examining the capitol, conversing with the senators, and listening to the members of the House of Representatives, we hastened to the president's house, to see if we could gain access, and be favoured with an interview with the first magistrate of the republic.

On our arrival we met with a black man, the only servant of the president we saw; and, on asking whether it would be possible to obtain an interview, he said he saw no difficulty in the case, but would inquire. He went, with Mr. Slicer's compliments, and soon returned with a message that the president would be very happy to see us. We were ushered, not into a drawing-room, or state-apartment, but into a business office, with desks, tables, pens and ink, bundles of state-papers, and books on business. And there stood to receive us, to shake us by the hand, to bid us welcome, the chief of the greatest republic, if not the greatest state, in the world. He accosted us very kindly, and bade us be seated, at the same time resuming his own chair.

My embarrassment left me in a moment. I had felt some little trepidation at the idea of being brought into contact with a man so high in station. His demeanour, however, soon dissipated this feeling. There was no state etiquette observed, no ceremonies but such as common courtesy demanded, and might be performed by the plainest person; no court dress, no cocked hat,

no sword and sash, no bowing the knee, no kissing of hands, and, moreover, no peer of the realm, or officer of the court, necessary to gain an introduction: a black boy, to obtain his master's assent, and to show us the way, seemed all that was expected. With our European notions, this did not really look like an introduction to the head of a mighty nation. Truly this American republicanism must either be considered as a great retrogression into the ages of social simplicity, when shepherds and farmers left their flocks and ploughs to command armies and govern states, and then returned to their avocations; or else it must be considered as a vast stretch into the future, the anticipation of something to come, the model of a perfectly new order of things. It is most assuredly not identical with what has been, and continues to be, in the Old World. Is this simplicity agreeable to nature, to common sense, to the truth of things? I confess, these questions puzzled me at the time, and continue still to puzzle me. There is a fascination, a charm, about royalty, greatness, courts, presentations, and all the embroidery connected with these things, which make it difficult for one to think that there is no reality in them, that they can be done without. So much of power, of influence, of government, have stood connected with the old names, and insignia of thrones and courts, that many of us cannot dispossess our minds of the idea that there is great use, though we may not know how, in these external accompaniments of states.

Here, then, we were, four Methodist preachers, and one merchant, snugly ensconced in a government-office, a sort of counting-house, with President Polk, one of the greatest men, by position, in the world! Who could forget some of the documents which had issued from this centre of power, this heart of American diplomacy? Decrees had been framed here which had thrilled through the body politic in every part of the world, producing mighty palpitations of heart, and convulsive throes! Who could forget some of President Polk's own "messages," directed from this very desk, and carried probably by the black boy to their destinations? The policy and messages of this very president have produced strange emotions. They once filled Great Britain, if not with consternation, yet, at any rate, with indignation; they put the Parliament of England into a ferment, and called forth the impassioned eloquence of men of all parties; they made

it expedient to employ the diplomatic skill of Lord Ashburton, esteemed, at the time, one of the most sagacious peers of the realm; they led to treaties but little relished, and much condemned by some of the best sons of the British empire; and they resulted in the political exaltation, strength, and aggrandisement of America. Some of these messages, moreover, moved the military forces of the republic, by land and sea, to the invasion of Mexico; to the victories of Taylor and Scott; to the spoiling of a feeble people; and led to the annexation to the States of a territory, but little, if at all, inferior to the whole of Europe. These are some of the effects produced by the decrees sent forth from this place, with the signature of this plain little man. Things are not then to be estimated by the appearance. The room is common, but it is the centre of mighty forces; the president appears destitute of the forms of majesty, but possesses its reality; the missiles lying about are not artillery, swords, and helmets, but they move, they shake the world.

And what of President Polk himself? He is small of stature, and the opposite of corpulent. There is somewhat of a cadaverous and American look about him; but he is grave, thoughtful, meditative, and slow and measured in his speech. A thin face is surmounted by a fine brow, and his features indicate great decision and unconquerable firmness. President Polk's demeanour is perfectly simple, his conversation natural and easy, his dress plain, after the American fashion, and his whole contour irresistibly reminds one of the venerable Puritans. In the course of a lengthened conversation, besides the matters relating to the Chartists, the Irish, and other general questions, two or three points of great consideration were introduced. Some one having mentioned the necessity of American intervention in the affairs of Yucatan, in agreement with the president's message of the morning, it was added, "If we do not interfere, some one of the European powers will;" referring to England. The president promptly remarked, "But we will not let them;" and then added, "We do not meddle in European affairs, and we will not allow them to intermeddle in American." Here is a political axiom for Lord John Russell and his successors in office to meditate upon, a difficulty to solve! James Munroe's principle of "America for the Americans," has been fully adopted by President Polk. It was,

indeed, no mystery before; it had been proclaimed in many of his state-documents, and was here unequivocally asserted. Well, but Canada, and the British provinces! These are in America, they constitute a portion of its territory, they are in the possession of an independent power; and this presupposes political rights and duties on the part of Great Britain. Does the fact that these possessions are colonies, and not independent states, deprive the parent state of the right to interfere in general questions? This seems to be the notion, the dogma, assumed. Time must solve this point. It was also said by some one respecting the Mexican war, that the American armies might as well have finished the work of conquest, and taken the entire country, as they would certainly possess it some day. To this the president replied, "Ah, but the apple is not yet ripe." "Not yet ripe!" Who does not see the meaning of this? When it is "ripe," it will fall.

The black boy came to announce his master's dinner; we made our bows, shook hands, and parted.

Our indefatigable friend, Mr. Slicer, had not yet satisfied his own kind intentions; and took us at once to the vice-president's room. We gained an easy access. Here we found one of the most handsome men it was ever my pleasure to see. Vice-President Dallas is somewhat beyond middle life. He possesses a fine and engaging person; a countenance perfectly ruddy and blooming, an unusual thing in an American; dark eyes bright as the morning and evening stars; his brow is good and spacious, with hair white as snow. We remained here about half an hour, talking on the usual European and American topics. This gentleman had the kindness to present me with a copy of Hickey's "Constitution of the United States," writing his name in the title-page, together with a large bundle of state-papers, prepared by order of Congress on the subject of Mexico and California.

From the rooms of the vice-president we went to visit the Patent-Office. The large upper room is two hundred and seventy-five feet in length, and sixty-five feet wide, which is appropriated to the collections of the National Institution. Here was a most superb collection of plants, minerals, and specimens of the American animal kingdom. The enormous birds, serpents, and animals of South America exhibited in this room, are most remarkable.

But the two things which attracted most of my attention were, a collection of bugs, and General Washington's camp-equipage. Being somewhat personally interested in the first, on the ground of old acquaintance' sake, they could not be regarded but with some emotion. The prodigious size of some of these creatures is frightful. They are more like reptiles than any thing else. The idea of having these monstrous vermin in bed, crawling about, and sucking one's blood, is perfectly horrifying. Their "local habitation" is in the hot and sunny south: had they found a home in the north, I should have had ample experience of their nocturnal visits;—bad enough as it was, but the warfare of the night must have been ten times worse, if these southern gentry could have lived in the regions I visited.

The camp-equipage of Washington is entire. His military costume, his tea-kettle, his gridiron, and all the rest of the utensils employed in the camp-life of the general, are sacredly preserved. And here hang the very coat, vest, smallclothes, boots, spurs, sword and belt, of the great patriot! The identical clothes he wore when commanding the forces of his country, gaining the victories of independence, establishing the nationality of the colonies, and paving the way for a new order of things in the world, are kept as relics, with as much care as a saint's coat in a popish church. Who could look upon these things without deep feeling? The country is studded with his statues; but I confess I could not view these effigies of Washington with the same feelings as possessed me when standing before the mute, but in some sort speaking, costume and habiliments of war which he had actually worn. It seemed as if his own spirit were present, though unseen. Is this feeling superstition? Does hero-worship originate in this class of sensations? The Americans next-to-adore, with reason, the founder and father of his country. So pure, so disinterested, so exalted a patriot never adorned the annals of time. Moreover, he is believed to have been a true Christian. His whole career is said to have been mixed with much prayer. He was known to have retired to the woods, away from the bustle of the camp, on all emergencies, to acknowledge and seek direction from God. His great battles were always so prefaced; and the more pressing the emergency and desperate the state of affairs, the more he was observed to frequent the solitudes of

nature for purposes of devotion. Bishop Asbury says, on occasion of his death, "At all times he acknowledged the providence of God, and never was ashamed of his Redeemer: we believe he died not fearing death. In his will he ordered the manumission of his slaves,—a true son of liberty in all points." How different a character is Washington to such charlatans as Bonaparte, and men of his class! and how equally different the issue of their work! Had he lived in the times when greatness in men was thought to be divine, and they, in consequence, were deified; when shrines were erected to their honour, and they became objects of popular adoration,—had Washington lived in these times, he would have been the god of America. As it is, he is their *model-man*. If they cultivate his spirit, adhere to his maxims, imitate his moderation, and preserve and work out his wise and judicious theories of government, they must prosper.

We turned our backs on the city bearing the name of this wonderful man, and which was projected by his genius, with deep feeling. We had collected ample material for reflection. The things and the men there seen, were not likely to be lost sight of: they could not, they never can, be forgotten. Our good friend the chaplain pressed me very urgently to remain over the sabbath, and take his place by preaching to the Congress. This I should gladly have done, but had engaged to officiate in Baltimore. We arrived in that city late in the evening, well repaid for our day's excursion.

The sabbath came; as bright and glorious a day as ever dawned on earth. It was the first I had fully spent in America, and brought with it the rest and spiritual exercises I had long sighed to enjoy. I preached twice, to large and apparently very serious and devout congregations. Here I felt quite at home, amongst our own people, just the same as in England. This was very different from the promiscuous and mixed groups I had to address on board ship. The worship was solemn, spiritual, and holy; God was, as we trust, present, and the people "shouted aloud for joy."

In the course of the day we visited two or three Roman Catholic places of worship, and amongst the rest the cathedral, a splendid building, full of fine paintings. Here I saw, for the first and only time of my life, the railroad principle applied to the purposes of worship. There was provided a tram-road to wheel round the pulpit, from some conve-

nient nook, which was its common resting-place, to the centre of the building, where the officiating minister might stand and obtain a commanding position for addressing the people. Nothing comes amiss to papists; they have the adroitness to press every thing into the service of the church. It can be no matter of surprise, if, at some time, they employ steam-power to work their machinery, to ring their bells, to shift and move the scenery of their dramatic exhibitions; and to work the innumerable springs, pullies, and wires of their scenic worship. And, for aught we can see, the mummeries of the system might as well be worked by steam as by living men: as no soul is required, the element of liquid smoke might serve perfectly, and save money.

Whether from the power of association, or the reality of things, I know not, but I liked Baltimore as much, or more than any city I saw in America. It is, indeed, a beautiful place. The houses are fine, spacious, and elegant. There is, moreover, an air of aristocracy which is seldom to be met with. It is clear enough that aristocrats reside in this place; and although the Americans decry this class of men constantly, yet there is certainly something about a people, and institutions, of the aristocratic cast, which gives the impression of superior dignity. We were now, indeed, in one of the slave-holding states; and from the specimen given in this and other places visited, it is pretty apparent, that the system of slavery tends to produce this spirit. Indeed, the slave-holder, in despite of the prejudices against the name, exhibits all the characteristics of a perfect feudal aristocracy. As I understood, his house is, generally, in the case of the wealthy classes, a complete palace; princely in its dimensions, its furniture, its ornaments, and its luxuries. How can it be otherwise, with a man who is the lord of a great number, not of vassals, but of slaves? These poor creatures are the absolute property of the master, obedient to his behests, the panderers to his passions and appetites, and in all things the servants of his caprices. The young gentlemen and ladies, brought up in the midst of slavery, learn, as early as they are capable of authority, imperiously to command the service of the menials of their father. They stir not without their attendance; they are waited upon in the most trivial matters; they are fanned when the weather is hot, and guarded in the most assiduous manner from the approach of the buzzing insect; whilst all their wants

are, if possible, more than anticipated by the black slaves. What is all this, if not feudal aristocracy, in its most revolting features? The lords of the European nations, when the institution existed in its most perfect glory, were never in so transcendental a state of power as these gentlemen. Their vassals, though low enough in the scale of humanity, were not so degraded as these Africans. The right of the seigneurs of Europe to exact the services of their serfs, never amounted to the absolute dominion of the slave-holder. Probably the rule of the Roman Catholic church, which at first, and for many subsequent years, was paramount in this place, had something to do with this aristocratic character. The first colonists, as is well known, were of the Roman Catholic persuasion; and hence the cathedral, and other splendid churches, are now amongst the chief ornaments of the city. Sir John Calvert, afterwards Lord Baltimore, from whom the city takes its name, was in early life a Protestant; but afterwards embracing the Romish faith, became the means of establishing that system of religion extensively in the colony. The present prelate is an American, the first ever appointed to the see; it having long been the policy of the popes to select foreigners, generally Irishmen.

Baltimore is sometimes called "the Monumental City," by reason of the number of statues it contains.

"The Washington Monument, at the intersection of Charles and Monument streets, is a noble specimen of architecture, both in design and execution. Built on an eminence one hundred feet above tide-water, it rises majestically above the city, at once forming its noble embellishment, and a conspicuous landmark to travellers and voyagers. The monument consists of a Doric column, rising from a base of fifty feet square, and twenty high. Its height is one hundred and eighty feet, including the statue of Washington, which is sixteen feet. The base is ascended by a flight of twenty-eight steps; the ascent to the summit is by a winding staircase, or flight of two hundred steps. The cost of the monument, including the statue, was 200,000 dollars."

This is, indeed, a noble pillar. The above description, though, no doubt, accurate in detail, gives but an inadequate notion of the majestic appearance of this splendid work of art.

Heroes are not likely to be forgotten in America, any more than elsewhere. We have another called Battle Monument, erected to the memory of those who fell

defending the city in September, 1814, at the corner of Calvert and Fayette streets.

"The square sub-base on which the pedestal, or column, rests, rises twenty feet from the ground, with an Egyptian door on each front, on which are appropriate inscriptions, in *basso relievo*, of some of the incidents of the battle. The column rises eighteen feet above the base. This, which is of marble, in the form of Roman fasces, is enriched by bands, on which are inscribed, in letters of gold, the names of those whose memory and patriotic valour the monument is designed to commemorate. The column is surmounted by a female figure, in marble, emblematic of the city of Baltimore. The whole height is fifty-two feet."

Such are some of the architectural ornaments of this city. But none of them equal the Popish cathedral. This, in point of fact, is the true monument of the place; and, as far as such things are concerned, its distinction and glory. It reminds one of home, of Europe, more than any thing I saw in the United States; and tends to give this city a peculiarly European appearance. Such are the types of time. America is pre-eminently, in its whole appearance, the emblem, the type, of modern ideas; but there is just one memorial of the past, of a defunct age. In the midst of the simple forms of republicanism, the activity of commercial life, the humble and unostentatious churches of Protestantism;—the cathedral of Baltimore seems to stand as the catacomb, the mausoleum of departed ages; and as a mighty fragment, a rock, separated by some great convulsion from surrounding things. Nothing appears in unison; it stands in solitude, in the midst of a vast population, having no sympathy to bestow, and receiving none from the young generation around.

On Monday morning, May 1st, we took an affectionate adieu of our dear friend Sargeant, and the Baltimore people, and set out by the railroad for Cumberland. Our party had now increased. Besides Mr. Porter, we here met with Dr. Pierce, the representative from the South Methodist church to the Pittsburgh Conference, Dr. Bond, the editor of the Christian Advocate in New-York, and a gentleman and his son, planters and slave-holders, from the Mississippi State, Methodists and very agreeable persons. The assembling of these parties in the same vehicle was rather ominous; nobody could tell to what it might lead, whether the peace would be kept, or the tedium of our journey be relieved by a polemic war. The

two doctors were amongst the heads and chiefs of the great controversy, which had been going on for the past four years, and which had ended in dividing the church; the one by his pen, and the other by his *vivâ voce* eloquence. They had been old friends; and it was pleasing to see, that the undying instincts of Christian love soon gained the ascendant. The knotty questions in dispute were forgotten, or only referred to in general terms; and the North and South, at any rate, in this journey, met without collision.

Our route lay along a very interesting country, partly in the State of Maryland, and partly in Virginia. We beheld a great number of slaves at work in the fields; the first I had seen at their degrading labours. They exhibited no life, no activity, in their occupation; but seemed to drag themselves along, as if existence were a weariness; they plied their implements of industry, careless as to the amount of work done, or studious to do as little as possible. My companion, Mr. Porter, a staunch anti-slavery man, descanted on the deleterious effects of slavery on the soil itself; endeavouring to prove that Maryland and Virginia were worn out by this kind of cultivation. Whether it is so or not, I cannot pretend to determine; but the whole country where these slaves were at work, has an extremely barren appearance. Such is the decree of God, that this enormous evil may wear itself out, and the planters be obliged to turn to the cultivation of such productions as may make it profitable to employ free labour. God appears to curse with sterility the land cultivated by slaves. The planters, I was informed, were getting very poor; and it was, apparently, becoming their interest to turn their attention to something else in the place of tobacco and the other productions on which slave labour is chiefly employed. We passed on, and soon lost sight of the haggard, dispirited, broken-hearted, oppressed slave. Those fields had witnessed the labour, the tears, the blood, of their race, for generations; and, for aught which appears, must continue to witness the same miseries in their children, unless Heaven shall, in mercy, increase the intensity of his malediction, and render the country completely sterile. But would this be any relief? No; these poor wretches would be sold, and sent further south; and if even the same fate should follow them into the Carolinas and Georgia, still there are the Texas, Mexico, and California, to be peopled and cultivated by this unfortunate race. The

evil seems to be indefinite, eternal. Provision has been made, designedly or otherwise, by the conquests of the States, for the progress of this scourge, for all time to come.

Harper's Ferry, a curious phenomenon of nature, lay in our line, and as it was our dining-place, and the Americans not being so exact, as to time, as the railroad authorities in this country, I obtained an interval, which, though brief, enabled me to take a look at the scenery, in itself pre-eminently grand.

"Harper's Ferry is situated in Jefferson county, Virginia, at the confluence of the Shenandoah and Potomac rivers, at the passage of these streams through the Blue Ridge, upwards of one thousand two hundred feet in height. At this point, the two streams, in search of an outlet to the sea, and each, as it were, conscious of the insufficiency of its separate exertions to overcome the barrier that opposes its progress, united their waters, and, rushing in one impetuous current against the mountain, rent it asunder. Such, it is thought, was the origin of a scene which Mr. Jefferson has characterized as 'one of the most stupendous in nature.'

"The scenery is of the wildest and most majestic character. Jefferson's Rock, named after Mr. Jefferson, and the spot where he wrote a description of the place, in his 'Notes on Virginia,' is a place of huge detached rocks, leaning over the steep cliffs of the Shenandoah, and looking into the mountain-gorge of the Potomac. Its top, almost level, is twelve feet square; its base, not exceeding five feet in width, rests upon the top of a large mass of rock jetting out from the hill. It is a wild 'eagle's nest,' which, as Jefferson truly declares, is worth a trip across the ocean to behold. It is not, however, equal to the enchanting scene presented to the view from the opposite mountain, about a mile and a half up, on the Maryland side. From this the beholder surveys with admiration a large extent of country, fields, woodlands, and plantations; whilst the beautiful Shenandoah, as it breaks upon the magic picture, appears like a series of beautiful lakes."

Such is Harper's Ferry. It is very tantalizing to be within sight of a great object of curiosity, and not be able to reach it. This was our case. We were at the foot of this "rock:" it stood towering above us; and yet our time would not allow us to ascend. But so far as the slight glimpses which we could obtain, by running here and there to catch a bird's-eye view, the above appeared a tolerably correct description. And yet, after all, descriptive writing must always depend upon the vision, the brain, the nervous system, and the grouping powers of the observer. Had we obtained our desired point of

observation, no doubt the prospect would have varied itself, in some degree, from the account given by other minds.

In this journey our line lay, for many miles, along the meanderings of the beautiful Potomac. Nature, as if in bounty to man, had just left room enough for a road between the banks of the river and very lofty and precipitous rocks. This made the route perfectly romantic, and the scenery beautifully picturesque and agreeable. The Americans have been charged with travelling slowly by their trains. The mystery, however, was, that they could get on at all in the midst of the elbows, curves, and bends of this serpentine course; and yet, with the difficulties of this zig-zag kind of movement, we reached Cumberland from Baltimore, a distance of one hundred and seventy-eight miles, in about nine hours.

Cumberland lies at the foot of the Alleghany mountains, which we had now to cross in "stages" in the night. I had determined to remain here till morning, being desirous of gaining as complete a view as possible of these lofty regions. But I was informed that the proprietors of the "stages" never insured a passage, unless they could obtain the full complement of nine, this being the number which one of the coaches would accommodate; and, likewise, that it was perfectly uncertain as to whether there would be any such number to cross the following day. Hence, no choice was left. I was unwilling to run the hazard of losing a day, and therefore preferred to mount the "stage," and cross the mighty barrier betwixt the east and the west.

"The Alleghany Mountains, otherwise called the *Appalaches*, from a tribe of Indians, who lived on the banks of the Appalachikola, (or Alleghany,) a river which proceeds from these mountains, are a part of that extensive range which is situated between the Atlantic, the Mississippi, and the lakes of North America; and which runs in a direction from south-west to north-east, passing through the country of the United States, and giving origin to many rivers, that flow either into the Gulf of Mexico, or into the Western Ocean. As the Alleghany Mountains form a principal part of the chain just alluded to, they often give their name to the whole group. This range commences in Georgia, stretches northwards and eastwards through the territory of Virginia, passes on in the same direction through Pennsylvania and the northern countries, and terminates in the division of New-Brunswick. Its whole extent, according to Pinkerton, is not less than nine hundred geographical miles. As it approaches its termination, the mass rises in height; the chief summits are in New-

Hampshire, and are reported to be nearly eight thousand feet above the level of the ocean. Besides the main ridge, there are several others which are collateral to it, as the Iron or Bald Mountains, the White-Oak Mountains, and the Blue Mountains,—the Cumberland Mountains forming the exterior skirt towards the north-west. The breadth of the whole is often equal to seventy miles."

This was about the breadth of the mountain where we passed.

Our cavalcade consisted of six or eight stages, all well horsed and manned. On leaving Cumberland we instantly plunged into the midst of rocks and precipices, the road meandering its course amongst gullies and cataracts, and then again by the side of the rising mountain. The scene was unmixed forest; for though the mountain, of course, consists of rock, yet, as is the case every where else, it was covered from the bottom to its most elevated summit with noble trees. Having two or three hours before night closed the prospect from our view, I had consequently that space to look upon the scene as we passed along. The impression was a very melancholy one, in exact agreement with the sombre aspect of all things around:—the stillness, the indefinite and mystic character of the forest, as if forming a sort of infinite labyrinth; the stupendous rocks and precipices; the moaning of the waters, as they rolled down the gullies, or dashed amongst the stones; the wilderness itself, which seemed vocal with no note of bird or voice of man; and then the gradual approach of night, till the curtain dropped. This general gloom, I confess, produced in me the most melancholy sensations. This state of mind, however, is not unfavourable to reflection. The forest taught its moral! The trees appeared not in uniform life, verdure, and beauty. Great numbers lay prostrate on the ground in total decay, even their form nearly gone; and mother earth seemed about again to receive to her embrace those noble forms of life which had been nursed at her bosom, and had been the ornaments of the forest in other years and centuries. Others had more recently fallen, and retained their perfect shape, though beginning to decompose and lose something of their texture as wood, and change into that of earth. Again, others, and that in greater numbers, had been riven, by time or the storm, from their grasp of the soil, and leaned upon their neighbours, younger and stronger than themselves, for support. The space, however, was filled up; no room was lost; the

generation now in their prime stood towering over the prostrate and decaying; and innumerable young ones, of every age and size, filled every atom of soil left betwixt the living and the dead. Who could help thinking of human nature? of the generations of the past, of the active spirits now occupying their place, soon to follow them; of the young plants of humanity, so blooming, so beautiful, so sanguine, so full of hope and joy; waiting for their turn, and impatient for the removal of the generation standing in the way of their enterprise and ambition? That forest was to me a lesson. It served to furnish matter for reflection in the darkness; and as the sun retired, and hung around us the sable curtain of night, the moral seemed complete.

Our long train of "stages," with their brilliant lamps, reflected by the foliage, presented a singular appearance, and not devoid of interest and beauty. It became very cold as we ascended the mountain, and we were glad to halt for supper. This was served, considering the character of the place, in very good style; and, no doubt, we did it justice. After a good warming, we again renewed our journey. The road is designated "national," being prepared at the public expense; but unpleasantly rough. The shaking and jolting, the up-and-down kind of exercise we had to endure, made sleep in my case quite out of the question. Hearing a remarkable noise as we proceeded, I inquired of my companions what it meant; and was informed that it arose from the merry-making of frogs. The sound was not a *croak*, but a *chirp*, very much like that of crickets by our fire-sides, only much louder. For many miles the mountain was perfectly vocal with the music of these happy creatures. How good is God! All things serve him in their season. This concert of frogs broke the tedium of the journey and the gloom of night; and it became my business to listen to this singular melody for several hours.

All my companions, being accustomed to this kind of travelling, slept soundly; but I "watched for the morning" with great desire. At length it came. We had reached the summit of the mountain, and were now beginning to descend. The sun rose; and it was never my fortune to behold such a sunrise. As he ascended the skies, they appeared tinged by the most beautiful and variegated colours imaginable. They were clothed in the most gorgeous dress; the deep blue being

relieved and diversified by banks of clouds, their edges being tinged with all the colours of the rainbow. But on looking out on my left hand, I saw something which I took to be a prodigious lake; and, being surprised at so singular a phenomenon appearing on the top of a mountain, roused one of my fellow-travellers, and asked, "What lake is that on the left?" He rubbed his eyes, and grumbled out, "I reckon there is no lake here." He closed them again, and I could obtain no information. I continued to gaze; and felt certain that the object seen was the waters of a lake or sea, stretching to an indefinite extent, and losing itself in the distance. After ruminating in this uncertainty for some considerable time, it occurred to me that possibly it might be the MIRAGE, so often referred to by eastern travellers. So it turned out. We were at a great distance from either lake or sea; but the sun had given the rising mist this peculiar appearance. No wonder that the pilgrims of the desert, in imagination, quenched their burning thirst, and plunged their weary limbs, in one of these illusive seas. Attracted by the promise of water, they rushed towards a blessing which retired as they approached, and left them still a prey to thirst and misery. Had it been my lot to command a steamer, or vessel of any kind, I should not have doubted for a moment that the sea I fancied I saw, would furnish depth and space enough for her navigation. Such are the illusions of life! A few moments sufficed to dissipate these vapoury deceptions; it may, perchance, take a longer period to disenchant the soul of the haze around her being, arising from the unreal objects of desire and hope; but the time is certain to come when the *mirage* will be dissipated, and the mountain scenery of life, rough and rugged, will appear in its true character.

But a more gorgeous deception awaited us. Turning my eyes to the other side of the mountain, I beheld another most magnificent spectacle. This arose from the agency of the same causes: the mist lying on the side of the mountain, and the beams of the rising sun shining upon it. But in this instance his rays were not absorbed, but reflected, and the appearance was not that of water, but of fire. How shall a description of this wonderful scene be attempted? We have no analogies. It was unlike any thing ever beheld by me. Nothing either in the heavens or on the earth can furnish any terms of comparison or modes of illustration. The point of observation in

surveying the beauties of the heavens is from below. We see all their glories over our heads. But in this case we were elevated above the phenomenon; we did not look up, but down; the magnificent spectacle lay at our feet,—like the *mirage* on the other side the mountain,—stretching to an indefinite distance. Again, this spectacle had not the appearance of mountains of clouds, heaped one upon another, variegated by tints and hues of many colours, their edges dipped in gold, and reflecting every possible form of beauty; it was uniform, presenting the same aspect and colour; the intensity of its brightness seemed not to admit of variation; the one element swallowed up all inferior forms, and absorbed them in its own indivisible purity and lustre. The arch of heaven, the rainbow, the rising and setting sun, the brilliant noonday,—none of these can give a notion of this splendid illusion. Its position was longitudinal; its surface, its bosom, like that of the ocean, seen from a lofty elevation, presented itself to view as at a great distance below;—reflecting the sun's beams back again to their fountain, and giving their dazzling brightness as if in emulation of the parent orb. To what shall we compare it? *It looked like a sea of glory!* I gazed and gazed on this lovely object, till dragged by the rumbling motion of our vehicle beyond the sight of the deceptive vision. We were soon lowered to the common level; and, leaving these regions of splendour and magic grandeur, were called to move along the common road, in the midst of clouds and shadows.

Notwithstanding all that we had seen on the mountain, we were thankful enough to get to Uniontown, warm our almost frozen limbs, and regale ourselves with breakfast. Those necessary duties being soon despatched, we hastened to Brownville, where a steamer awaited our arrival to conduct us to Pittsburgh.

The Monongahela, on which we embarked, descends from the mountain in this direction, and forms a fine navigation, meandering its course through a picturesque country to its destination. We now found ourselves in the great Valley of the Mississippi; which, commencing at this point, stretches to the Rocky Mountains. These two ranges of mountains, in the geography of the continent, are held to be the barriers, on the east and west, of this prodigious tract of country. The immense space lying between us at the moment of our embarcation

at Brownville, at the foot of the Alleghanies, to the great barriers raised by the Rocky Mountains, and separating the Western States from Oregon, is considered a part of this valley. The Mississippi itself may be taken as the centre line of this great tract of country, stretching from north to south, prepared by nature herself as a drain for the waters descending from the east and west. We were now on one of these streams; flowing, in the main, from the east in a westerly course, to join the rivers descending in the opposite direction; and, as it were, to meet in fraternal union in the arms of the "father of waters."

Every thing now seemed different. The climate became genial and balmy, and the soil much richer; vegetation appeared luxuriant; the trees were giving out their foliage, and the shrubs and plants their colours and fragrance, more richly; the skies were clear and lofty, the sun warm and cheering, whilst every breeze seemed to bear life and vivacity on its wings. The river was enchanting. From the edge of the waters the banks gradually sloped up so as to form a hilly embankment on each side, covered with various trees, now enriched with variegated hues. The channel of the river appeared to have been scooped out of the solid earth by some giant power, its level being below the adjoining country, so as completely to embosom its waters in overhanging woods. This beautiful, umbrageous, woody, sylvan scene was, it is true, broken in upon, now and then, by human habitations, little villages, and places of incipient commerce; but, generally speaking, we passed through silent and unbroken solitudes. Taking a chair, and placing it under the awning of the steamer, I gazed in a sort of intoxication, wonder, and ecstasy, in perfect silence, or, at any rate, unwilling to be disturbed for any purpose. I can never forget the effect this scenery had upon my feelings, in this first sight of its peculiar loveliness. I looked till my eyes grew dim with the dazzling luxuriance of the ever-varying prospect, and my brain fairly ached with the attempt to form some notion of its unique grandeur.

On our descent the banks of the river became more precipitous and rocky; and a considerable distance above Pittsburgh, the causes of its manufacturing greatness and wealth began to appear. For many miles beds of coal projected their crust and edge upon the banks of the river;

and, here and there, the collier had employed his mattock and spade in digging out of the side of the hill this valuable article of manufacture. The trouble and cost of the operation consisted in getting it out of the rock and transporting it to its destination. A slide of planks, fixed at the mouth of the level, was placed, from whence the coals were rolled down into a boat below prepared to receive them. This was all the expense and labour attendant upon procuring this valuable article. The same is the case with iron ore. This is as abundant as coal, and is procured and removed in the same manner. How different is the operation in our country! It occurred to me, that one of our friends had a pit in this locality, (Birmingham,) on which he had just expended twelve or fifteen hundred pounds, to ascertain whether there was a bed of coal on his property. The Americans are saved this uncertainty and expense altogether. They know before they use a tool that their exertions will not be in vain; for they see the coal and iron challenging their labour, and inviting them to enterprise. The advantage of the rivalry of the two countries, in this respect, is greatly on the side of the Americans.

CHAP. V.—*Pittsburgh—Lodge at the St. Charles—The Conference—The Bishops—The Preachers—Bishop Soule—The Southern Ministers—Public Services—The Company at the St. Charles—The Town—Manufactures—The African Church—Preach to the Blacks—Curious Scene—Leave Pittsburgh—Take leave of Bishop Soule—His Character—The Ohio—Wheeling—Bishop Campbell—Mesmerism.*

WE made Pittsburgh about five o'clock. On calling with the other ministers at the Book-Concern, I found I was appointed to take up my abode at the St. Charles Hotel. This excellent house was kept by Mr. Miller, who with his wife was very friendly. We met with several preachers domiciled with us; all very agreeable and excellent men. I was at once installed as the entire master of a commodious sleeping-room; and our party had the privilege of meeting together in the evenings in the family parlour. This arrangement proved to be very agreeable to all of us, as it afforded the means of private intercourse apart from the general company. We took our meals at the public table. A large and spacious room was occupied for breakfast, dinner, and tea; if any one chose supper, he ordered it specifically, and took it in his own apart-

ment. This was our daily routine as to the common-place matter of eating and drinking. Our fare was excellent; made up of many sorts of the more substantial dishes and dessert every day, and all prepared in the best possible manner. We often found an aggregate of not less than two hundred, scarcely ever fewer than one hundred and fifty. These parties consisted of travellers, men of business, inhabitants of the town, and, for the time being, of Methodist preachers. I soon found my position very pleasant; and the thing I most coveted was now put into my hands,—an opportunity of observing American character and manners on a large and diversified scale.

Being now fixed in my comfortable domicile, the next thing was to open my commission. It began with a diplomatic blunder. My friend Stevens, from Boston, an inmate at our house, told me he would arrange with one of the senior brethren to introduce me to the Conference; and, in due time, call for me. Accordingly in a while he made his appearance, and informed me he had spoken to one of the elder ministers who had agreed to perform the duty of introducing me. We went together to the church where the assembly was sitting, and I made my way into the midst of the preachers. Happening to take a seat near my old friend Dr. Durbin, I accosted him, and at first he did not know me; but, soon recovering from this absence of mind, he said, I had done wrong in coming in, that they were about to send a deputation to introduce me in form, and that I should have waited. I offered to retire; but he proposed to speak to the bishops; and, on his doing so, they desired me to remain. In a short time they called me up; and when I had delivered my credentials, Bishop Hedding introduced me to the Conference, making such observations as occurred to him. In the few remarks I made, the official short-hand writer entirely misreported me in one particular. He represented me as saying that we, the English Methodists, were "all on one side;" whilst the fact is, I said, "We were all on the side of liberty, of emancipation." By this interpretation of my remarks, I was made to assume the position of a partisan in the great dispute between the North and the South; whereas nothing could by possibility be farther from my thoughts or meaning. Were it not that I considered myself, not as a private person, but as the representative of the British Conference, and that they have an interest in the

spirit and manner in which the person representing them was received, propriety would dictate that I should be silent on many things which occurred at this first meeting, and on many subsequent occasions. But seeing that the Methodist body in England in some sort stood in my person, in the presence of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, in fraternal relations, undoubtedly those who sent me have a right to know how their greetings were received. They may, then, be assured that they were hailed in the most cordial, affectionate, and Christian spirit and manner. When the British Conference (for so the matter is to be understood) was introduced to the American body, as a mark of respect and good-will, every minister present spontaneously, not by order of the chair, stood up, and paid the parent body the most profound and hearty respect. This was done in a manner not to be mistaken. Nothing trifling, formal, diplomatic, marked the movement. It was not the expression of mere courtesy to a stranger; it was the manly burst of affectionate regard for a body to whom, I am perfectly sure, they feel the most devout attachment. After these introductory greetings were finished, one of the brethren offered a resolution, to the effect, that the British representative should be incorporated amongst themselves as a member of Conference, and should be invited to take part in their proceedings and debates, as he might find it convenient, and be so disposed. This resolution was unanimously carried.

Not content with a public recognition, the five bishops came that evening to my lodgings to pay their respects; not to me, let it always be kept in mind, but to the Methodist church in this country. This they did in the most handsome and hearty manner. The conversation turned, as might be expected, on the affairs of Methodism in both countries. I found the bishops, on this and all subsequent occasions, deeply interested in our affairs. Looking up to us as the elder branch of the great Methodistic family, from whence they received their own birth and blessings, they evidently entertain a most ardent attachment to us; and, whether well or ill deserved, certainly a high opinion of our religious state. Whatever may be the fact respecting the sentiments and feelings of the political society towards the mother country,—and on this question my opinions differ from those who consider the great body of the American people as hostile to Great Britain,—most

assuredly, there is nothing of ill-will in the Methodist bishops, ministers, and people towards their brethren in England. All our old and distinguishing characteristics, such as the itinerancy, class-meetings, and other advantages; the state of piety and experimental religion, the progress we were making, as well as our doctrinal fidelity; were all matters of inquiry on the part of the bishops. After an interesting and lengthy conversation on these and kindred subjects, we parted; certainly with a deep impression left on my mind, that the American church was greatly favoured in its chief officers.

Having given a narrative of Conference proceedings elsewhere, the account need not be entered upon here. The few remarks which remain to be made, must refer to men and things. I happened to be placed in a most favourable position to see and hold intercourse with every body. All had free access to my room, and it was hardly ever empty. The whole body of preachers, at one time or another, called upon me; and I had much very pleasant and profitable intercourse with them. I found them, in private, a most pious, intelligent, and well-informed race of men. Their knowledge of their own system, economy, and constitution, I perceived, was exact and enlightened; their experience of the working of the system of Methodism complete; for many of them had been in the service of the church many years, and had seen much of their country, together with its habits and manners. They were well-informed on all American affairs, and took a lively interest in their country's weal; and, moreover, some of them were extremely respectable in literature and general knowledge. No man amongst them was a neuter; he had opinions on all points, and held them with tenacity; but was perfectly free to hear those of other people, and removed as far as possible from a dogmatical spirit. Reasoning is their *forte:* they are fond of argument. I found them loyal to their country and to Methodism. They seem to entertain no scruples or doubts as to their government being the best in the world. This being the feeling of sober and religious men, must be considered as worth notice, much more than that of political zealots of any grade. I found most of the Methodist ministers what is called, in America, "Whigs," which means, in our country, "Conservatives." They had an utter dislike to the war-spirit growing up in America, disapproved very much of the Mexican war, and denounced the policy of

President Polk's administration. There were, of course, exceptions; but this seemed to be the general opinion amongst them. The northern men were all decided and zealous abolitionists. They abhor slavery as much as it is possible to be abhorred in this country; and many of them are sanguine as to the possibility of making this a state question, and in a short time electing an anti-slavery president.

Their Methodism is a belief, a truth, a principle. They as much believe in the soundness of Methodistic doctrines, the excellency of their ecclesiastical polity, and the religion of their system, as in the truth of the word of God itself. Republicans though they may be, they are not revolutionists. And the same is the case regarding their religious convictions. In a free and easy intercourse with these men for a fortnight, I did not hear one word which savoured of disaffection to their ecclesiastical institutions. This was the case respecting their bishops; not a murmur was heard. They were perfectly loyal to the church. This, as will be seen, must give the church great power and force. Every man is prepared to take his place, and do his best. None of his strength is frittered away in wrangling disputes, in projects of reform, in tinkering and mending the system. On the other hand, he occupies his sphere of labour with the undoubted persuasion that he is serving the cause of God; that he is connected with a form of religion which must prevail, because divine; and that his business is not to mend the rules, but to keep them. We cannot be surprised at the amazing success of a system of religion so supported, and so worked. Every man is possessed of an idea, a truth, which he feels himself bound to propagate. He does this without hesitation, puts his whole soul into his mission, and it is done unto him according to his faith.

In a few days after my arrival, Bishop Soule made his appearance, and took up his abode, at our hotel. This to me was a most pleasant incident. We had much intercourse and conversation. He had not lost his English impressions. His sojourn in our country, his reception and treatment by the Conference and people, had left a very grateful recollection on his mind. He entered fully into the subject of his connexion with the South; saying, he supposed we should be surprised at the event. He avowed that he acted from the dictates of his conscience, believing that he should be best enabled, in the

section of the church he had chosen, to advance the interests of his Master's kingdom. Every body who knows Bishop Soule must receive this testimony. He is incapable of equivocation, or of any thing dishonourable. He avowed that his convictions of the evils of slavery had undergone no change; it was as much the object of his abhorrence as ever. His explanations of his conduct amounted to this: that, in his opinion, the only possible way of ever reaching a measure of emancipation lay in bringing the population of the South, masters and slaves, under the influence of the gospel; and that the only means of accomplishing this was in not agitating the question, but in quietly preaching the truth to both, leaving it in the providence of God to work its own results: moreover, that for ministers to agitate the question of emancipation, would infallibly cause the planters of the South to shut the door against all attempts at evangelization, and have the effect of leaving masters and servants in their sins.

Impressed by these considerations, he thought it best to remain in the South, his family residing in that part of the country, and he himself having, for many years, chiefly laboured in these States. He desired that his affectionate remembrances might be given to the British Conference; saying, he knew that, with our opinions and relations to the American Episcopal Church, we could hold no official communion with them; but if the Conference chose to send or allow any of their messengers, on visiting America, to call upon them, or inspect their work, they would be most gladly and heartily received. As long as Bishop Soule lives, there can be no doubt that this would be the case. The nobility of his nature is above all petty jealousies; and there are many men in the South of a like spirit with himself. Several other southern men made their appearance,—as Mr. Early, the book-agent or steward at Richmond, Dr. Lee, and Dr. Bascom. With all these gentlemen I held intercourse. Mr. Early presented me with a newly-revised Hymn-Book, beautifully got up and well-arranged, together with several other works connected with the southern question. These gentlemen manifested the greatest kindness and urbanity; and did all in their power to leave an impression on my mind, that the position which they now hold has not caused them to be less Methodistical than before. In spirit, piety, honesty of purpose,—in frank-

ness of character, in warm affections,—they certainly are not. Dr. Lee presented me with his Memoirs of his illustrious grandfather, Jesse Lee. A worthy scion this of a noble stock. There are found here and there great roots of humanity, as well as of forest trees, which send forth, for some generations, noble offshoots. This is one: a fine young man, full of feeling, learning, intelligence, and good principle; destined, it is to be hoped, for many years to adorn the sacred calling to which he is devoted. Dr. Bascom, the president of Pennsylvania University at Lexington, came late, and I had only the opportunity of seeing him once. But this one interview was sufficient to convince me that he possessed a powerful intellect, of masculine form, richly furnished, highly polished, and conversant with various learning and knowledge. He had been making a long preaching tour in the South during the vacation, and we heard that his ministry had made a deep impression. This gentleman is considered a master of eloquence; and if he drew up the state-papers which appear in the dispute betwixt the South and the North in 1844,—which I believe,—his pen is as eloquent as his tongue; his eloquence, however, not being that of declamation, but of reason, and clothed in the flowing dress of lucid and beautiful diction. I deem it but fair thus to mention the ministers of the South to whom I was introduced, fearing lest their connexion with that church should lead to the conclusion that, in their personal character, they are something different from other Methodist ministers.

It was my happiness to preach twice each Lord's day, on the two Sundays I remained at Pittsburgh, and once before the Conference. The worship was devout and spiritual, the congregations were large, and every thing proceeded much in our English manner. After the morning service on the first sabbath, the Lord's supper was administered, exactly after the order of the Prayer-Book. An incident occurred at this service of a pleasing nature. Bishop Soule and Dr. Pierce being present, they were invited to take part in the service, which they did; thus showing to the world that the ecclesiastical differences existing between the two parties were not deemed sufficient to sever the bonds of religious brotherhood, to destroy the more sacred ties of spiritual affection, or to indicate that one party considered the other as heretics. This was very cheering to behold.

Whilst mentioning these matters, I must state one or two things in passing, not of much consequence in themselves, and yet tending to illustrate the state of feeling amongst our friends in the States. As a loyal subject of Queen Victoria, maugre all suspicions to the contrary, I deemed it my duty, in every public service, to pray first for our queen and Government, and then, secondly, for the president of the States, and Government of the country; putting in petitions, that our union might never be interrupted by discord and war. How was this received? Did it produce disapprobation? Just the reverse. It called forth hearty responses, and many expressions of approval. One more incident. We had been holding a school-meeting one evening in the Conference-chapel, when, after the service was concluded, the choir struck up "God save the Queen." I confess I felt this a most delicate and grateful compliment paid to my country; and, moreover, that a people who could do this, were in possession, at once, of good feeling and fine taste.

I had promised myself the acquisition of a good deal of information in connexion with our *table-d'hôte* at the hotel, by being brought into contact with so many people. But, in truth, little came out of it. The Americans have retained our English characteristics; they are vastly taciturn; general conversation was out of the question altogether. This never happened. And, in innumerable instances, many of the people would finish their repast without speaking a single word. One of these American meals is, indeed, a curiosity. The dispatch of business is prodigious. The dinner is speedily over; and every man as he finishes rises from the table and departs; thus thinning the ranks of the regiment of "beef-eaters," till the last man remains. This was generally myself. I could not keep up at all with the march; and often felt perfectly ashamed at sitting by myself to finish my plate. Indeed, I very often saw that one and another of my kind-hearted friends, seeing my embarrassment, remained to keep me in countenance. Tea was worse still. I declare I have seen men spring from the table in three minutes after they had been seated, and make their exit. One thing I must mention, however,—that during the whole of this time, in which, by the constant change of the company, I must have observed some two or three thousand people, if not more, I never saw one take a single glass of wine at table, or anything but water, and milk. This I took to be

a remarkable proof of the influence of the temperance principle. "But there is the bar," it may be said. True; but I never saw any drinking at the bar, or in any other part of the hotel, or an inebriated person. The order, decorum, sobriety, and virtue, so far as outward appearances go, were as complete in this great establishment, as in the best-regulated private family.

The servants of this house were all people of colour; and I found the man who attended upon me was a runaway slave. He felt no compunction on account of this act of self-emancipation; why should he? He told me a fearful story respecting his mother and family. He had the pain to see his parent sold and dragged away from her children, and never saw her more. His sisters were treated in the same manner, and he knew not what had become of them. I found this poor black a truly religious man, and full of faith, as he expressed it, "that all would be right in the end;" meaning by this, that at some time liberty would come. He was as acute and intelligent as the general class of labourers in this country, and even much more so than many. These people are a distinct body of Methodists, and have an episcopacy of their own. One of the public services I conducted, was in their church, newly erected,—indeed, not finished; and it was a memorable time. The poor blacks manifested great feeling. There sat before me a female whose countenance was lit up with an amount of ecstatic emotion, such as I never before witnessed. After the sermon the people sang some of their own peculiarly soft and melancholy airs. This excited them; and we had a remarkable scene. They leaped, I know not how high, and in a manner one would have thought impossible. But, more than this, they danced to their own melody, and in perfect time, and exhibited the signs of the most rapturous happiness. This looked strange to us sober people: I stood somewhat aghast, fearful lest it should lead to mischief. I heard of none; and hope it was the mere expression of joyous feeling.

I must now say a word respecting Pittsburgh. In truth, it consists of three cities, under one name; as Southwark is included in the one cognomen, London. These cities have their separate corporate rights and jurisdiction. One is Pittsburgh proper; the second Alleghany, after the river of that name; and the third is called Birmingham. Pittsburgh is often called the Birmingham of America,

but with little reason, except from the fact that both are smoky places; and that the new town manufactures many of the articles which are made in the old one; otherwise, they are not at all alike. The city stands on the forks of the two rivers Monongahela and Alleghany; which, after a course of something like a hundred miles, meet at this place, and by their union form the Ohio. Standing, as it does, on this point of land, the city is, of course, environed by water on two sides of the triangle. Its facilities of transport by water are complete; it is connected with the Atlantic States, partly by canal, to Philadelphia; and with all the Western States, and the lakes, by the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the innumerable streams branching from them in every direction. The city itself is substantially built, chiefly of brick; the shops are not much like ours, being generally in the store fashion; and not, consequently, either elegant or showy; but many of them appear to be in a prosperous and thriving state, as marts of business. The manufactures are iron and steel goods of all sorts, glass, tin, brass, and, in fine, the same precisely as are made in Birmingham. Here, for the first time in America, I beheld smoke. The Atlantic cities all burn Philadelphia coal, which, being free from the bituminous quality, though it gives a glowing heat, yet emits no smoke. On this account, the atmosphere of the largest cities is as clear as in the country; the buildings are preserved in their freshness, and appear beautifully clean. It is different at Pittsburgh. The coal, like ours, being strongly impregnated with bituminous matter, sends out, from the furnaces and tall chimneys, dense volumes of smoke, as in our manufacturing towns. Besides, the city being embosomed in a valley, and surrounded by hills, some of which are high, the sooty nuisance cannot escape: this causes the place, in some states of the wind and weather, to be intolerably dirty and suffocating.

But these are the things which create wealth; and nothing can possibly prevent Pittsburgh from becoming one of the greatest manufacturing cities in the world. I met many of our countrymen located at this place; giving their genius, their knowledge, their labour, to augment the creative power of the great rival of their own fatherland. They were in a thriving condition; many of them becoming wealthy. One who had left the north of England when a youth, a poor collier, without sixpence in

his pocket, and who began his career by heaving coals out of the side of the hills, told me, he was worth fifteen or sixteen thousand dollars, showing me, with grateful feelings, some half-dozen houses of which he was the owner. He had induced all his relations to join him, and the whole family were living in great comfort and respectability. This is only a sample.

All the world contributes its quota of help to enrich the Americans. When I was passing down the river, and saw the collieries at work, I felt sure that those collieries were not worked by Yankee hands, that my poor countrymen were the drudges; and on putting the question with the express purpose to ascertain the fact, I found it perfectly correct; hardly a single American ever works in a coal-pit, or, indeed, performs any analogous task. This is done for him by the labouring hands of all portions of the world; and especially by the workmen of England.

Human life, which is often a burden in other countries, constitutes the wealth of America. The black population perform all the menial domestic duties; they are seen in every house, unless superseded by Irish girls; the poor Celts from the sister island dig their canals and railroad lines, and carry bricks and mortar up the scaffolding, in all building processes; and the Germans, besides yielding their portion of help in canal and railroad work, furnish labour, to a great amount, in all agricultural improvements. The true American is the *gentleman* of the country; and all these classes constitute his mechanists and labourers. If he can command a little capital, he will have the skill and adroitness to put every body else to work for him; but let any one find a genuine Yankee putting his own hand to any hard work, if he can. There is no unfairness in all this, inasmuch as the same road is open to all the new comers. In the lifetime of many of them, they get into the same position themselves, or, if this is not secured, their children are certain to attain it. What America is to do if the current of emigration sets in in another direction, it is difficult to say. Will her real children turn out to the drudgery of working coal-pits, iron-furnaces, glass-works, brick-making, and the rest? Heads will not do alone. At present the Yankee seems to imagine that his calling is to furnish the ideal, the plan, the scheme, the *head;* but it belongs to Europeans and Africans to find the hands to do the drudgery.

It is very clear, however, that the *heads* may become too numerous; how the right equilibrium is to be maintained, is difficult to imagine.

The time for leaving Pittsburgh now came. My travelling companion was the Rev. John Ryerson. On tendering our money for the passage to Cincinnati, a distance of five hundred miles, to occupy two days and two nights, we were told that the regular fare was six dollars, but that they only charged ministers five. This favour shown to ministers is universal in the States. On occasion of crossing one of the bridges at Pittsburgh, I saw a written notice of the toll to be paid; and tendering the amount to the man, who sat, in American style, with his legs cocked-up on the back of a chair, and a cigar in his mouth, he asked if I belonged to the Conference; and being told that I did, he said, "Our directors have ordered me to pass you on; there is nothing to pay." So, in our passage down the Ohio, we were lodged and boarded, in the best manner, for two days and nights, for the sum of something less than twenty-two shillings. Many of the brethren accompanied us to the vessel, to bid us farewell. Amongst the rest was Bishop Soule; I saw him for the last time, with an aching heart, amongst the group of preachers and people. It is sad to think of seeing him no more. I felt this keenly, as I turned my eyes from him, with the certainty that it was a final adieu. A noble man! One of the first spirits in America. In bearing, a perfect gentleman, manly, courteous, and dignified; in principle, feeling, and demeanour, a true Christian; in the character and calibre of his mind, strong, clear, masculine; in moral force, firm, unwavering, inflexible; in official life, judicious, prudent, and decided in his adherence to settled constitutional rule, but practical and wise; in evangelical toils and labours, as abundant as any living man in the church; and in spirit, calm, courageous, and active. It is more than pleasant to meet with such a man, it is highly instructive. For a fortnight I had enjoyed the happiness of Bishop Soule's society; and my inmost soul reverenced and did homage to him, on taking a last look of his manly and venerable form.

We soon lost sight of Pittsburgh; gliding rapidly down one of the finest streams that ever graced or blessed any country in the world. The banks, for five hundred miles, were exactly like those already described. The rocky soil sloped up, in many places, to a considerable height,

and was invariably covered from the water's edge with rich and beautiful foliage. The weather was most brilliant, and towards evening we arrived at Wheeling; and, stopping a sufficient time to allow us to land, we visited the town. It had no show of beauty from the river; but on entering, we found it a very large and handsome place, full of fine shops and commercial activity. The usual rocky ascent, which generally rose from the river's brink, had here been thrown to the distance of a few miles into the interior, leaving room on its banks for building the city. The hill, however, appeared in due course; but formed a sort of back-ground to the town, the effect of which was exceedingly beautiful. The whole scene was enchanting. The sun was retiring, all nature was clothed in her most glorious dress; not a breath of air disturbed the universal calm; not a cloud or speck was seen across the deep blue sky; our noble river rolled majestically, but peacefully, along; and all things conspired to make this one of those bright, illusive hours, in the midst of the storms and labours of life, which leave an indelible impression upon the soul. We were soon called to move from our moorings; we descended the stream; and the sunny hour spent at Wheeling soon became a vision, an idea.

It may be proper to remark, that great numbers of villages and towns, few of them, at present, of any magnitude, lie along the shores of the Ohio. Many of these rising towns bear the names of our own, as Liverpool, Manchester, Portsmouth; collieries and founderies, in an incipient state of progress, are beginning their operations, soon to become of gigantic power. We had the State of Ohio, towards the north, always free, never having admitted slavery; and that of Kentucky, on the south, having always been a slave-State. The extent of many of these States may be pretty accurately understood, when it is stated, that the river Ohio washes one of the frontiers of Kentucky, in its windings, for the distance of seven hundred miles.

This voyage down the Ohio was rather fortunate in bringing me into contact with several parties of some interest. Amongst others, Bishop Campbell introduced himself. This gentleman was the husband of a Mrs. Campbell, who, in Scotland, some few years ago, produced much excitement by (if I recollect right) following in the train of poor Irving, and giving utterance to noises, which

used to be called "the tongues." In doctrine and sentiment, they, the Campbells, adhered to the Rowite party, and disseminated their sentiments. I could not exactly understand of what church my friend was bishop, but suppose it must have been one founded on the principles above referred to. I also met with a very intelligent farmer, living in the State of Ohio, who expatiated much on the fertility of the soil, and the social condition of the people; but he gave me information on another point, in which I felt a deeper interest. On my saying I supposed they found it difficult to get their children educated in the country, he assured me that universal provision was made to meet this want. He remarked, "For instance, here, where the land is cleared, and farms established, and that is the case for many miles, there are school-houses, built by the townships, and maintained by rates levied by the people themselves, at the distance of about four miles from each other; so that children have to walk but two miles to school from the most distant points, which they do, carrying their dinner with them, by which they are enabled to remain all day."

But, in addition to this information thus connected with education and morals, we had on board a gentleman of another genus, a lecturer on mesmerism, having in his train three or four persons, whom he seemed to be carrying with him for the purpose of operating upon. He favoured the company with a lecture, with experiments upon his subjects. The sight of this was too much for my sober-minded companion, Ryerson, who soon retired; but I was determined to see it out, and remained. It was an odd affair, most certainly. Having put them into a mesmeric state, the operator professed to touch and move the phrenological bumps of his patients; and, whether real or feigned, I know not, but they played off some most singular antics. All parties were perfectly civil, no one disputing or contradicting in any way. The ladies were full of amazement; some in raptures, exclaiming, "How astonishing!" "Wonderful!" "Beautiful!" "Is it not fine?" the men, in the mean time, shrugging-up their shoulders, skulking back, knitting their brows, and frowning doubt, without saying any thing.

CHAP. VI.—*Cincinnati—Mr. Smith—Auburn—A Storm in the Country—Bishop M'Ilvain's Country Residence—A Fire—The Sabbath—The City—Start for Sandusky—The Forest—Difficulties of clearing Land—The Railroad through the Forest—A Stage Journey—Arrival at Urbana—Arrival at Sandusky.*

WE arrived at Cincinnati early on Saturday morning. The friends being informed, by telegraph, that we might be expected, we found a carriage waiting our arrival to conduct us to our lodgings. I had been appointed to stay at the house of Christopher Smith, Esq., whom I found to be a countryman from Stockton, in the north of England, and Mrs. Smith, a countrywoman of my own, from Leicestershire. Mr. Smith had left home when young; but, before his removal, had obtained the knowledge and enjoyment of religion. He remembered several of the old preachers, having waited upon them in his boyhood, and mentioned Mr. Kershaw with great affection. He received me with genuine cordiality, and set himself to do all in his power to make my sojourn as agreeable as possible. After the necessary ablutions and breakfast, I set out by myself to obtain a notion of the character of the city. Rambling into one of the suburbs, I saw five or six large cotton-mills by the river-side, together with other manufactories. The day being hot, and feeling some weariness from the voyage, I sat down on some steps—not of stone, but of wood—in the outskirts of the town, on the entrance into a garden, in front of a genteel-looking house. I had not been seated many minutes before the lady of the house came, and asked me to walk in and take a seat. On my declining this polite offer, she very soon returned with a bouquet of most fragrant roses; and then, in a little while after, she came a third time, with newspapers, saying, "You would, perhaps, wish to see the morning papers." I know not what Mrs. Trollope would make of this instance of American manners; but I felt that any politeness could hardly exceed this.

Bishop Morris had, in his great kindness, written to friends living four or five miles from the city, to take me to see a suburb, in the direction of their residence, called Auburn: it seems, considered by the citizens as the "West End" of Cincinnati. I was accordingly escorted in the afternoon to this place; and certainly it is, and promises to be much more so, a beautiful locality. The house of our friends is quite in the country; and, amongst

other prospects, commands a view of the residence, which would, in this country, be called the palace, of one of the first men in America,—good Bishop M'Ilvain. His people have built him a fine little church, near his residence; and the spire of this church, rising in the midst of the sylvan scene, causes it to have a perfectly English appearance. The good bishop was from home, in his diocess; otherwise I might have enjoyed the benefit of hearing him, as the church in which he usually officiates is close to the house of Mr. Smith, and the family are in the habit of hearing him often. The bishop enjoys a high reputation as a faithful and able minister of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Whilst in the country, at our friends' house, we were visited by a tremendous storm. This storm was exceedingly grand; the thunder was loud and terrific; the rain descended in torrents; and the lightning, unlike ours of the forky description, appeared like sheets of fire, whilst the heavens seemed enveloped in one universal blaze. This storm did considerable damage. One of our own Methodist friends, being thrown from his horse by the electric fluid, suffered some mischief; but, providentially, his life was spared. In the night, another of our people had his house set on fire, near our lodgings. The noise from the sounding of bells, from the yells of the population, and the exertions of firemen, was awful. The fire in due time was happily subdued, though much damage was done; the stock in trade being paper.

The Sunday dawned; and it was a blessed day. I preached twice; the congregations being large, lively, and devout. To show the difference of feeling between the Americans and most Christians in our country, we may just mention, that Dr. Aylott, an eminent Episcopalian minister, sat in the pulpit with the Methodist ministers present, on both occasions. Having found, for the first time, in the possession of Mr. Smith, a copy of Asbury's Journal, I spent the intervals of worship very profitably in perusing this interesting narrative. Mr. Smith had the goodness, afterwards, to present me with this work; an invaluable treasure, full of important information and incident connected with the early history of Methodism in the United States.

Cincinnati is called "the queen city of the west," and deserves the designation. It is beautifully situated on the banks of the Ohio, on rising ground, somewhat in the

form of a half-circle. The houses and shops are spacious, and well furnished; the streets cut each other at right angles, giving the place perfect uniformity of appearance; and the allotments of houses and buildings thus formed are called "squares." This name at first deceived me; when hearing them speak of First, Second, and Third Square, and so on, I thought a square in our sense of the term was meant, but soon found out my mistake. When perambulating this place, and recollecting the brevity of the period of its existence, I was much puzzled to know where the funds came from, which built and furnished all their costly houses and shops. My friend, Mr. Smith, had resided in Cincinnati about forty-five years. He informed me, that, when he first took up his abode, there were only between nine and ten hundred inhabitants: "And now there are," he said, "near one hundred thousand:" at that time he made the twenty-second member in the Methodist society; but at the present time there are many thousands: and when he went first to the place, he informed me, he used to sweep out his joiner's shop for preaching, there being no other place in the city in which they could hold divine service; but they have raised in the course of this time about twenty large churches. This good man justly and gratefully appreciates the dealings of Providence with himself. With eyes brilliant with joyous emotions, he added, "And I feel it a great mercy and privilege to have had some little hand in it all." Well might he feel grateful and happy at the consciousness of helping forward the work of God for so many years, and living to witness such results.

Time pressed, and we were obliged to leave on Monday morning. Our course lay by rails across the country to the Lakes, a distance of two hundred and nineteen miles. I had been told that this route would afford me the opportunity of seeing, on an extended scale, the agricultural character and resources of the western country; and I was not disappointed. The entire territory was either perfectly new, or only very recently cultivated. This will appear from the fact, that many of the rising towns bear the name even of living men; as Polktown, called after the president, and Claysville, after the eminent statesman of that name. The whole scene was very curious; the only uniform and finished thing being the railroad on which we travelled; the greater part of the country still remaining unbroken forest. Through this forest-scene our

railroad had been cut, at a vast cost of money and labour; the trees having, of course, to be felled by the woodman's axe, as well as the road itself levelled and prepared. To the inhabitants of these solitudes,—now limited to wild animals, the Indians being all gone,—the blaze of our fire, the fizzing of our steam, the sound of our whistle, the noise of our motion, and the rapidity of our speed, must appear a singular solecism in the midst of the sylvan scenes of their joyous freedom. What music for the forest is a railroad train! How fine and perfect the harmony between the singing of birds, the leap of squirrels, the bounding of the hind, the stag, the deer, and all the other forms of life and motion peculiar to the wilderness;—and the smoke, ashes, dirt, creaking, bellowing, of a huge train, laden with human and all other kinds of lumber! We dashed along through these forest scenes, indifferent as to the sentiment of concord, the "eternal laws and fitness of things," and matters of that sort, notwithstanding; intent only upon our mission of progress, though it should oblige us to cut down all the trees in the universe, disturb the repose of nature in her lair, and quench the lights of heaven by the smoke of our civilizing chimneys.

But to return. The country through which we passed appeared to be extremely rich, and capable of bearing most abundant crops of wheat, and every other kind of grain. A great part of the land, which is considered as cleared, and occupied for agricultural purposes, is only so to a very imperfect degree. The trees of the forest are cut off about two feet above their root, and the stumps left standing in the fields. These stumps are seen every where, and have not an agreeable appearance; the farmer ploughs and sows around them; so that the harvest has to be reaped and collected in the midst of these annoying hinderances to the sweep of the scythe. They are left in this state to rot; and when the process of decay has proceeded to a certain point, a machine is employed to draw, that is, to twist, them up; just on the principle of the dentist's operations in drawing a tooth.

On beholding this line of road, I was very deeply impressed with the idea, that the matter of "clearing" forest-land is a most herculean affair. Let any one just imagine even an acre to be cleared by a new comer, with only his own hands and those of his children, either not having the means of obtaining help, or that help not to be

obtained: how great the difficulty! When the trees are felled, the roots and stumps still remain; the soil turned up, the crop must have time to grow, and the returns of labour be waited for till harvest; the log-hut, built in the spare hours saved from sleep and pressing calls of duty elsewhere, is no defence against the wintry storm; if domestic animals are possessed, they are wanted for food; if clothing is enjoyed in the beginning of the operation, it wears out; and as to money to purchase new, when even the necessaries of life have not yet been obtained from the soil,—that is out of the question. The privations, sufferings, and sacrifices of life, which even the matter of clearing must have cost the human family, in the amount of forest now occupied by the habitations of man in America, must be infinite. How vital, indeed, how profound and dominant, a passion must the love of possession and independence be, to impel such hosts of men to quit a quiet and mediocre mode of life, but dependent, to seek in the forest, in the midst of such toil as this, the happiness of calling their land and their house their own! The first occupants can never, certainly, enjoy much of the fruit of their own labour, except in very particular cases: but then here another mighty passion comes in to help the soul in her heroic perseverance; there is the love of posterity, the hope of laying a foundation for the happiness of children. The clearance of the forest is no other than the developement of these instincts of nature.

The line along which we passed was evidently doing its work. Numerous villages and towns were rising; stores, warehouses, mills, and buildings of every kind were being put up; new farm-houses were appearing at intervals all along the road; and, passing large portions of forest still undisturbed, every now and then the effects of the woodman's axe were apparent in chasms made by the recent fall of trees, and the partial cultivation of portions of the ground. Every thing was life, bustle, and activity. Great numbers of Irish were seen at work on the line, and at other employments; a useful and laborious class. One could not help seeing the contrast betwixt these poor people and all around them, even in America. The Celt bears the unmistakeable physiognomy of his race in all countries, for at least one generation.

Before reaching our destination, we had to quit the railroad, and mount stages fourteen miles, the line being

unfinished. I took a seat on the box to see the country, but had difficulty enough to keep my equilibrium: the jolting was horrible. Our course could not be called a road, in any sense, except from the mere fact, that it had been traversed before, and we also were now passing over it. We made our way across gullies, rivulets, rising hillocks, and then again sunk up to our axletrees in bogs. We were roughly handled by great stones lying in our course, roots of trees projecting their fibres; and then again by pieces of timber put into soft places, by way of making a pavement for passengers to cross. Really this journeying of the American stages, in the midst of a country such as we passed through this day, is a curiosity. It would be, indeed, extremely difficult, *a priori*, to imagine how the carriage was to escape being capsized many times told; how the horses were to keep their feet, and perform their task; and how the driver could possibly preserve his seat, and pilot his vehicle through so many shoals to a safe anchorage. Such, however, are use and experience, that calamities rarely occur; and though sufficiently shaken, and not free from fear, yet we arrived safely at our destined place of rest for the night.

The country through which we passed by stage is of the nature of an avenue cut through the forest, sometimes a mile or two broad, and at other places less. This space is occupied by splendid farms, rich and productive in the highest degree. The farm-houses are nearly all good substantial brick or stone buildings; and many of them much like the fine residences of our country gentry. There must be great comfort in this region, and, when the railroad is finished, easy of access; it affording the means of transport for the produce of the soil, either to Cincinnati on the Ohio on the one hand, or to the lakes on the other. And one cannot help asking, If without this road and its advantages industry and enterprise could do so much, what are we to expect now that all these facilities of progress are opened? It must certainly become, shortly, one of the richest tracts of country in America. This is a fine part of the States for settlers in the farming line, if necessity or inclination should cause them to leave their fatherland. In case any such parties should cast their eyes on this book, I should certainly recommend them to examine this region, before they think of locating elsewhere.

Our resting-place for the night was a new and rising

town in the wilderness, called Urbana. We found a good inn, and bespoke beds. While we were doing this, some Methodist friends, who had been apprized of our coming by telegraph, were in search of us. We called to pay a friendly visit, and found them very agreeable; but, having engaged our lodging, declined a kind and hearty invitation to take up our abode with them. On retiring to bed, I was soon expelled by some old friends, who own me wherever I go; and was obliged to go down stairs, and get such rest as lying across some chairs would allow. While in this posture, a number of young fellows, black and white, assembled at the door of the house; and I suppose we had in them a specimen of back-wood language of the worst sort. I had not, up to this time, heard an oath or profane language of any kind since I left my native land, either on board ship or in America; but these young sinners made up for the lack. I cannot repeat their oaths: it is a shame to speak of such deeds of darkness; but I never heard since I existed such shocking profanity. This sort of life no doubt prevailed —we have all kinds of testimony to the fact—universally, till the forests and woods were visited by the messengers of salvation; and a better state of things was superinduced by their labours.

We set out the next morning for Sandusky, and, reaching that place towards night, beheld Lake Erie for the first time. The town itself has no great beauty for the present. It is, however, a bustling, stirring place; and, from its situation, must soon rise to magnitude and importance.

CHAP. VII.—*The Lakes—Erie—Pass down—Buffalo—Niagara River —Scenery on its Banks—The Falls of Niagara—Canada—The People—Visit the Battle-Field of Lundy-Lane—The Suspension-Bridge—St. Catherine's—Hamilton.*

IT was impossible to see this wonderful inland sea without deep emotion. The evening was bright and calm, the bosom of the Lake unruffled by a breeze, the sun retired in majesty and beauty behind the waters; it was a lovely sunset.

"Lake Erie is three hundred miles in length, forty-six at its utmost breadth, seven hundred and sixteen in circumference, and about fifty-six fathoms at its greatest depth. At its northern extremity, it is much exposed to violent gales, and its navigation is both tedious and dangerous. It contains, towards the west, a num-

ber of beautiful islands, in which are many remarkable caverns, abounding in curious stalactites. These islands are also full of reptiles, especially rattlesnakes; and the margin of the lake is in many places completely covered, for many acres, with the large leaves of the pond-lily, upon which, in the summer season, myriads of water-snakes are seen basking in the sun. The bottom is a bluish limestone rock, and its banks are clothed with wood, abounding in game and wild animals."

Some of these characteristics are rapidly disappearing. On the American side, especially, large and flourishing towns are rising up; the country, to the edge of the Lake, is being cultivated, and a busy and thriving population is taking the place of the wild animals formerly inhabiting the jungle. The Canada side has not made the same progress; but still the country is gradually being cleared and occupied.

We departed from Sandusky, nearly at the top of the Lake, the morning after our arrival. Our destination was Buffalo, at the other extremity of the Lake, so that the distance was something like three hundred miles. The day was fine, and the view beautiful. We called at many places to take in wood and passengers; and amongst the rest at Cleveland, a large and flourishing city, the termination of the Erie canal, and consequently the link connecting the Lakes with New-York and the Atlantic States. Keeping near the American shore, a pretty good view was often obtained of the country, which every where indicated activity and progress.

We arrived at Buffalo the next morning. This is a large and populous city, full of business, bustle, and enterprise. Its importance consists in the excellency of its harbour, and its contiguity to Canada. A flourishing commerce is apparent, which must constantly grow with the increase of population. But other thoughts now occupied our minds; we cared little for trade and business in the immediate vicinity of one of the miracles of nature,—one of the wonders of the world. Our breakfast was late in coming, at least so we thought in our feverish anxiety; when it came, it was soon despatched, and we at once mounted the "car" for the Falls of Niagara. The distance is only twenty-two miles, and we soon reached this celebrated spot. Our line lay in sight of the Niagara River, connecting Lakes Erie and Ontario. This is a most magnificent stream, studded with beautiful islands; one of which, called "Grand Island," is of great extent.

I listened with much eagerness long before we approached the spot; then listened again, as we advanced, with augmented intensity of interest, to catch the sound of the cataract, but heard no note of the rush of "mighty waters." Arriving at the terminus, and alighting, every thing wore the same quiet aspect. No unusual sound of any kind was perceptible, and the people seemed unconscious of any thing remarkable in their neighbourhood. "How is this?" was the thought. "Is the giant asleep? Or have we been deceived by exaggerated reports respecting the extent of sound arising from this waterfall?" Nothing then arose to solve the mystery, and nothing since has been suggested. And if it is true that the sound is heard for fifteen miles, as is often asserted, it can only be in some peculiar state of the atmosphere.

Some preliminary account seems to be necessary to any thing like an accurate description of the Falls themselves. We begin by observing, that the river divides, about a mile above the cataract, into two streams. This division of the water is not equal; and the principal river suffers no perceptible diminution, keeping on in a straight line. But at the distance above mentioned a comparatively small channel is formed to the right, and through this branch a portion of the original river pours forth its torrent. The first effect of this division is to form an island, denominated Goat Island. This smaller stream continues its course for about a mile, and then returns to the main channel, re-entering by its side some short distance below the Great, or Horse-shoe, Fall; and the precipitous leap of this branch stream into the bed of the main river constitutes the American, or Little, Fall.

The Rapids, extending for a mile above the Falls, constitute another peculiarity. The descent in the course of this distance is about fifty-two feet, so that the velocity of the waters from this cause necessarily becomes prodigiously great. But this movement is not merely occasioned by the above incline; the channel is, in the same space, narrowed from something like three miles across to less than one as it approaches the cataract: the effect of this double process of descent and compression is to produce a vastly augmented force and velocity. Whether from the wear and rapidity of the stream, or from other causes, no one can tell, but the channel through the whole of this space is evidently shelved and broken, forming partial precipices, over which the waves are constantly

dashing, sending up their foam and spray. The agitations, eddies, whirlpools, eccentric encounters of wave with wave, and current against current, unite to produce one of the most curious tumults of water which can well be imagined; and were it not for the proximity of something more grand and noble, the Rapids would be considered a singular exception to the uniformity of nature, and would be visited as a relief to the *ennui* left upon the mind by only seeing seas, lakes, rivers, and all the other elaborations of the universe producing their results in the ordinary manner.

The smaller stream above described is altogether on the American side, and Goat Island is reached by a wooden bridge spanning the channel. We hastened to cross this bridge, and enter upon the magic ground of Goat Island; resolved, at the same time, to leave every avenue of the soul open to the inspirations of the moment, whether of surprise, of rapture, or of awe.

But this was found to be difficult. Prepossessions in visiting scenes of this nature are unfavourable to first impressions, to a full admission of fine feelings, of lofty sentiments, or even of real and adequate conceptions. These prepossessions, in my case, I found to be all untrue; they had all to be removed from my mind before even the grandeurs which I beheld, which stood arrayed before me in all their majesty and glory, could produce any accurate ideal, or excite any corresponding emotion.

These mental errors reached to every thing; just as the mind under the influence of one false impression is itself placed in a wrong position, and consequently becomes incapable of seeing any thing aright. The whole scene, from these causes, though not less extraordinary than I had imagined, yet was so in a perfectly different manner to any thing anticipated.

From all I had read, as well as from the testimony of eye-witnesses, I had always supposed that the scenery around, the country itself, was bold, lofty, sublime,—whereas it is perfectly level. Through the same deception I had imagined that the waters of the river must have rushed through some mighty chasm, some prodigious rent and fissure of mountain, broken through to form the channel, whilst overhanging rocks, hideous precipices, and lofty peaks, frowned in awful majesty upon the current as it passed; but, instead of this being the case, the banks are quite even, and covered with verdure, plants, flowers, and

beautiful trees. Under the influence of the same misconception, I had next fancied that the visitor was always placed at the bottom of the Falls, that the torrent fell at his feet, that he had to lift up his astonished eyes to gaze on the descending flood; whilst, in reality, he finds himself at the top, on a level with the edge of the precipice, having to look down into a frightful gulf below.

Our path across Goat Island brought us close to the American Fall. I sat down on the roots of a tree on a level with the crest of the cataract, and almost near enough to touch the waters with my foot. My companion, who had often seen these wonders of nature previously, left me alone, and amused himself by walking about the island. I sat silent and motionless a long time, looking with a sort of vacant astonishment on the whole scene. The thoughts, "It is grand! it is sublime! it is awful!" crossed my mind, but nothing definite had fixed itself there; all remained in the same confusion, chaos, stupefaction. At length, as if awaking from a dream, I exclaimed, "How beautiful!" And then, in a moment, a thrill ran through my soul like an electrical shock, which at once scattered the mists; and I exclaimed, loud enough to have been heard, "Ay, yes, that is it, that is it,—it belongs to the beautiful!" This was a new idea, a revelation, and transformed the whole scene in an instant into perfect unity and glory.

With this general notion, this new instrument, I began to examine the several objects around; endeavoured to analyse, to separate, the elements, to watch the extraordinary movements of the liquid machine which was moving so majestically before me; and yet, at the same time, to combine, to grasp the whole. Is beauty compatible with sublimity? Can the two attributes exist in one and the same object? Must the sublime be necessarily devoid of the beautiful? must the beautiful be destitute, *per se*, of the sublime? These are questions which have engaged the attention of great authorities. Generally speaking, they seem to have entertained the notion that the ideas are incompatible; that the beautiful and the sublime belong to distinct and separate departments, whether of nature or of thought; and that no union, no harmony, no concord of circumstances, can blend the beautiful with the sublime, or the sublime with the beautiful, constituting them one and the same object. We venture to

differ from these authorities; and our proof, our demonstration, is the Falls of Niagara.

No one questions their sublimity; the grandeur of the scene is too palpable, too imposing, too overwhelming, to admit of doubt on this point. The subject admits not of reasoning, it is a matter of mere sensation. No human being ever beheld these wonders without doing homage to this sentiment. Many have, probably, been unable to comprehend their own sensations as they have looked upon the astonishing phenomena; but they have felt their power, and been subdued into reverence and awe. It seemed almost impossible for me to stir for a great length of time; an irresistible fascination seizing all my faculties, as if overshadowed by the presence of a mystic power, whose voice was heard in the thunder of many waters, as well as his majesty seen in the grandeur of every object around.

But the sensations of pleasure and happiness are produced by the beautiful; and, at the time, I considered Niagara as the most sublimely beautiful object my eyes ever beheld. Heaven was most propitious. The sun shone forth in all his glory; the skies were lofty, blue, clear, and stretched over-head an infinite span, an ample arch, such as is only seen in similar climates on a summer's day. Seated on the roots of the tree before mentioned, I began to employ my new power, the idea of the beautiful, and soon found its use. Above the crest of the cataract the water was of a yellow colour; but I saw that as soon as it passed, with the exception merely of slight streaks of its primitive hue, and in one or two places of green, which only heightened the effect, it instantly changed into perfect white. This brilliant and dazzling white, as pure and spotless as snow, was predominant, and gave its character to the whole scene. By intense gazing, I next perceived that the descending waters did not retain a smooth, glassy, stream-like surface, but broke into crystals, as the dew-drops of the morning, losing their watery appearance; and were made brilliant and sparkling, like gems, by the illumination of the sun's beams. This magnificent expanse of crystals was next seen falling from the precipice in countless myriads, not in confused heaps, but in perfect order, as an immense roll of beautiful drapery studded with brilliants, and united by the force of some common element. This unity and order is, in fact, one of the peculiarities of the scene. It might be

expected that the "flood of many waters" was dashed against stones and rocks, and broken into fragments. Not so. The flow is perfectly regular; and the splendid sheet of white and dazzling fluid of gems is seen to fall in a regular and continued stream. The only deviation from this regularity is the apparent formation of a beautiful curve at the Great Fall, the bend or concave side being inward; whilst, below, the flood of white foam spreads itself out, like the robes of sovereignty at the feet of a mighty prince. But this splendid robe does not present the aspect of an even surface; it is gathered into festoons, as if so formed for the purposes of ornament. The crest of the precipice is evidently uneven, there are rocky projections; and yet these are not sufficiently great to divide and break the waters in their fall, whilst the stream retains its unity. The effect of this is to grasp the flood, as if by the human hand, into folds, which fall gracefully down, and add much to the beauty of the scene.

Here, then, is the combination of beauties seen at Niagara. Let the reader imagine a rock, with a crest three parts of a mile in length, and one hundred and sixty or seventy feet above the level ground; then let him imagine some mysterious power everlastingly rolling from this crest a robe of hoar frost, white, dazzling, pearly, descending like beautiful drapery, festooned and varied, yet regular in form, with a long train spread on the level plain below; and he will have the best idea which I can give of the garniture of Niagara. Conceptions are difficult, perfect description impossible; nature has, however, supplied us with the power of short ejaculations in the place of all other means of expression; and, after gazing with indescribable intensity on this glorious object, I could only exclaim, "It is like beautiful robes falling from the shoulders of a goddess!"

On returning from Goat Island we observed several Indian women with little trinkets of their own manufacture, for sale. One was a mother, and had a fine, chubby child on her lap. We gave the little urchin a piece of silver, which its tiny hand with difficulty grasped; and, after purchasing a few articles, took our leave. They looked interesting women, and deserved a better fate. Having now seen all which could be seen on the American side, we hastened to cross the river below the Falls. We found a sort of reciprocity railroad contrivance, by which to let us down the hill-side to the water's edge, a

fearful height; the descending carriages dragging up, by their velocity, corresponding carriages with passengers and goods. The boat by which we crossed was of the most fragile kind, and navigated by one man. Rain had come on; but we obtained a perfect view of the Falls, being within a short distance; and to me it seemed surprising that we were able to cross so near. A dense mist was now rising from the spray and foam, giving an entirely new and interesting aspect of the scene. The rain passed off before we crossed, and the sun again shone. We leaped on shore without thought; but after walking up the ascent a short distance, the truth suddenly rushed upon my mind, and I exclaimed, "We are on the territories of Queen Victoria. Pull off your hat!" at the same time doffing my own, in reverence to the majesty of England. We ensconced ourselves at a magnificent hotel just in front of the Falls, and saw them in all their glory from the windows.

As soon as some necessary preliminaries were disposed of, we went to see the Great Fall. The river at this point is about three-fourths of a mile across; the Fall itself is in the form of a crescent, the curve inward, and is often called the Horse-shoe Fall, by reason of its resemblance. The descent of the water at the American Fall is one hundred and sixty-four feet; and at this greater one, one hundred and fifty-eight. Below the cataract, the river is only half a mile in breadth, being, as we see, contracted after its descent, whilst its depth is said to be three hundred feet. This rush of water is connected with distant forces. The river forms the outlet of the waters of the great upper Lakes, which, together with Erie and Ontario, drain, according to Professor Drake, of Kentucky, an area of country equal to forty thousand square miles; and the extent of their surface is estimated at ninety-three thousand square miles. These Lakes contain nearly one-half of the fresh water on the surface of the globe.

On arriving near the Fall, I placed myself on Table Rock, the usual and best position to obtain a perfect view. With all the characteristics of beauty mentioned in connexion with the first scene described, we have here many additional elements brought to view. The difference is in position, extent, greatness, and, if the term may be employed, the unity and perfection of the object. The lesser Fall is that of a branch stream,—this is the parent river; the former finds its way into the channel from the

side, the bank,—this spans the channel itself; the crest of the smaller precipice is nearly a straight line,—this is a beautiful curve; the dependent stream looks like an accident, a phenomenon, that need not have been, and in which even now some change might possibly be produced, —but the Great Fall looks like the "everlasting hills," as, so to speak, an eternity, an essential, original, immutable, power of nature. A stranger, having never seen this Fall, would be led to imagine that something extremely confused must prevail, like the heavens in a storm, cloud crossing cloud, or like the ocean agitated by opposing currents. Nothing can be a greater mistake. The very opposite is the fact. The day does not break, the tide does not flow, the planet does not move in its orbit, with greater regularity and certainty than Niagara. From Table Rock, or my bed-room at the hotel, I always saw the same calm, unruffled, majestic object. No diminution or augmentation of water appeared, but a constant inexhaustible roll of the torrent; nothing analogous to the rise and fall of the tides, or the ebbing and flowing of the sea, occurs, but one deep, even, everlasting movement: winds and storms will scatter the spray before the cataract is reached, but after the waters have passed they can have no effect; they cannot turn the stream one hair's-breadth, or stop its course for a moment. There is something perfectly awful in the idea of the undeviating uniformity of all the forces seen to be at work at this Great Fall.

We behold motion, calm, but rapid,—uninterrupted, irresistible, eternal,—with the feeling that this motion has been in progress for hundreds, for thousands, of years; for aught we know, from the beginning of time, or, at any rate, ever since the flood. We see force and power,—palpable, tangible, concentrated, and, to man, omnipotent, —always at work, and unwearied, silent, majestic, like the omnipotence of God. We contemplate a created sovereignty, a kind of rectoral glory, enthroned;—a power, concentrating itself at this point in lofty grandeur, as if to render itself visible,—then sweeping along, and, in regard to all within its sway, helpless in resistance; like the mighty stream of time, bearing the fate and destiny of nature and empires into the abyss below, the *hades* of all created things. We follow the course of the waters, and see, at a prodigious depth, a frightful gulf, scooped out as if to embrace the descending flood, and conduct it to some new destiny;—as the present receives the past

in its passage onward, and impels it by a new impulse, together with all it bears on its tide, to the mysterious future. We stretch our gaze over this yawning deep, and perceive that the water has changed its aspect altogether. It now has a milk-like appearance, and is tossed, agitated, whirled, infuriated,—heaving its bosom to an immense height, and sending forth its spray and mist to be arched by the rainbow, and painted by sunbeams with every variety of colour; thus imitating the progress of human events in reducing old, great, majestic, time-worn forms of power into chaos, and then handing them over to other agencies to receive some new form, to run in new channels, and push their way into an untried destiny.

Such were the thoughts which passed through my mind; but who can grasp, who can describe, the combined effect? We have no analogies in nature. These Falls are alone in the universe; they stand in peerless majesty; nothing is like them. The sublimity consists in their combined majesty and beauty. Their grandeur is not in the slightest degree in harmony with that of the Alpine mountains, rugged heights, and overhanging rocks, covered with clouds, and lost in darkness. It is rather as if nature had sat in council with herself, to create a living embodiment of her utmost power, sovereign glory, irresistible force, rapid motion; and then threw around the representation of her visible symbol—instinct with the life of many, of all, elements—a covering of exquisite, of inexpressible, beauty.

There this living monument stands, a glorious emblem of the majesty of God! It has been looked upon with wonder next to adoration by a countless number of visitors; these have all received different impressions in accordance with the structure of their nervous systems, the powers of vision, and the faculty of combination. Many have given their impressions to the public; some in classic and eloquent, impassioned and poetic strains; some, again, in scientific and geological language;—but all have come short, all have failed. This attempt to convey the impressions of another soul, the feelings of another heart, is equally short of the truth, is equally a failure. Who can describe thunder? who can paint the rainbow? who can exhibit the ocean in language? who can grasp the infinite? God has left, in all his dominions and works, space for imagination. Every thing has its mystery,—nothing its limits. Niagara stands a

mystic creation, defying the admeasurements of the human intellect. But he welcomes all who approach to indulge the feelings of admiration, wonder, awe;—and by the eternal roar of his glorious music, he sends up sounds of adoration to God, and challenges for his Creator the homage of all hearts.

We finish our sketch by inserting "Cora Lynn," by an accomplished American lady, Mrs. Sigourney.

"Thou 'rt beautiful, sweet Cora Lynn,
In thy sequester'd place,
Thy plunge on plunge, 'mid wreathing foam,
Abrupt, yet full of grace.
Down, down with breathless speed thou goest
Into thy rock-sown bed;
Bright sunbeams on thy glancing robes,
Rude crags above thy head.

"Thy misty dew is on the trees,
And forth, with gladness meet,
They reach the infant leaf and bud,
To take thy baptism sweet.
No Clydesdale spears are flashing nigh,
In foray wild and rude;
But Cora's time-rock'd castle sleeps
In peaceful solitude.

"What wouldst thou think, sweet Cora Lynn,
Couldst thou Niagara spy,
The mighty monarch of the West,
With terror in his eye?
Thou 'dst fear him on his ocean throne,
Like lion in his lair;
Meek snooded maiden, dower'd with all
That father Clyde can spare.

"For thou might'st perch, like hooded bird,
Upon his giant hand;
Nor midst his world of waters wake
A ripple on his strand.
He 'd drink thee up, sweet Cora Lynn;
And thou, to crown the sip,
Wouldst scarce a wheen of bubbles make
Upon his monstrous lip.

"Thy voice, that bids the foliage quake,
Around thy crystal brim,
Would quiver like the cricket's chirp,
Midst his hoarse thunder-hymn.

For like a thing that scorns the earth,
He rears his awful crest,
And takes the rainbow from the skies,
And folds it round his breast.

"Thou 'rt passing fair, sweet Cora Lynn;
And he who sees thee leap
Into the bosom of the flood,
Might o'er thy beauty weep.
But lone Niagara still doth speak
Of God both night and day;
And force, from each terrestrial thought,
The gazer's soul away."

Every book I had read, and every person with whom I had conversed, after visiting America and Canada, united in their testimony as to the great difference instantly felt on passing the boundary line; and this change seemed always to be represented in favour of Canada; whilst any attempt at pointing out the nature of this contrast, its causes and its characteristics, has never, so far as I know, been attempted. The fact is indisputable. It is not a matter of reasoning, of inference, of opinion; it is immediately perceived, as much as in going out of a warm room into a cold atmosphere. What is it which produces the change? The preference is, of course, a matter of taste. The American temperament is by some generally preferred, and by others the Canadian.

Let us look at the case. On the American side, the people are all life, elasticity, buoyancy, activity; on the Canadian side, we have a people who appear subdued, tame, spiritless, as if living much more under the influence of fear than hope. Again: on the American territory, we behold men moving as if they had the idea that their calling was to act, to choose, to govern,—at any rate to govern themselves; on the Canada soil, we see a race, perhaps more polite than the other, but who seem to live under the impression that their vocation is to receive orders, and obey. Then, on the American side, you are placed in the midst of incessant bustle, agitation; the hotels are filled, coaches are in constant movement, railroad trains passing and repassing with their passengers, whilst men of business are seen pushing their concerns with impassioned ardour. On the Canada shore, we have comparatively still life; delicate, genteel, formal. Moreover, on the American territory, all along the shores

of the lakes, the country is being cleared, houses and villages built, works put up, incipient ports opened, and trade begun. On the Canada shore, unbroken forest appears for miles, whilst the small openings which have been made present themselves to view in a very infantine and feeble state of progress.

All this was exhibited at once at our hotel itself. We had been put down in the town of Niagara on the American side, in the midst of an active population, and hastened at once to one of several large hotels. Besides being splendidly fitted up, it was full of people. In my ignorance I had imagined that we were to take up our residence at this place, and hastened to engage a room: in this attempt I found it difficult to obtain accommodation at all, and failed altogether in securing a chamber which commanded a view of the Falls. We crossed over to the Canadian village, and found an equally commodious inn; but the contrast was most striking. The saloon to which we were directed was equal to one of the American dining-rooms, capable of accommodating from one hundred and fifty to two hundred persons. What was the company? When dinner was announced, about ten individuals sat at one end of a prodigious table, receiving the good things of Providence in perfect silence, except as broken by some common-place phrases of politeness.

There sat at our table, on this and on all other occasions, an old lady, the perfect personification of the state of things around us. This lady had a dowager-like appearance and air, the quintessence of politeness, with studied movements and manners, as if she had been in the observance of punctilios for fifty years. Her dress, headgear, and ornaments had been adjusted as if for a ballroom. Our friend might have been taken from Niagara to any saloon in St. James's, and would have surprised no one by the transfer. Now these are the things which, no doubt, please many of our *voyageurs* from this country, and cause them to consider Canadian society as transcendently above that of the United States. The sight of that old lady would settle the question at once on the score of gentility; and especially when it is added, that at the Canada hotel the gentlemen and ladies take wine at dinner, and at the other side of the border this is not the fashion.

There is another striking difference between the Americans and the Canadians. In the first-mentioned coun-

try, ideas, sentiments, opinions,—in fine, knowledge, seems to be considered a common stock. The people sit with their legs across a chair-back, or place them in some other elevated position, and talk at their ease. On the other hand, the Canadian people seem to say, "Do you not know that I am a gentleman? Keep your distance, sir." Then, again, the American officer never forgets that he is a citizen, and the citizen does not forget that he is a man; their intercourse is perfectly easy, free, unembarrassed; the one class never assumes an air of superiority; the other never lowers his *status*, or yields up his consciousness of equality, or his self-respect. On the other hand, the Canadian officer never removes from his standing of assumed dignity, or condescends to become the citizen; he rarely amalgamates with the people; and they, on their part, as seldom think of stepping beyond their line, and claiming equality. These artificial distinctions have a powerful and obvious effect. The manners of the Canadian population, being thus regulated, appear much more in accordance with European notions than their neighbours'. This circumstance no doubt causes the one class to be decried as vulgar, and the other to be praised as polite. The opinion, as we have said, is a matter of taste. They who desire to see nature in its genuine tendencies, will prefer the one; they who admire it most under the restraints of distinctions and fashion, the other. But it would be unjust in me to say, that the more unrestrained population are not polite; for, in truth, I met with nothing but the most perfect politeness from them all.

My companion, Mr. Ryerson, had desired that his horse and gig might meet us at Niagara. And being thus favoured, on the second morning we set out, and, by the help of this vehicle, visited several interesting places in the neighbourhood: amongst the rest, Drummondville, so named after General Drummond, called some years ago Lundy-Lane. At this place a dreadful battle was fought in the late war, between the British and American forces. The people have erected three or four "stands" of considerable elevation, ascended by a flight of steps in the inside, for the purpose of showing the battle-field. We reached the top of one of these stands, kept by an old soldier, who described the course of the battle in all its details. General Scott, the distinguished commander of the American armies in the late Mexican war, was second in command at this sanguinary conflict. The old man pointed

out a grave-yard, belonging to a little Presbyterian chapel, where the British artillery was planted. The Americans attacked this artillery, and took it; the English commander ordered a body of infantry to advance, for the purpose of re-capturing the lost guns; and this proved successful. The Americans, not willing to lose their prize, were brought into deadly conflict with the British troops, in a charge of bayonets. The old soldier descanted on the fact, that this *bonâ-fide* crossing of bayonets constituted the third instance on record of such a struggle; in all other cases, when a charge had been made, one of the parties invariably gave way before they came into actual collision. On this occasion the numbers were about equal; they closed upon each other; the steel flashed fire as the weapons of death struck; the struggle was that of man to man, of the same blood, speaking the same language, possibly descendants of the same parents; resolution, heroism, the strength of muscle, the qualities of the soul, were all brought into requisition; blood flowed in torrents, hundreds fell on either side; the balance quivered, sometimes turning on one side, and sometimes on the other; the decisive moment at length came, the Americans slowly retired, and the British were left in possession of their guns, and of the ensanguined battle-field. And there they lay,—victors and vanquished,—side by side, in the little burying-ground, quietly sleeping now as brothers.

We turned aside from this field of blood, to see the peaceful fruits of industry and union, "The Niagara Suspension-bridge." There has been a mighty amount of nonsense published in the newspapers respecting this work of art. How often have the British public been gulled and amused, by articles respecting a bridge being "built over the Falls of Niagara!" The bridge in question has no more to do with the Falls of Niagara, than London-bridge, except in the fact of its closer proximity. The simple matter of fact is, that the bridge, now in progress, is about a mile below; and instead of being "over the Falls," is designed neither more nor less than just to span the river. The following is an American account:

"The Niagara suspension-bridge will span the narrow gorge of the Niagara river, between the cataract and the whirlpool, in view of both, by an arch eight hundred feet long," (how can this be called an arch?) "forty feet wide, and two hundred and thirty feet above the water. It will be supported by sixteen wire cables, one thousand

one hundred feet long, and upwards of twelve inches in circumference. Its strength is to be equal to six thousand five hundred tons' tension strain; and it is to be subjected to the most severe and conclusive tests, so as to render it safe beyond any possible contingency. A railroad track will extend through the centre, uniting the roads terminating at the Falls; there will also be carriage-ways, and a foot-path. It is to be completed by the 1st of May, 1849, at a cost of 190,000 dollars. The engineer is Charles Ellet, Esq., of Philadelphia."

The work was in progress at the time we visited the site, not, however, very far advanced. But the frightful chasm embracing the river was then crossed by—I know not what it is called—a cable suspension, moved by a windlass power, like the one at Clifton, near Bristol.

In the afternoon we took a last look of the Falls; feeling reluctant to leave so soon. But my companion having arranged for me to preach at St. Catherine's, a town some miles across the country, I felt obliged to obey the call of duty. This journey afforded me good opportunity of judging of the progress of agriculture in Western Canada; and I am compelled to say, that I saw no farming in the United States equal to that of this part of the country. The land is exceedingly rich and good; and cultivation, so far as it has extended, has evidently been conducted on an excellent principle. The crops appeared promising and abundant.

We arrived at our destination in time for public service, and had a good attendance. Here I beheld an unusual spectacle: when I gave out the hymn, the whole congregation swung round, with the regularity of a regiment of soldiers wheeling to the right-about,—turning their backs upon me. I was startled, not knowing but the sight of an Englishman had either put them into a fright, or produced some other unpleasant sensation, till told that it was the Presbyterian custom, and our people had learned it from them. We are certainly a very *learning* people; but the sooner these St. Catherine folks, and all others, unlearn this vile practice, the better.

On our route to Hamilton, the next day, we called to dine at Mr. Edwards's, the brother-in-law of my travelling friend. Here I had an opportunity of seeing a farm-house and family of the better class of Canadian farmers. Every thing wore an air of great comfort, abundance, and happiness. The house itself, a wooden one, was very commodious, well-furnished, and, in some

sort, elegant. The land around appeared exceedingly rich and fertile, bearing abundant crops. We were hospitably and kindly entertained, having for dinner the accustomed tip-top fare when friends of the first consideration are entertained,—a sucking pig. After a pleasant journey, (for the roads are much better in Canada than in the States,) we arrived in Hamilton, and I found myself happily lodged in the family of my kind companion, Mr. Ryerson.

The Sunday brought with it much peace and enjoyment. I preached in the morning at Dundas, a large town, four miles from Hamilton, to a plain, country congregation; and in the evening at Hamilton. It is pleasant to find the sweet rest of the sabbath in these journeyings, excitements, and converse with men; it brings one to God, and reminds of heaven. Hamilton, named after the first settler on the spot, is a fine and improving place; one of the finest towns, in some respects, if not *the* finest, in Canada. It is beautifully situated at the head of Lake Ontario; is a place of much trade, being placed in a position to enjoy the navigation of the lakes, and to obtain an easy access to the United States. A railroad, now in progress, will connect it with the west, so that its prospects of progress are great. A rising hill, called "the Mountain," forms a beautiful back-ground to the city, the slope of which is even now partly occupied by splendid residences, commanding a magnificent view of the lake. This hill has little pretensions to the name "mountain;" but being the only elevation of any consideration in Western Canada, the definite article is employed. This whole ridge is capable of being used for building purposes; and, no doubt, in time, both its ascent and level plain above will be covered with the habitations of men. We ascended this mountain, and obtained a most beautiful prospect of the lake and country around. The locality is ornamented by a tiny castle, the residence of Sir Alan M'Nab, the only native titled gentleman in the provinces. The place is ill situated, in the vicinity of a swamp, and the inmates are said to be exposed to that constant consequence of such malaria, the ague.

CHAP. VIII.—*Ontario—Toronto—Dr. Ryerson—Sir F. B. Head—Bishop Strachan—The City—Departure for Kingston—Mr. Robinson—Mr. Bolton—Coburg College—Kingston—Pass up the Bay of Quinti—Belleville—The Canada Conference—The Union—Return to Kingston.*

AFTER spending Monday in this agreeable town, we started on Tuesday morning for Toronto, in a fine steamer, down the lake. The passage was enchanting; every thing conspired to make it agreeable. The day was splendid, the lake unruffled, the company pleasant, the shore fine, and blooming with a luxuriant vegetation.

The next morning we arrived at Toronto, and I was met at the landing-place by my dear friend Dr. Ryerson, who conducted me to his own house, where I lodged during my sojourn in this city. I was now at home with one whom I had long known, and greatly esteemed. We talked of old times, old friends, old troubles and misunderstandings; and could now well afford to rejoice in the altered state of things, the union of the two bodies having been effected; and, especially, in the settled peace of the Methodist church in Canada.

I found my friend in possession of the office of chief superintendent of the Government-school system, now in vigorous progress; an office somewhat analogous to that occupied in this country by Dr. Kaye Shuttleworth. He was fully engaged by the duties of this post, was much and zealously devoted to the cause, and, I have no doubt, conducted its business with great ability. He had prevailed upon the authorities to allow the old government-house to be occupied as a training school. This government-house had been celebrated by Sir Francis Head, as the place of his quiet slumbers, when the rebel Mackenzie and his American sympathizers were approaching the city in battle array; and where he developed the wonderful resources of his civil and military genius, and, as if by magic, drove the rebel forces reeling, if not into the lake, yet back again to the opposite shore. This was a rare man, this Sir Francis! However, one would like to know, whether there happened to be some thoughtful military officer awake, when Sir Francis was so snugly asleep? whether the science and strategy of war had any thing to do with the miraculous magic which drove the rebels back? whether Sir Francis, not being a military man, shared the toils and dangers of the non-military inhabitants of the city, as a

volunteer? Be these things as they may, the house in which all the wonderful feats of this gentleman were concocted and performed, we now found to be occupied for very different purposes. It is no longer a place for the manufacture of bulletins and missiles of war, but a school for training messengers of peace; it no longer witnesses such heroics as were played off by Sir Francis, but furnishes a quiet home for the developement of such faculties as the youth of Canada may happen to possess, to enable them to benefit their fellow-countrymen.

These schools are truly national, not denominational. The system is very much like the British, or Borough-road, scheme: the Bible, in the authorized version, is employed daily, and the more specific teaching left in the hands of ministers and parents. Schools are planted through the whole country, so that the children of the poor have now the means of obtaining a good education. The moral and religious advantages of this must be immense; and, in due time, will tell most beneficially on the state of the people. An educated population is growing up; their improved intelligence and morals will blend with general society, and the effects be seen in all their ramifications and interests.

The District-Meeting was sitting in Toronto; so that I had the opportunity of judging of the state of things in the Canadian body, so far as they were developed by the proceedings of this assembly. Poverty pressed upon the brethren; their deficiencies in many of the circuits were considerable, which they had not the means of meeting; and the preachers were obliged to bear the loss themselves, which they did without murmuring. Their religious state was found to be good; they had increased in numbers almost every where, and progress was apparent in every department.

On Sunday I had the happiness to preach twice, in Adelaide and Richmond-street chapels, to spiritual and lively congregations. Whilst at this city, Dr. Ryerson took me, amongst other visits, to pay our respects to the lord bishop of Toronto, Dr. Strachan,—a Lowland Scotchman, one would say, by his stature; possessing all the shrewdness and tact of his countrymen; a clever man of business, having long had much influence in public affairs. We found he had lost none of the brogue of the north; and to listen to the sounds of his voice one would have supposed the place of interview to have been Glasgow

instead of Toronto. We were very politely received, and, after half an hour's conversation on general questions, took our leave.

Toronto is beautifully situated on Lake Ontario; the country is level, but free from swamp, and perfectly dry; the city is new, but there are many excellent buildings; and King-street is about the finest in America: the shops of this street are not stores, but finished and decorated in English style; and, in appearance, would be no disgrace to Regent-street, if placed by its side.

After spending four or five days at Toronto, we took our departure for Kingston on Monday morning. On board the steamer we met Chief-Justice Robinson, and Mr. Bolton, late chief-justice of Newfoundland, now a resident in Toronto, and one of the members of the House of Assembly. These gentlemen belonged to different grades in politics; Mr. Robinson being at the head of the Conservatives, and the leading member of the late Government; whilst Mr. Bolton belongs to the Liberals, and supports the present party in power. They were going on circuit, the one as a judge and the other as counsel. We found them very agreeable men, Chief-Justice Robinson being evidently a man of first-rate intellect and mental power. Mr. Bolton, whom I met again on board the "America," on my return to this country, complained much of the treatment he had met with in connexion with his office of chief justice in Newfoundland. He had quarrelled with the popish power on that island; and in the dispute, the home-Government, in Lord Melbourne's time, had, as usual, taken part, as he said, with the Papists. He was obstructed in the discharge of his duties by open violence; the popish bishop offered to help him out of his difficulties if he would allow his official influence and commands to pass through his hands to the people; by this, proposing to put the judge's office into commission, the bishop being the chief commissioner. This he indignantly spurned, and determined that the law should be enforced by the civil, the constitutional power. This brought the judge into immediate collision with the popish party; and disputes, agitations, and riots ensued. He was in danger of personal violence; and his wife, a Romanist herself, took sides with her husband, and heroically sheltered him from his enemies. The issue was dismissal from office. The civil power, the constitution, the flag of Queen Victoria, was

made, as was always the case in those times, to succumb to popish violence. Mr. Bolton could never extort from the home-Government, either by personal application, or by getting a friend to push the matter in the Commons, any explanation of the cause of his dismissal, though he knew perfectly, that it was done to gratify, to conciliate, the Papists. His notions of the Romanists on the one hand, and of their friends and patrons, the then British Government, on the other, were any thing but favourable to either.

Towards evening we reached Coburg, where these gentlemen left us. The captain had the politeness to remain longer than his usual time, to allow us to run up and take a hasty glance at Victoria College. Nature could not furnish a finer site. The building stands on an eminence behind the town, commanding a most glorious view of the lake and surrounding country. It was vacation-time: we did not, consequently, see the young men. It is a fine institution, and promises to be of great benefit to the Methodist church in Canada. After regaling our sight with this lovely scene, we hastened on board, and were soon again in motion: such is life.

We arrived at Kingston the next morning, and hoped to go on immediately to Belleville, our destination, and the town where the Canadian Conference was appointed to be held. Our expectations, however, were doomed to be disappointed. A steamer had been engaged to take us; but, behold, on our arrival we found, to our consternation, that a telegraphic communication had been sent, countermanding the order; and the vessel having been despatched to Montreal, no other could be obtained. I had risen in great pain and misery, and was obliged to go to a friend's house, and lie on the sofa all day. In consequence of this disaster, I had little opportunity of seeing Kingston.

At night, an hour or two before dark, we began our voyage up the Bay of Quinti, one of the loveliest pieces of water in Canada, and surrounded by fine and beautifully wooded banks. Our steamer was a miserably poor affair; our accommodations indifferent; the night wet and cold; and, to complete the discomfort, a number of our brethren placed themselves just against the door of my cabin, supposing I was asleep, and indulged themselves in conversation till about one o'clock. Altogether, it was a most miserable night. We arrived at Belleville

towards nine o'clock; and, as soon as we had finished breakfast, proceeded to open the Conference, and begin business.

Most of the brethren had arrived, and we mustered more than a hundred men. The business was chiefly routine, and not of much public interest. The union had been effected the year before, by the good-will and co-operation of nearly all parties, but chiefly by the prudence and indefatigable exertions of Dr. Alder. He laboured at this laudable task with great ability and perseverance, and happily succeeded in his exertions. In all such conditions of the church as obtained in Canada, there must, of course, be hostile elements,—passions and prejudices called forth by former antagonistic operations; things in themselves of little consideration are elevated, in the opinion of disputants, to the importance and dignity of principles; imaginary interests, honour, and consistency are considered as at stake; and, moreover, the separate movements of the parties will be thought by themselves to embody the cause of God. These difficulties stood in the way of the union so happily effected. When the good men—for they are good men—of both parties came to consider the question dispassionately, their judgment was convinced, and their prejudices so far gave way, as to lead them to assent to the proposition of union. But it may easily be seen that it would require a skilful hand to manage these clashing interests, and bring all parties into a state of harmony. By the good providence of God, this experienced pilot was found in Dr. Alder: his knowledge of the men, his acquaintance with the work, his influence in the country,—all came in to aid his excellent judgment; and a work was accomplished on which he and all parties will have cause to reflect with great satisfaction. To heal divisions, to remove stumbling-blocks, to bring brethren estranged from each other by misunderstandings into a state of unity,—must surely be considered a good work, and in agreement with the entire spirit of the gospel.

We heard little on the subject at Conference, except exultations that the measure had been effected. The few preachers who had expressed opposing sentiments the year before, were now not only satisfied, but became zealous eulogists of the measure. We heard not a word of dissatisfaction from any portion of the people; though I have understood that since, on the removal of their pastor,

an Englishman in connexion with the British Conference, the people in one place have taken occasion to revolt, and some have left the body. On the whole, the union may be considered as complete, and to work well. It is to be hoped, that the issue will be seen in the extension of true religion, and the revival of the work of God.

I found that many, probably one-half, of the preachers are Englishmen. They are laborious and diligent in their work, are men of good sense and sound piety, much attached to all the distinctive characteristics of Methodism, alive to the progress and prosperity of the work in which they are engaged, and prepared to endure much privation for the accomplishment of the object of their desires and prayers. They have already done much in the cultivation of Western Canada; their chapels, schools, and religious institutions are numerous, and on a respectable scale; their circuits pervade the entire country, embracing the back settlements and outposts, as well as the cities and larger towns: the character and moral influence of the church is such as to command the respect of the entire community; and as population progresses, and the resources of the country are developed, this people must, in the ordinary course of events, become an increasingly great and influential body.

We closed our business on Thursday, June 15th, at noon; thus accomplishing our work in a week and one day. It required close attention, much evening labour, no superfluity of talk, good order, and brotherly kindness, to bring this about: all of which were happily observed. Many of the good brethren seemed surprised at themselves when they had done; they imagined the thing impossible. We broke up, as we had continued together, in great harmony and concord. For myself, I left them with unfeigned regret and entire affection; and they will never be forgotten, they will never cease to be objects of my most cordial esteem and regard.

It had been my happiness to be entertained at the house of Mr. Flint, a member of the Assembly, and a most kind-hearted man. Our pleasure was, however, in some measure abated by the circumstance of his being afflicted with ague, which came upon him at regular periods of the day, and produced the most depressing prostration. Mrs. Flint is a most charming and excellent lady, and did her utmost to make our abode in the family agreeable and happy. From these kind friends we parted

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with sincere regret, and prayers for their continued happiness.

Nothing is so pleasant as to recount kindnesses; but when all are kind, it is difficult to select instances without appearing invidious. But I must confess, in parting with my Canadian brethren, that I should be most ungrateful were I not to say, that from Mr. John Ryerson, in a long journey through the States as well as Canada, by residence and fellowship at Pittsburgh, at Hamilton, at Belleville, down the St. Lawrence, to the very end of our intercourse,—I received nothing but the most cordial acts of kindness; not, I am sure, so much on my own account, as to betoken his respect for the Methodist Conference in this country. Our friend, the Rev. Enoch Wood, Superintendent of Missions, residing at Toronto, I found to be a very able man; and universally respected for his excellent character, ability, and devotedness to the service of his Divine Master. It was, moreover, refreshing to meet once more with our old brethren and acquaintance, Peter Jones and John Sunday. They hold on their way, retain all the freshness of religion, devote themselves to the work of God amongst their countrymen, and do much good. John Sunday made us a missionary speech with as much spirit as ever, heightened by the interest he felt, —and caused us to feel,—from the fact that he was brought to God at Belleville, in the chapel in which he was then speaking for his heavenly Master.

Another noble evangelist, whose name is perfectly familiar to our people in this country, also attended the Conference,—the Rev. William Case; a man of beautiful simplicity, fine sense, great moderation and charity, fervent piety, and most abundant and useful labours. There are men in Canada destined, as I hope, to perpetuate and carry out to a blessed consummation the good work already existing on a wide and noble basis.

We embarked on board the steamer about four o'clock on the day we finished our Conference business, and made our way rapidly down the Bay of Quinti. The daylight remained for many hours, so that I obtained a prolonged view both of land and water. The whole scenery was most enchanting: the banks were covered with unbroken forests, with rich blue foliage, bending to the water's edge; and were studded, here and there, with flourishing villages and fertile farms. At the close of day we landed, and found a fine little town, situated in a singular

nook formed by an inlet of the bay, and apparently lost in the midst of the forest. The night was passed in tranquillity; and early in the morning we found ourselves at Kingston. I now saw a little more of this city: it is situated in a most lovely locality, and it may be fairly doubted, whether any inland town in the world can vie with it, in either its astonishing confluence of waters, or, in some respects, beautiful scenery. Placed at the extremity of Lake Ontario, and at the head of the St. Lawrence, Kingston commands the navigation of both. By the river, it is connected with the Atlantic, and consequently with Europe; and by the lakes, with the interior of Canada and the United States. Its military strength, moreover, gives it the complete command of the channel, and of the country; and in any war with America, it must be considered as the key of the St. Lawrence, and will cost Jonathan a severe struggle to master. We hope this tug of war may never arise; if it should, the fate of Kingston must have much influence in settling the question, as to who shall be masters of Canada.

CHAP. IX.—*The St. Lawrence—The Thousand Islands—The Rapids—Montreal—The City—The Cathedral—The Methodist Chapel—Storm—The Earl of Elgin—The Romanists—Passage to Quebec—The City—The Plains of Abraham—General Wolfe—Fortifications—A rural Repast—Falls of Montmorenci—The French Habitans—Reflections on Canada.*

OUR steamer for Montreal was awaiting our arrival; and after some time we got on board, and were soon again in motion, for fresh scenes and a new destination. We at once got into the current of the St. Lawrence, and found ourselves in the midst of, I should think, the most perfect fairy-scene in the world,—the Thousand Islands. These islands are so called, not because they have been counted,—a definite being put for an indefinite number. They extend, from the singular union of waters by the termination of the Lake Ontario, the Bay of Quinti, and the head of the St. Lawrence, for a space of thirty miles. They are of every size and form, though never attaining any great elevation; and are all covered with trees and shrubs. Our passage lay in the midst of this wonderful group, through which we threaded our course safely, though it needed the most skilful pilotage. Some of the islands appeared to occupy a considerable space on the bosom of the flood; but one isolated little thing, just standing in our course, and requiring

some tact to avoid, looked exactly like a flower-pot, with one plant growing in its centre, of diminutive size, reaching only the elevation which its scanty soil could nourish. So true is nature to her laws! Had this tiny shrub risen higher, the winds would soon have levelled and sent it floating in the water.

The day was clear, the sun bright, the winds soft and genial: could any thing more perfectly remind one of Paradise than this scene? No ruined castles, it is true, graced these islands; no rising turrets, covered with ivy, mantled these spots of primitive beauty; no baronial traditions, no deserted halls, no banqueting-rooms, once the scenes of revelry, of love, and of revenge, were here open to inspection. All was simple, primeval;—nature clothed in her own attire of leafy loveliness. Not a building, not a cottage, was seen. No ascending smoke, no signs of human life, no bleating animals, no ploughman's note, no stroke of the woodman's axe, no labours of the spade or hoe, were any where visible; silence and repose reigned in these islands,—which, in ancient times, would have been peopled, in the imagination of poets, with nymphs and goddesses,—without one interrupting sound, except the whispers of the wind. Nature lay undisturbed in her own soft bed; cradled in the waters; rocked by the elements; and soothed by the rippling stream as it passed along. This simple, primitive state of things has always been, from the time when God first spoke creation into existence; or, certainly, from the period when, some convulsion breaking off these fragments from the main land, he stretched out his hand to place them in their present position, to show his love of beauty, and teach mankind lessons of grateful admiration.

One only inhabitant has been known to dwell on these islands, a sort of freebooter, who made them the headquarters of his piracy for some time. He shifted his abode as occasion dictated, in order to avoid detection; and, sallying forth upon passers-by, feeble enough to tempt his cupidity, plundered them of their effects, and then hastened to his lurking-places in the islands, to enjoy the spoil. He was at last detected, and is now expiating his offences in some distant prison, or living at large with the brand of infamy upon his forehead, as the violator of the sanctities of a spot, hallowed to innocence, peace, and beauty.

In the course of the day we passed down the Rapids, rendered classical by Tom Moore's celebrated "Canadian

Boat Song." They are perfectly frightful. The descent is considerable, the river narrow, the current impetuous, the rocks turning the stream into foaming and dashing fury, like the waters of the sea on a shelving shore. A perfect knowledge of the channel is necessary in the pilot, a keen eye, a strict and vigilant watchfulness: if any of these should be wanting, or an accident in any way happen; if the ship, from any cause, should refuse to obey the helm, in the smallest degree; destruction would be inevitable. In one place the bend of the river is so abrupt, and the angle so acute, that one would suppose the vessel must go headlong against the shore. Such, however, was the skill of our pilot, that at this point we suddenly wheeled round with the current, and passed safely the whole course of the Rapids.

We lay to for the night a few miles above Montreal, having other Rapids to pass, and the daylight not serving. Early on Saturday morning we were again in motion, and passed the frightful flood of agitated waters. No vessel can pass up these Rapids; and to facilitate the navigation, the Welland Canal has been constructed. A noble work this! Vessels of great tonnage can ascend this canal, and by these artificial means an easy communication is secured up the river to the Lakes. About nine miles from Montreal, we were met by several friends, who conducted us by railroad to the city One of these friends, the Honourable James Ferrier, took me to his own house, where I was domiciled during my stay in the place. I found with this fine family a very happy home. It was never my pleasure to meet with a more perfect Christian household than this. Parents and children seemed to be actuated by the same spirit; the one by the most tender but judicious paternal affection, and the young people with devout and deferential filial regard.

I was immediately conducted to see the curiosities of the place. Montreal wears the appearance of the olden times; the stately and majestic cathedral being its chief ornament. We went first of all to inspect this building; and found that its interior, ornaments, and pictures, in the usual style of the popish church, did no discredit to its external magnificence. Various superstitions and follies were then, and had long been, going on. Amongst the rest, a bell, said to be heavier, and every way larger, than "Great Tom" of Lincoln, was suspended by machinery, employed for the purpose, waiting to be baptized the day

following; which ceremony was performed with great pomp, attended by immense crowds of people. Nothing is done without pay in Popery; and all who witnessed this baptism of the bell were obliged to pay for their devotions or amusement. A beautiful hill is seen in the back-ground of the city, as usual, covered with fine shrubs and trees. The ascent is filled with houses,—some, very large and splendid gentlemen's villas. Around this hill Mr. Ferrier took me for a ride in the evening; and the scenery was most lovely. We passed the country residence of the governor-general; no very splendid place, but finely situated, in perfect seclusion.

On Sunday I preached twice,—in the evening in the large chapel. This is by far the most spacious, beautiful, and splendid chapel I have seen in Methodism, at home or abroad; and the congregation corresponds. It is quite as great as any of the Yorkshire chapels, and much more elegant, and well furnished. The day was, as I think, the hottest I ever lived through, the thermometer being about a hundred and forty in the sun. During the evening service a thunder-storm came on, with overwhelming torrents of rain. The thunder was so loud, that I could scarcely hear my own voice; and this lasted a good part of the sermon. The lightning was of the same terrific nature; and some of the lower windows abutting against high ground, about level with themselves, the rain rushed through in torrents; so much so, as greatly to wet and discompose the dress of many of the females sitting in that part of the building. Altogether, it was a most distressing season.

The following day we waited upon the governor-general, at Government-house, in the city. In the ante-room we found a fine old popish priest, waiting for an audience. This was a most intelligent man, frank, open, affable; the very opposite of the Jesuit class. We conversed freely with this priest, on various matters, and were pleased to find, that a bad system had not succeeded in defacing the characteristics of a noble nature. On being called into the presence of his Excellency, we were very courteously received. Lord Elgin is, in appearance, bearing, and demeanour, a fine specimen of the British peer. We had, however, in him, a clear evidence of the nature of the responsible Government principle, as understood in Canada; and as it is being carried out by the British authorities. He could not be prevailed upon to

give any answer to our inquiries on the business we had come upon, nor even so much as hazard an opinion. He told us he would lay the matter before his council; and we could get no further than this. My companions were astonished, and not much pleased at the result; not understanding how a governor-general should not himself settle a question of the nature proposed, and at once decide the whole case. For myself, I confess, that I was neither surprised nor displeased, well understanding, that if the principles of the British constitution are to be carried out literally in Canada, the representative of the sovereign cannot act as if he were the representative of an absolute monarch; he must take counsel with his ministers, council, or whatever else his advisers may be called. This principle, in one form or other, no doubt, had much to do in paving the way for the severance of the colonies, now constituting the United States, from the mother country. Its adoption may have the same effect in Canada; but how it is to be got rid of, in the present state of things, or whether desirable, if it could, are difficult questions to solve. In the present state of the world, absolute or irresponsible power is out of the question, at any rate, in regions which have been blessed with British rule.

With a view to ascertain the fact, I examined the names over the shops and places of business, both in Montreal and afterwards in Quebec, and found that they were nearly all English and Scotch. The bulk of the population being French, it is clear from this, that our countrymen have pushed the French inhabitants into the obscure parts of these cities, and obtained for themselves the command of the chief trade and commerce of the country. This, indeed, is notoriously the case. The original founders of these cities are now seen inhabiting small dwellings in the obscure and meaner streets, keeping little fruit and hucksters' shops, and following other trades of a similar description. They are reported as very inert, improvident, and careless; they even alienate their lands without much concern, though naturally addicted to a rural life; and, like the Irish, seem to claim kindred with the soil on which they have been bred. They appear, in themselves, a very harmless race, are altogether under the influence of their political chiefs and priests, and, consequently, easily excited one way or other, and never think of acting for themselves. Education, and, indeed, information of every kind, is at a very low ebb amongst

them; and I was told by the highest authority in the country, on this subject, that it was extremely difficult to get them to employ the Government-grant for educational purposes; the treasurer always having a large sum of unappropriated money belonging to them in hand.

It will be in the recollection of many, that Lord Melbourne's Government restored the island of Montreal to the order or society of St. Sulpice, to whom it was originally granted by the French king; but in the midst of the confusions of the world, arising out of the French revolution, the society becoming extinct, or from some other cause, it had been alienated to the crown. The society having been revived in the general resuscitation of Popery, the right had been restored, in the desire to conciliate Popery, so that the fee-simple of the whole island now belongs to this body. I was told, on good authority, that, on every transfer of property, by fine, or the renewal of lease, the priesthood obtain a sum equal to eight shillings in the pound, as their share in the transaction. The island being large; the city now being made the seat of government; the commercial transactions of the place being extensive; and, altogether, this being the most flourishing port in Canada; it results that the revenue derived from these sources is enormous. Certainly, Popery presents here the aspect of great wealth, and evidently occupies a commanding position. Their fêtes far transcend, in splendour and cost, those of any other country, in the present day; and while the church of Rome seems in a state of decay every where else, it is in great life and prosperity under the British dominion in Canada. But little impression has ever been made upon it by Protestantism; and it is evidently as undisturbed and secure in its supremacy, as if the country had remained under the sway of the Bourbons. The industry of the British people, in the mean time, by its restored title to the proprietorship of the island, tends to enrich the church and build up its power; every shilling which is expended in improvements, as the fruit of British enterprise and industry, puts, as we see, more than one-third into the pockets of the priests.

I found also that the Jesuits were earnestly urging their claim to their forfeited possessions. When the society became extinct, they, of course, lost their rights of property in the country. They were in possession of numerous houses, large tracts of land, and privileges of various sorts, when in their days of power and glory.

When in Quebec, I lodged exactly opposite a large building, once a college of Jesuits, now employed as barracks. The nature of their influence, the extent of their possessions, (for they must have enjoyed pay and food, as well as lodging,) and their numbers, may be pretty accurately judged of by this building. It is, I should believe, large enough to hold a regiment of soldiers; and, supposing Jesuits would require accommodation superior to the army, it would certainly accommodate, even in that case, not less than five or six hundred. Whether, in the progress of conciliation,—for so many years followed by the British Government,—this Jesuits' college and their other possessions will ever be restored, it is impossible to say. The local government is, at present, resisting the claim; and I read, when in the country, very able articles from the pen of one of the chief functionaries against conceding these claims. This is probably the security of the country. Society at large, having an interest in preserving the present settlement of property, and in keeping themselves free from the dominion and yoke of the Society of Jesus, may possibly be able to resist the encroachments sought to be made; whereas if the matter were entirely in the hands of the home-Government, nothing would be more likely than Jesuitical success, and for the world to see them again installed in the college at Quebec, as well as enjoying all other kinds of property and power,—now enhanced a thousand-fold by Protestant enterprise and labour.

The steamers pass between Montreal and Quebec only by night; and on Monday evening I embarked with Mr. Ferrier, Dr. Richey, the Rev. John Jenkins, and other friends, for the latter place. We had a pleasant night-trip, sitting up late to see Mr. Ferrier off, who had to land at Three Rivers, for the purpose of attending to business in connexion with some iron-founding operations; the only works of the sort, as I understood, in the country. Mr. Ferrier, and a fine old gentleman, one of the owners of the steamer in which we were passing down the river, had a long debate respecting steam navigation. This latter gentleman, I found, in connexion with his father, was the first to employ steam power on the St. Lawrence, and had been very successful in his vocation. I learned from this conversation many things respecting American steamers of which I had before been ignorant. I had seen that these vessels possessed amazing space, especially on deck, giving them the means of provid-

ing a splendid saloon and beautiful state-rooms by their sides for passengers, and an equally fine promenade on the outside, where I had often sat or walked, enjoying the fresh air, and looking at the surrounding country. I found now that this space was gained by projections from the sides of the vessel in the form of beams or spars, and on these projections a platform considerably wider than the vessel itself was obtained. But was there no danger of the steamer, in case of a squall arising, turning over on her beam-ends? To obviate this, it seems, an instrument, on the principle of the cork-jacket employed by amateurs in swimming, is placed on each side; so that, in case the vessel reels, she is righted again by this instrument. It was told me that by the use of these appliances, it is impossible for any vessel in any weather to be capsized. The argument of these two clever and experienced disputants turned on the possibility of crossing the Atlantic in one of these flat-bottomed steamers so guarded; Mr. Ferrier taking the affirmative side, and our other friend the negative. All manner of science was brought to bear on the points in dispute; and whether it might be more profitable to employ this species of ship, I know not; but think, from what I heard, that it is possible to cross the ocean in one of these flat-bottomed American river-vessels, sufficiently guarded by the cork-jacket. Our countrymen need not be surprised if they see, some day, in the Mersey, a grand, flat-bottomed steamer, with a saloon as magnificent as the drawing-room of a palace, and state-rooms as convenient and beautiful as the sleeping apartments of a first-rate hotel.

We reached our destination in good time in the morning. Quebec is unique in its appearance within and without; there is nothing equal to it in America. Like New-York, and Pittsburgh, it stands on the point formed by two rivers; though not, like them, meeting *in terminis*. The majestic St. Lawrence is one of these rivers, and still rolls along its course; and the other is the St. Charles, emptying itself into the greater stream from the north-west, and thus forming the triangular point on which the city stands. It wears, in its general aspect, an appearance of great antiquity, quite unlike any other place on the continent. The streets are narrow, irregular, and steep; like many of the old seaports on our coast, or those of France on the opposite side of the Channel. The ecclesiastical

buildings of all sorts—cathedrals, (for there are two, Popish and Protestant,) churches, convents, hospitals, *Hôtels de Dieu*, and all the rest—are seen to predominate over every thing secular,—like some old cathedral town in a Popish country. This feature, together with the military air of the place, causes Quebec to wear an aristocratic and feudal appearance, perfectly dissimilar to the trading and commercial aspect of all other places in America, whether belonging to the States, or to Great Britain.

As soon as possible after our arrival, the friends had two or three carriages ready to convey us round the city, under the projecting rocks overhanging the road, to Wolfe's Cove,—up the heights leading to the fortifications,—to the Plains of Abraham,—and to Cape Diamond.

It must be understood that the angle referred to before, formed by the two rivers, terminates, not in a slope leading down to the waters, but abruptly, in a prodigious rock three hundred and fifty feet above the level of the river; and seeming at a distance to overhang it, but in reality leaving space for roads and buildings. This culminating point is called Cape Diamond; and, whilst standing on this elevation, on the right flows the St. Lawrence, and on the left the St. Charles, whilst the space immediately in the rear forms the Plains of Abraham. From this elevated region, there is no descent at all, the rock is next to perpendicular; but farther on, both towards the St. Lawrence and the St. Charles, the ground, in some places gradually, but often abruptly, descends; this descent, however, admits of roads, winding round the mountain, by which the summit is reached.

I am thus particular, for a reason which must now be explained. When this city was taken by the immortal Wolfe, he, by some miraculous means, in the night, pushed his fleet, with his army and artillery on board, from below, past this Cape Diamond, with its terrible fortifications, unobserved by the enemy, and reached a part of the hill where an ascent was possible, now called Wolfe's Cove. His troops immediately climbed up the sides of the elevation; and by prodigious exertions dragged up several pieces of ordnance. When the next day dawned, the French general found, to his astonishment, the British army, with artillery, formed, in line of battle, on the Plains of Abraham. I was conducted by my friends through the whole of this scene. We traced the course of the fleet up the river, its anchorage, the place where the

troops disembarked, the track of the artillery, of the soldiers up the mountain; and I, for myself, determined to climb up in the path which tradition has marked as the identical line which was trodden by the immortal hero, who added, by his genius and bravery on this occasion, an empire to his country's possessions. When at the top we, in our *un*military and *un*professional way, endeavoured to trace the course of events, and believe we obtained a pretty accurate notion of the battle. The issue is known. The spot where Wolfe received the tidings, "They flee," and then expired, is marked by a mean and paltry monumental stone. I clung with intense feeling to this spot; looking again and again to the place where the destinies of a mighty country were fixed, by the decrees of God, in the death-throes of the successful instrument. There are events in history which turn the tide of national interests; form the epochs of time; raise the monuments of great destinies; pillars written upon by the finger of God, in the annals of the world, as the *data* of nationalities: and that little monumental stone on the summit of the Plains of Abraham is one of these mementoes.

We went from this scene to examine the fortifications. These are denominated the Gibraltar of America, and are certainly the strongest on the continent. But they are not much like Gibraltar. The celebrated batteries of the latter fortress are pretty familiar to my recollection, and greatly surpass their supposed type at Quebec. One would say, however, that these are perfectly impregnable, having been much strengthened since they came into the hands of the English. We went to the Cape Diamond rock; and, standing on its elevation, obtained a most magnificent view of the country around. The glorious St. Lawrence rolls majestically at the foot of the mountain, and the ships in the harbour looked most diminutive, their masts reaching but a very short way towards the point where we stood. The country is seen to a prodigious distance by reason of the clearness of the atmosphere; the mountains and plains alternately stretching in fine plateaux, or rearing their heads to the clouds. The scene also presents to view, what is scarcely ever seen in America, a finished picture. The land is well cultivated, and herds of cattle were grazing quietly in the meadows; while the whole country was dotted with the whitewashed cottages of the French *habitans;* and here and there through the landscape a country church reared its beauti-

ful spire in the midst of the rural scene. The river was seen to an immense distance, meandering its course towards the sea. Altogether, the view from Cape Diamond is one of the most splendid imaginable, and far surpassed any thing I had seen in America. Western Canada is, with the exception of what they call "the Mountain," perfectly level; but this part of the country is full of lofty ridges, often rising to the elevation and ruggedness of real mountain scenery, with bold and abrupt peaks, lost in the clouds.

We were taken to dine in the country, a distance of four or five miles, with a fine old Methodist friend, originally from Guernsey. The table was spread under the umbrageous branches of a lovely tree, on a lawn near the house; and on this spot, protected from the rays of the sun, we partook of our social repast in great harmony and joy. This was a bright oasis in the desert of life, an innocent and happy meeting of Christian friends, favoured to see each other once, never to meet again. This house possesses some traditional importance, as it was chosen by the famous American general, Arnold, for his head-quarters, and where he himself lodged, in his mad expedition again Quebec. This man afterwards turned traitor against his country; and it was in connexion with his perfidy, in delivering up Sandy Point to the English, that the brave and accomplished Major André, employed by the British general to negotiate the surrender of that place, fell into the hands of the Americans, and lost his life. Strange things happen in the course of one's existence. I had been reading, on my voyage out, a very minute account of these transactions; and now it was my lot to dine, not in the house of Arnold's head-quarters, but under a tree by its side, which he had often looked upon, and, if he had not dined under its shady branches, had probably been protected from the storm. Having to preach at night, our sojourn could not be long. We hastened back in time for the service, and had a fine congregation. Here I met with quite a phenomenon in Canada, a Presbyterian minister, who, in the midst of the general disruption, had adhered to the old kirk. I found him a good, moderate, and truly sensible man.

One day only remained for Quebec. In good time, my kind friends and myself set out to visit the Falls of Montmorenci, a distance of nine miles. By this journey I had an opportunity of seeing a little of the state of the

French people in the country. We called at a small inn for refreshment, and found it very comfortable; but as different from the same sort of habitation in our own country as possible. The farms seemed small, the cottages corresponding; but the people were clean, tidy, and apparently very contented and happy. They are a primitive race, remaining in much the same state as they were in the time of their ancestors' coming to the country. British rule causes no innovation in their manners and habits; they retain the use of their own language exclusively; and are perfectly docile to the priesthood, and obedient to the church. The difference betwixt the Anglo-Saxon race and these people of French descent is most glaring. The one is a restless, grumbling, thrifty, and ambitious set, wherever found; the other almost as stationary as the nomadic tribes of the East. Even Popery fails to amalgamate the Irish and French races. They cannot agree to say mass together. The antipathy of the French to the Irish, is equal to the antipathy of poor Pat to the English. The rude, vociferous, agitating spirit of the sons of the Green Isle, cannot be endured by the quiet Canadians; and the priests are compelled to part them. There is a sort of dual Popery in Quebec; the Irish being obliged to keep to themselves, and perform their religious duties in their own peculiar way of roaring riot; whilst their gentle *habitans* are left to walk in the footsteps of the quiet predecessors. The Falls of Montmorenci are very fine, and the descent of the waters is greater than at Niagara; but after beholding that wonder of nature, they appear very insignificant as a whole. In this country they would be a prodigy, and attract universal attention; but in the midst of the stupendous waters of America, they look like a little rill, a mountain torrent, falling from a lofty eminence.

We hastened back to town in time for a hasty dinner and a cordial farewell; and then an embarcation again. Truth obliges me to say, that I never, in my existence, met with a finer people than our friends in Quebec; generous, open-hearted, frank, intelligent, pious, and perfectly united amongst themselves. They occupy a very important religious position; and, it is hoped, will be the means of much good. I found they had begun a new chapel, the exact size, and intended in all things to be the counterpart, of the magnificent one at Montreal; so that Lower Canada will, ere long, contain the most magnificent places

of worship in the Methodist world. It is intended to get Dr. Bangs, on his visit to the Canada Conference next summer, to open this new place of worship. This will, to all parties, be interesting; as I believe that eminent minister of Christ was the first to preach our doctrines in this city. In America, a man is often permitted, in his own life-time, to see great results from small beginnings. Taking a most affectionate leave of this kind people, many of whom had assembled for the purpose, we got on board the steamer in the evening; and, ascending the St. Lawrence during the night, found ourselves again in Montreal for breakfast the next morning, at the house of Mr. Kay, a countryman, and belonging to one of the numerous families of that name in Lancashire.

Before quitting Canada, a remark or two may be proper on general subjects. No one can see this country without being convinced of its great importance. Its area is that of a mighty empire; for, though thousands of square miles are barren, and must always remain so, by reason of their northern position, yet still there will be left, for profitable cultivation, probably as large a portion as the whole of central Europe. The soil of this vast space is most prolific, capable of bearing abundant crops of wheat, and every other kind of grain and fruit, suited to a wheat-growing country. Moreover, this territory being intersected by noble rivers, navigable in most places, and capable of being made so by canal-adjuncts almost universally, is, of itself, an infinite advantage, and presents vast facilities of intercourse and cheap transmission of both people and produce from place to place. My duties called me to pass along the shores of Queen Victoria's possessions, for just about a thousand miles. This was effected, partly by the course of the Lakes, and partly by the Bay of Quinti and the river St. Lawrence; whilst at the same time I did not see the termination of the latter by betwixt three and four hundred miles. This magnificent river, which, with the Lakes, through which it is always considered as passing, is of greater length than even the Mississippi;—and is, in itself, of the value of an empire. Those who command the navigation of the St. Lawrence must be the masters of a highway of water-communication of prodigious importance.

Every year will increase this value, as the return of every season must develope the resources and riches of the country. In speaking of the command of the river, I

am reminded, that, in passing between Kingston and Montreal, there was seen a branch from the main channel, which, after running some miles, returned to the parent stream. The shore on the right bank belongs to America, and that on the left to Canada. To my utter surprise, and equal indignation, by some sort of diplomatic concession to Jonathan, I found our statesmen had given up both banks; so that America is the owner of the entire stream, and the branch river constitutes the boundary-line. This is just as if it were agreed upon in general terms by the authorities, that the Grand Junction Railroad between Birmingham and London should be the boundary of territorial rights; but, on some subsequent occasion, one party should say the meaning of the treaty was, that the line should go through Oxford, leaving them in possession of the main trunk, and compelling the opposite party, in going to town, to turn off and proceed by the University city;—with this exception, indeed, that the branch river is unnavigable; so that, in case of dispute, the British would be altogether shut out. These boundary-treaties are most humiliating to this country; they always result in favour of the claims of America. Indeed, it seems a settled conviction in the American mind, an axiom of policy, and one would think a standing rule in the offices of the Government, that, on all occasions of diplomacy, John Bull is destined, made, to be diddled, to be gulled, to be beaten. Our dandy, blundering diplomatists are a poor match for the long-headed, practical, scheming statesmen of the United States. Canada is full of just complaints on this point, not even excepting the famous Ashburton and Oregon treaties.

My good friend, Mr. Ferrier, told me a most laughable instance of this kind of thing. The subject-matter was a railroad from Montreal to—I think the name of the place is—Rochester, on the Atlantic seaboard, or, at any rate, somewhere in the east. There lived at this Rochester a Judge ——, whose interest it was, as will be seen, to promote the business of Rochester, and get the trains to run to that place. But the new line had to connect itself with the line to Boston, and the Boston line was on the broad guage. What did our worthy Yankee judge do? He went to Montreal to persuade the boobies that the broad guage is a very bad guage, and that it would be much for their interest to adopt the narrow guage; thus preventing the new line from connecting with the Boston,

and making it necessary for every bale of goods to be unshipped from one train to the other, at a considerable amount of trouble and expense, or else to run on to Rochester. By this contrivance the probabilities were, that the goods would be sent on to Rochester, and increase its traffic. The judge prevailed upon the company to believe that the narrow guage was much the best, and they forthwith adopted it. The bill came before the provincial Parliament; and Mr. Ferrier was so convinced of the folly of the thing, that when it came before the Senate, he offered it his most strenuous opposition, and for the time defeated the scheme of the judge. But he was not at all discomfited: he went again to Montreal, and now, getting amongst the Senators, prevailed upon them to believe that the broad guage is a very bad guage; and the railroad is either already constructed, or is in course of construction, on the principle of the narrow guage. And this very judge, Diddle or Biddle, (his name is one or the other,) is the very person whose *dicta* ruled in the treaty betwixt Lord Ashburton and the States; a measure pompously put forth, at the time, as a most masterly piece of statesmanship, but which every tyro in politics in Canada knows to be a surrender of the main points in dispute, and a most humiliating affair to Great Britain.

I found the country full of complaints and dissatisfaction from one end to the other. The people every where, and of all shades of politics, spoke the same language. Their fortunes were wrecked, their commerce destroyed; their agriculture, the sinews of the colony, enfeebled, ruined. Of course, all blamed the home-Government. They refused to do any thing, they said, to support their credit, or to further their exertions to obtain any loan, to assist in the public works;—the execution of these were required, to expand their strength, and to develope the resources of the country, but they could obtain no help. Nay, it was asserted, by men of first-rate intelligence, and who had been engaged in the attempt, that they even could not get a hearing; nobody amongst the bureaucracy in London could be found to acquaint themselves with their affairs, or pay any attention to them. Hence the only railroad in Canada is the insignificant line, of about a dozen miles, from Montreal to the place where the steamers land their passengers for that city. This one fact shows clearly enough the stagnant state of the

country. When railroads are, of all the gifts of Providence now known, best calculated to call forth the hidden resources of such a country as Canada, their absence is sufficiently indicative of the want of patronage on the part of Government, or of indolence in the people; and, as the latter cannot be truly affirmed, the cause must be attributable to the former. There is a pretty general belief, indeed, that England has virtually given them up; and, because of this, it would not be in the power of ministers to get the sanction of Parliament for any great scheme of colonization and credit. The capitalists of England, they believe, will not embark their money without Government security, entertaining the notion that the colony is vibrating in the balance; and this not being accorded, probably for the same reason, there they are, floundering in a mighty ocean of greatness and wealth, for the want of the means of picking it up. How long this state of things will last, nobody can tell. The connexion between the mother-country and this her most athletic offspring, is now merely political; or as nearly so as possible. All England now does for Canada, they said, again and again, is to appoint them a governor, and make them pay him five times more than they should in case they appointed him themselves; and to maintain an army at a prodigious expense to keep them in order. This talk was not the conversation of radicals, of demagogues, of French republicans; but of many of the best subjects of the British crown in America; men of intelligence, of integrity, of honour, of loyalty, of religion; and these men are beginning *openly* to propose the question, "What are the advantages of English connexion?" and to weigh and discuss those of *annexation*.

It does not become me to enter into such a subject in detail; but the fact is, that the recent policy of this country—the free-trade policy—has had the effect of throwing all the advantages possessed by Canada, as a part of the British empire, (and which, as such, the people considered that they had a right to possess,) into the hands of the United States. Montreal used to be the great market for English produce, the centre whence it flowed to the whole of the provinces; but now almost all this trade has found its way to New-York. On the enactment of Lord Stanley's bill respecting the admission of Canada flour into this country, a vast outlay in building mills took place, which mills had just begun to work

profitably; but the new policy effectually crushed this trade. I myself saw one of these mills, belonging to one of our friends,—a new building of great size, and which must have cost many thousand pounds in its erection,—standing still. This I understood was generally the case. Before the new measures, the people of Canada could afford to purchase corn in the United States, and, turning it into flour at these mills, obtain a market for it in Europe; thus deriving a benefit to themselves from the soil of the States. The tables are now completely turned. The Americans are now the millers; and corn-dealers from the States come over to buy up the grain of the country, turn it into "bread-stuffs," and sell Canadian-grown wheat in our markets as American flour. This is rather too much for flesh and blood to bear. Canada and the United States are now placed, as nearly as possible, on an equal footing with regard to commercial transactions with this country; the one being a colony of the British empire, and the other the greatest rival this nation has to contend with in the world. How long this state of things can last, is for statesmen to consider. Canada now only belongs to Great Britain by a figment, a tradition, a loyalty, a recollection of heroic deeds; and not by any material interest or benefit. Nay, in the present state of things, cast off by the mother country, and left to their own resources, with the United States just by their side, possessing vast political power and influence; a growing credit, and monetary resources; a prodigious mercantile and commercial navy; an active, industrious, and virtuous people; a government capable, in all respects, and equally disposed, to foster, protect, and strengthen all its possessions;—we say, with all these things staring them in the face, the policy of this country has made it the plain, palpable, interest of the Canadians to seek for annexation. This is as clear as any problem in Euclid. How long the tradition and the loyalty will weigh against the interests now put in the balance against them, nobody need be at a loss to determine. Perhaps the non-election of General Cass will settle the question for the next four years; but, had that gentleman obtained the presidency of the States,—why, the world would have presented itself in different phases at the end of the above period.

Whether these fears and auguries take place or not, Canada must have a great and noble destiny. A country so magnificent, a soil so prolific, water communication so

abundant, and a people, moreover, in whose veins British blood flows, and who are in possession of the incipient principles, freedom, and laws of England, safely planted in the soil; such a country must rise to greatness and power. The French leaven is constantly losing its relative strength, and the British is as constantly increasing. The one population is rapidly getting a-head of the other, and assuming the lead. This must, in the nature of things, fix the destiny of the colony. Our language, our institutions, and our religion, will prevail. A mighty empire will rise up, enriched with knowledge, with public and private virtue, and possessed of all the appliances of political power and wealth. We wish them well; they are at present our children; and, in all future time and contingencies, they will be our brethren. They will carry out and perpetuate all that is valuable in our system, and, planting old England on a new soil, will reproduce our nation on a gigantic scale.

CHAP. X.—*Return—Pass the St. Lawrence—Lake Champlain—Plattsburgh—Whitehall—Journey by Stage—Troy—Albany—The Hudson—Arrival at New-York—Ill—Doubtful respecting being able to return Home—Resolve to do so—Depart for Boston—Embark on board the "America"—Passage—Arrival at Home.*

ON Thursday, June 22d, the day on which we came up from Quebec, we bade farewell to our dear friends at Montreal, and took a last look at Canada. Last things are painful, and full of interest. We parted from those who had endeared themselves by every kind of attention and affectionate regard, with the desire,—never to be effaced,—for their highest happiness. We crossed the St. Lawrence, and soon entered Lake Champlain. A portion of the waters of this Lake belong to the British; as usual, just the fag-end, whilst the great body of the Lake is owned by the States. The lines of demarcation are marked by a fort, of small dimensions or strength, which might easily be dismantled. This is, unquestionably, the finest Lake I had seen. The scenery on its banks is perfectly enchanting; and, unlike Lakes Erie and Ontario, it commands a view of mountain scenery of the most majestic description. This Lake is one hundred and thirty-two miles in length, and varies in breadth from the narrow channel above mentioned to nine or ten miles. Many beautiful islands stud the waters, and have a fine effect. At the close of the day we approached a place

called Plattsburgh. The scene was the most beautifully romantic which nature can possibly present: A blue sky, deep, lofty, stretching its heavenly arch to span the landscape; the sun setting in all his gorgeous glory; the Lake smooth as glass, except as disturbed by our motion; wild fowl fluttering about and enjoying the cool evening; the majestic mountains of Vermont looming in the distance, and all the intermediate space filled with cultivated fields and towering forests,—and then the lonely little town of Plattsburgh, touching the edge of the Lake, and presenting the most perfect aspect of rural peace and quiet on which the eye ever gazed. My manliness was here for the first time overcome; I longed and longed to get on shore, to fix my tent, and remain for ever. This sentiment was new; I had never before felt any remarkable desire to locate in any place I had seen; but here, for a moment, I was perfectly overcome. Other affections, of course, soon sprang up, and wafted my soul across the Atlantic, where treasures dearer than even these beauties had their dwelling. During this little paroxysm, delirium, or whatever it may be called, my kind companion, Dr. Richey, had retired to his cabin, so that one of my wants could not be relieved,—a vent for exclamations of delight! This was just one of those moments which can never be forgotten, an Eden, a paradisiacal scene, into which none can enter with one, and which leaves its picture vividly pencilled on the soul. But how soon things change, and in their reality fade away! We left this spot, passed on, the night closed in, the curtain dropped.

"So even now this hour had sped
In rapturous thought o'er me;
Feeling myself with nature wed,
A holy mystery!
A part of earth, a part of heaven,
A part, great God, of Thee."

In the morning, in good time, we found ourselves at Whitehall, a port at the head of the Lake; a place of considerable traffic and growing importance. After breakfast we had to mount the stage for Troy and Albany, a dismal road, if it can be called road, of between seventy and eighty miles. The jolting was prodigious, and at the end of the journey I was completely knocked up. My physical man had not failed till now; but this tumbling about perfectly disordered me, and I was glad to arrive at

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the end of the journey. We stayed to dine at Troy, a large and well-built city, and there again took the stage for Albany, being too late for the rails. It was night when we arrived; and being too unwell to move out, except to see one or two of the main streets, I had not much opportunity of inspecting the place. But I saw it was a large, fine, and most respectable-looking city; many of the houses being spacious, the streets broad, and the public buildings very commanding. This is the capital of the State of New-York, the seat of Government, and of the State Parliament.

We embarked on the Hudson the next morning, and descended this classical stream, the pride and glory of the Americans, being esteemed by them as presenting the most beautiful scenery in the States. It well deserves its fame. The banks are studded with towns and villages, rich fields in a state of fine cultivation, stupendous and rugged rocks, together with mountain scenery of the most interesting and majestic nature, some near, and some in the distance; abrupt and precipitous shores, yawning and frowning upon the passers by; and splendid landscapes, and picturesque views, enriched with umbrageous woods and forests. I could only now and then take a peep at this magic combination of land and water, being obliged the greater part of the voyage to keep in my cabin.

We were on board one of the most complete of the American river-boats. Nobody in this country can form an idea of the nature of one of these vessels; our ships furnish no analogies, except in the fact that both are propelled by steam, and glide on the water. For, by reason of the peculiar structure of the class of steamers already referred to, this vessel presented the aspect of prodigious size, both below and above. The dining-room was below, and occupied the space between the sides of the ship, reaching from stem to stern, and was filled with five or six tiers of berths, one above another; the saloon was equally large, with state-rooms on each side. This enormous floating palace could accommodate a thousand persons on board. The term "palace" is used, of course, improperly, as a ship cannot be like a palace. But in fittings-up, in decoration, in ornament, it was a perfect palace: and altogether presented a scene of magnificence of a very extraordinary description.

We arrived at New-York in the evening; and being too unwell to trouble any private friend, we took up our

residence for the night at the City Hotel. The necessity of applying to Mr. Harper, the following day, for Dr. Belcher's address, brought him acquainted with my situation, and in the afternoon he kindly took me to his own house. In passing through the streets of New-York, it was very pleasing to see the crowds returning from their places of worship. Blacks, coloured people, and whites, were all mingled together in a long flowing tide, quietly and gravely passing along to their homes.

By Tuesday morning I had begun to amend, and, feeling better, the thought suddenly rushed into my mind, "I can go home, and I will." But the doctor must be consulted. He came; and, on telling him my thoughts and feelings, he said, the probability was that I should do very well; but there was just a chance that I might have a relapse. The reply was, "Then the probability shall have it, and we will throw the chances to the winds."

We took our leave of our affectionate friends, the Harpers, about four in the afternoon. The steamer made her way down the Sound, and we soon lost sight of New-York, and its splendid harbour. I found, on trial, that my cabin was just over some kind of machinery which produced a jarring and upheaving motion, which precluded the possibility of rest; and when night came on, I was obliged to drag my mattress into the saloon, but failed to get one wink of sleep. We left the vessel about daylight, and passed on by railroad to Boston. After spending a few hours at the Riviere, and in visiting the city, we went on board the "America," lying in the offing, four or five miles distant. This noble ship had made the voyage from England in eleven days and a half, the shortest trip ever known; and is, of her class, the finest steamer in the world. We got under weigh about four in the afternoon, and soon lost sight of the shores of America.

Nothing of any consequence took place on the voyage. We made Halifax again in the night, so that I could not see any thing either of the harbour or the city. Here I lost my dear friend, Dr. Richey, and became truly desolate. He had been my companion at Pittsburgh, at the Canada Conference at Belleville, and travelled with me through Canada, and forward to this place. Truth and justice demand that I should say, that Dr. Richey is one of the most perfect Christian gentlemen I ever came in

contact with. Politeness, founded on gentle, warm, and genuine affections, is the very element of his nature. I never heard from him a rash, rude, or unkind word, much less ever saw him perpetrate an unchristian or unbecoming action. I looked after my dear friend as far as the dim lamps would allow me to see him, and in my heart bade him a sad, a long, a last adieu.

There sat opposite to me at our table a gentleman, with a lady and little girl, and on my right a thin, pale, interesting-looking young man, both completely Americanized in their appearance; their beards were sticking out on their chins in Yankee fashion, and their dress and bearing altogether seemed to bespeak them citizens of the States. We had taken several meals in company, when the gentleman who sat opposite said to me, "Pray, Sir, is your name Dixon?" On replying, "Yes," he said, "And my name is Cocker: I am the son of Henry Cocker, of Hathersage:" and then the pale young man, who was standing by, said, "And my name is Ibbotson: I am the son of Mr. Ibbotson, of Sheffield." The meeting was mutually pleasant. Mr. Cocker left us at Halifax; but Mr. Ibbotson was my very agreeable companion to the end of the voyage.

Sunday was unlike our sabbath on board the "Acadia." Dr. Richey had spoken to the captain, whom he knew, and had told him who I was, and mentioned my taking the service; and, moreover, he understood that the captain had assented to the proposition. But it did not so turn out. He read prayers himself, and finished the service with one of Henry Blunt's sermons. The service was well read; and the sermon, as may be imagined from the name of the author, was excellent. How singular is human character! This captain would certainly not lay claim to Methodism, and yet he seemed to take great delight in acting the parson, and really did it well. He is, however, somewhat celebrated for his exclusive churchism. About a dozen American divines sailed with him from the great Alliance Meeting in London, not one of whom would he allow to officiate; but on that as on the present occasion, he performed the service himself. One other trait of character, but quite of another description, arose out of this affair. When the time came to propose the captain's health, which means returning him thanks for his conduct, a good Free-churchman, a genuine Scot, rose up and went out. He afterwards told me, that,

perceiving what was going to be done, he departed, because he could not in his conscience be a party to a vote of thanks to a man who had, as he expressed himself, "insulted you, by taking the service himself when there was a regular minister on board." The matter had little effect on my own mind, except in so far as it prevented me having the pleasure of preaching the cross of Christ to the promiscuous group around. But how truly characteristic of the real Scotchman was the conduct of my friend! And, moreover, how honourable to his principles, his integrity, and his religious convictions!

On Saturday, the 8th of July, we hove in sight of old Erin early in the morning, and passed up Channel, all day seeing many spots interesting in Irish history, successively presenting themselves to view. Sunday morning we saw Holyhead. We were met, on returning home, with the truly English welcome of a dense fog and a drenching rain. Our pilot brought newspapers, containing an account of the massacres of Paris. We had a great number of French on board; they had been very gay up to this period; but now an entire change came over them. Thoughtfulness, sadness, melancholy were expressed for the moment: how long would it last? Some of the countenances seemed to indicate the fear, that possibly some endeared relative might have fallen in the conflict. Had it not been for the serious events connected with the cause of this change, it would have been perfectly ludicrous: it was like the overshadowing of a sunny scene by the sudden rush of passing clouds.

We landed at Liverpool, at half-past two. I went to Stanhope-street chapel at night, and heard my present colleague, Mr. Brice. How sweet, how soothing, how heavenly is the service of God's house, after the tossings of a sea-voyage! And how full of rest and quiet to the soul is the society of religious friends, after dwelling for a long time in the midst of promiscuous company! I hastened down to the Custom-House by five o'clock the next morning; but could not get released till near nine. Paid eight shillings duty for the American books which had been given me by friends. Set out for my beloved home, arrived about noon, found all well. To God be all the glory! Amen.

CHAP. XI.—*Reflections on America—Unfairly dealt with by Travellers—A religious People—This necessary to explain their State—The real Americans not hostile to this Country—Their peaceful and prosperous Condition—Education, the Principles on which it is conducted—The Force of Christianity in its simply Divine Authority—The Americans trust in this—Public Worship and the Duties of Religion—Slavery partly removed by the Influence of Christian Principle.*

A LENGTHENED investigation of objects of curiosity, or of men, manners, and institutions, is not necessary or intended; as our literature abounds with books of travel, graphic descriptions of scenery, and analysis of the institutions and social state of America. These productions, of course, take their colouring, in some degree, from the opinions, tastes, prejudices, and passions of their authors. They abound with information, but contain little instruction. And it cannot be denied, by candid persons, that most of them are grievously deformed by partial and exaggerated descriptions—caricatures—of the manners and habits of our transatlantic brethren.

The causes of this are undoubtedly many; and, probably, if traced to their motive, would be found much diversified. One of these causes, however, is obvious enough. The Americans are a religious people; and this element can neither be avoided nor lightly touched. But, instead of treating this question with the hand either of the Christian or of the philosopher, these parties, in some instances, disregard the subject altogether, and, in others, treat it with levity or hostility. The religious notions and peculiarities of the people are turned into ridicule and scorn; their associations for benevolent and Christian purposes are lampooned as fanatical; their modes of expression and devotional exercises are held up to contempt; and their abstinence from the amusements of the world is treated as indicative of ill-breeding, or a sign of hypocrisy.

It is obvious that writers of this class are ill-suited to understand or to delineate the character of a grave and religious community. Taking their gauge and measurement from the *beau monde* of London or of Parisian society, they naturally find all sober sense, industrious habits, and religious sentiments an eccentricity or a bore. The point with this race of *voyageurs* is, to see if the manners of the plain republican are in agreement with those of the

aristocracy of old nations; whether they come up to the coteries of the West End, the clubs of St. James's, or the fashionable routs of our great parties; and, moreover, if they speak, and dance, and play in the first style of fashion. Can any thing be more ridiculous than this? What right can the flippant dames, the military beaux, the panderers to frivolity, have to expect a people ready made to their several purposes? Of what consequence can it be to the morality, the honour, the greatness of a people, that they should fashion their course by adopting the manners of the most frivolous, useless, and unreal portions of our own people? Neither the wisdom nor the strength of even European society will be found in these quarters. The people who make sport of the Puritanism of the Americans, are themselves the objects of as much contempt, in their own country, as pity will allow to be just. Like other buzzing creatures, they have just the power to sting; and, with a malicious pleasure, they evidently delight in the gratification of their feeble natures. Were the disposition felt, the laugh might be turned upon these triflers, with as much effect as they choose to indulge in at the expense of the "*evangelicals*" of the States.

The irritation produced in America by the liberties which have been taken with their innocent and unimportant peculiarities, is not the worst effect of the ephemeral productions of the English gossips, who have chosen to make themselves merry at the expense of good manners. Deception on the public mind of this country, to a fearful and mischievous extent, has been another of the consequences. Gathering their opinions of American character from the representations of persons only intent on making a book, and rendering it spicy, is it any matter of surprise, that in this nation most false and injurious notions are entertained? The evident intention merely to provide mental food for our circulating libraries; to get up the tinsel sentimentality necessary to pamper the appetite for amusement and pleasure;—the sardonic purpose to gratify the malevolence which takes delight in scandal; to train and excite the worse than human infirmity which revels on the foibles and weak points of our fellow-men—supposing them to exist—merely for the sake of rendering them ridiculous;—in fine, the disposition to meet the morbid prejudices of their readers, instead of being intent on truth, and doing justice to the character of the people they pro-

fess to exhibit;—utterly disqualify these authors for their task, and render their productions devoid of credit.

It is humiliating thus to write; but much more so to know, that gross deception has been practised in getting up even these productions. While the stranger has been admitted to the frank confidence of respectable and honourable men, he has sometimes employed this privilege in making them the subject of a mental picture, drawn in the mind, and anon to be transferred to his journal; turning into ridicule all the real or imaginary singularities of their manners, and making them the butt of his wit. Their actual character is not delineated. They may be good men, pure patriots, worthy citizens, successful merchants; possessed of strong and well-cultivated faculties, of good principles, of courteous manners, and generous dispositions;—and yet all this is thrown into the background, or never appears at all. At the same time, every trifling and unimportant deviation from the *beau idéal* of dandyism is magnified into prominency, and, by the ingenious combinations of the artist, a distorted picture is drawn, as untrue to life as if the noble frame of the American citizen had been screwed into the shape of the *exquisite*, who has, in his kindness, been taking his likeness. In the same spirit the privacies of domestic life, generous hospitality, and well-meant and courteous attentions, have all been distressingly outraged. Not even the ladies have escaped. Whilst they have been doing their utmost to make their home agreeable, provide the luxuries of the table, and administer to the pleasures of their guest,—he has had the meanness to select them as the victims of his satire; and, whilst indulging in plaudits, compliments, and smiles, he at the same time has been treasuring up matter for a mean and cowardly exhibition of whatever his skill could afterwards turn to the account of his craft, in rendering ridiculous the women of America.

This sort of conduct on the part of our countrymen—not to say, countrywomen—has had the effect of keeping up irritation amongst the Americans, and of producing false notions in this country. Nothing can be more unfair to a people than to make their peculiarities the groundwork of any kind of description, physical, social, or religious. The staple of their qualities must be fixed upon, not the exceptions; otherwise the details will be untrue, and the picture distorted.

On reading the productions to which reference is made, one cannot help asking, Is there any thing else in these people? If so, what is it? That there must be something in them besides the trifles dwelt upon by these authors—even supposing them to be real—must be apparent to every one who allows himself to reflect but for a moment. The effervescences of society are not society itself; the holiday foibles of men cannot be taken as illustrative of their every-day habits; the loose and slip-slop gait of a nation, when the day's work is over, cannot be considered as descriptive of their state when braced to the labours of life; the free and familiar conversation of a people in their hours of relaxation, cannot be regarded as the expression of those truths and principles by which they are guided in their serious moments; and it could only lead to deception to suppose for an instant that the surface of a great community, made up as it must be of innumerable irregularities and follies, can justly indicate the forces which are constantly at work below. The aggregate, the totality of moral elements must be grappled, or otherwise any description of the character and conditions of a nation must be perfectly fallacious. Judged by this rule, and examined as a whole, it is the author's opinion, that the American people would suffer nothing from a comparison with any other.

But it is, in point of fact, extremely difficult to obtain a true notion of the character and opinions of the genuine American, and especially from the public prints. The old, the home-born, the real man of the country is very different from the alien races which are constantly transferring themselves to the soil of the United States. These races are not always the most creditable in character, in morals, in integrity,—amongst the populations of Europe, which they kindly relieve of their presence, by transplanting themselves, and their very questionable virtues, to the New World. Some millions of these classes are now found located in the States; and whatever may be the amount of their loyalty to the nation of their adoption, it is certain—indeed, demonstrated in no equivocal manner—that they all retain the *virus* of that disaffection to their own country which, in many cases, first stimulated their departure.

This is pre-eminently the case with the Irish. Steeped in religious, political, and social disaffection at home, whatever may be the causes,—just or unjust,—these people do not fail to nurse, with the passion and intensity of

their inflammable nature, an active and indomitable hatred against England. But now living on the American soil, these turbulent agitators are considered in this country as Americans. They are no more Americans than if, perchance, they were transplanted to China, and, taking their place in the midst of that quiet and peaceful race, they should, by reason of this accidental residence, be considered Chinese. It is certain, that a large amount of the vituperation which is heaped upon this country by the public press of the States, is from this quarter. Partly by their own means, and partly by the influence they exert by their priests, their numbers, and their organization, they are enabled to perpetuate in their exile the same antipathies, and to keep up the same rancorous bullying against the Saxon, as they did in their own beloved Erin. Their ardent and fierce passions, the author was often told, whether of sympathy with their own island, or of animosity to ours, always last through the first generation. The Irishman never alters in his own person, whether found in St. Giles's or New-York. The sunshine of civilization, the softening influence of free institutions, the example of quiet and good men, and, above all, the blessings of true religion, are all in vain. He continues the same fierce, intractable, restless being as when he left the wilds, or merged from the bogs, of his native land. To hate the English and eat potatoes were the two lessons of his Irish life; and if he obtains better food in the New World, and thus unlearns the physical lesson, he never changes in his antipathies, or unlearns the moral, nay, the religious, duty of eternal hostility. The leaders of these people, some priestly and some laic, possess their newspapers every where in the United States, and, as in Ireland itself, are not very nice in the employment of epithets of abuse against this nation. These, generally speaking, are the parties who are so constantly attempting to keep up an irritation amongst the citizens of America against this country, by their venomous hatred, their abusive language, their speculations on revolts and revolutions; and are, by these means, stimulating, as much as is in their power, the disloyalty of their own sweet "gem of the sea," and the Chartism of England. It is from this quarter, chiefly, that the fiery stream descends upon us, and not from the genuine American press or people.

Then is it fair, is it honest, to attribute to the Americans those hostile passions which, in fact, belong to our

own people? The real Yankee and the hot-headed Irishman are very different personages. It may be considered by every body as a settled point, that the real American will never stir without an object. His love and his hatred both will have some *rationale*. He will never be found to disturb his own quiet for the sake of agitating a distant nation for no rational purpose. His political belief, his theories of human rights, his perceptions of what he considers essential to social happiness, his ideas of the grandeur of his own country, and of her high and glorious destiny,—are, no doubt, deeply and vividly felt in his own soul. In fact, these thoughts and maxims live in the American as innate powers, as indestructible laws. But he is too proud a being, is too conscious of his own dignity and strength, to be found intermeddling in the squabbles of other nations. He may, and no doubt does, desire that his own republican *régime* should be taken as a model system. All Europe and the world are welcome to the benefit of his experiments in legislation and government. In no other sense than this can the true American be considered a propagandist. It is the impression of the author, that a nation more proudly conscious of its own dignified position does not exist on earth. It is not this class who are found employed in the mean and despicable drudgery of vituperation against this country, or seeking occasions of irritation and disturbance. This vocation is taken up and performed by our own recreant children; with how much success, we all unhappily experience.

Thus, by the agency of the two classes referred to, the British travellers on the one part, and the Irish residents on the other, the two countries are, in some degree, kept in a state of feverish excitement. This is painful to the real friends of both. Essentially one people, the bonds of union ought, by the removal of offences and jealousies, to be as much as possible tightened. The relationship is too natural, too dear and valuable, and connected too much with the happiness and advantage of both, to be allowed either to be severed or shaken by such agitators as these. It is easy to see, that the maintenance of peaceful and friendly relations between the only two great communities in which any real reciprocity of feeling, founded on religion and liberty, can possibly exist, must conduce, in every way, to the well-being and prosperity of both.

The past jealousies of the two countries have not been

unnatural, but now ought to end. The war of independence, originating, as it did, in great questions of right on the one hand, and of independence on the other, was calculated to awaken every passion of the soul. Time alone could, of course, quench the fire thus kindled. Surely the cool breezes of seventy winters may be supposed sufficient to put out the flames then lit up. The two nations may, possibly, have separate interests to serve; this must be the case; but it is certain, that those which are common are much more numerous and durable. The political independence, the national freedom, the good government, the social happiness, the intellectual advancement, the moral and religious order and prosperity, of each concurrently progressing, must necessarily act and re-act upon communities so identical in character. These higher considerations may be strengthened by lesser ones. The trade and commerce of Great Britain and the States will, in all likelihood, ebb and flow together. At any rate, it must be an infinite advantage to each to have the other for a customer. Without these political and material ties, it is too much, perhaps, to expect nations to regard each other with much concern. The idea of a nation is, indeed, an abstraction; as a reality, it is only an aggregation of individuals; and men, all over the world, are certain to seek their own interests. It follows, that the reciprocity and friendship of nations must rest on the very vulgar fact of mutual benefits. It does not belong to the mere traveller to discuss these questions; but he may easily see, that the good of one community is the good of both; and, moreover, be pardoned if he modestly venture upon the task of advising the leading and active spirits, who, in both countries, have, and must continue to have, the main responsibility of fashioning the destinies of the two nations, to steer clear of all collisions, in the recollection, that on the peace, harmony, religion, industry, freedom, and moderation, of the Anglo-Saxon people, in the two hemispheres, hang the destinies of the human race.

A real, confiding, well-understood, and permanent union of Great Britain and America must not only secure their own greatness and prosperity, but indefinitely promote the freedom and civilization of the world. The geographical position of the two nations, their addiction to trade, their instinctive maritime propensities, their adventurous spirit, their love of enterprise, must fit them to act

together. But, more than this, the real identity of their opinions, though in some points seeming to differ, must prepare them to live in unity and love. This identity of sentiment and feeling may be seen in one single fact,—the love of freedom. It would puzzle the finest optician to invent an instrument exactly to see the difference in this affection, as existing in the two countries. They may, and, indeed, do, differ in their opinions as to the best means of securing this inestimable prize; but none as to its nature, its value, its necessity, its eternal oneness with the laws of nature and the will of God. On all these points the two peoples are fully agreed. Freedom, in each country, is a truth—a principle—a right. Existence without liberty, in either hemisphere, would be deemed a curse, and not a blessing; the despot would be abhorred, antagonized, and destroyed. Whilst these sentiments prevail, is it worth while for the two nations to quarrel respecting the means employed by either, to secure the end they have in view? The moral grounds for harmony and concord are, or ought to be, much more potent than even the political ones for disunion and discord. The one class of motives rests on the eternal laws of truth, religion, honour, and brotherhood; the other, on the accidents and interests of the hour.

It is to be earnestly desired, that these considerations may have the effect of drawing the two countries together in uninterruptedly amicable relations. We are, in truth, the same people. In mind, in character, in habits, in modes of thought, there is infinitely more resemblance betwixt the British and the American populations, than can be found between either of them and any other nation. It cannot be otherwise, without a perpetual miracle. Sprung from a common parentage, the same tide of life flowing in the veins of each, the wonderful and mysterious type of soul which is so evidently possessed by races dwelling in both, each speaking the same language, and instructed and trained by the same master mind which lives and speaks in their common mother tongue;—the political institutions of the older people the models of the younger community;—the laws of the one country transplanted to the soil, and constituting the code, of the other;—and, above all, the same religious sentiments which were embraced by the British people at the Reformation, and adopted before the pilgrim fathers took their departure to the New World, still retained as the popular faith of both

branches of the family:—All these things considered, how can it be otherwise than that next to a perfect identity should exist?

Nature is never untrue to herself, never obliterates her own impress, never does violence to her undying emotions. Is it in human nature for the American republic to reflect upon the birth-place and cradle of her existence, the fatherland of her sires, to trace their own pedigrees and repeat their own names, without a thrill of interest and feeling which cannot be experienced in the case of any other country than our own? This is impossible. No man, however far he may wander, ever forgets his homestead, the scenes of his boyhood, the companions of his days of happy frolic and joy; and especially he never forgets the endearments of maternal love. Tradition keeps alive what nature gives birth to; and it is just as credible, that the Americans are an abortion of nature, as that they can ever cease to venerate and love the land of their sires. We have had proof that this monstrous perversion has not in reality taken place. It is the author's undoubted belief, that a profound affection towards this country lives in the real American mind. Beneath political agitations, jealousies, and momentary ebullitions of spleen and opposition, there remains, in the depths of the human soul itself, the sure pledge, the indubitable guarantee, of reciprocal love.

We say "reciprocal love." It is not to be expected, that the American people should continue to cherish good feeling towards us, if their fraternal regard is rudely or contemptuously met. From several causes, it is to be feared that our disposition towards them is less kindly than theirs towards us. They can better afford to indulge in generous feelings than we can. Not to dwell on the fact that they were the victors in the painful strife which separated them from the mother-country;—their prodigious growth and expansion; the vast augmentation of political power and influence acquired in a few years; the immense improvement in their trade and commercial navy; the successful trial of their principles of government, and their developement on a constantly enlarging sphere of territory and population; in fine, the entire success of the "great experiment," so emphatically referred to by Washington, when laying the foundations of the republic, may well lead to generous emotions, not to say complacency. But there are other causes of the trial of our feelings in regard

to America. It is to be feared, that the British population, in general, know infinitely less of the Americans than they know of us. Silly traditions, old prejudices, and the very natural pride and egotism of our nation, lead us often to take a perfectly false estimate of our kinsmen in the New World. Family quarrels and feuds are, by general consent, allowed to be more difficult to appease than any other. And, in the case of the American people, if nature is expected to predominate over political antipathies and jealousies, by the recollection of home, of descent, of their fatherland, ought not this to be mutual? Can we forget, or fail to be influenced by the consideration, that the New World has become, and is likely to become more and more, the home of vast numbers of our own children? The young life of England is pouring into the States like a deep and rapid torrent. Families and individuals from the old country are every where found, and in every possible variety of position and employment. The writer of these pages can never forget the intense eagerness and depth of feeling manifested by great numbers of these classes, and the joy connected with the mere opportunity of giving expression to their attachment to their country. If it was discovered that I had been at the place of their nativity, knew any of their relations or friends, and especially if any of them had ever seen me before, their ecstasy seemed complete. Are we to forget, then, our children in the midst of our political hatreds? England lives in America, and is likely to do so to a greater extent than ever. The soil which feeds and nourishes myriads of our own flesh and blood, who otherwise must perish; a system which admits them to its privileges, and adopts them as brethren; institutions which encourage their industry, foster their talents, and reward their public and private virtues; a nation which lays open all its avenues of profit, employment, honour, and distinction of every sort, to our needy or adventurous sons;—such a land is not to be thought of by us otherwise than with profound interest and regard. The motives that lead the parent to follow his children with anxiety into the world, when they first leave his house, may well cause us, in the same spirit, to send our thoughts after our children, so numerously seeking their destiny in the United States.

It has been already said, that the "Americans are a religious people." Their character, habits, and institutions, cannot possibly be understood, without taking this

element into consideration. Persons who only look at the forms, the skeleton and frame-work, of society, and consider its strength and perfection to lie in these, will necessarily conclude, that America is a heterogeneous mass of human beings devoid of shape and symmetry. To parties whose lives have been spent in old nations, whose governing power, from time immemorial, has been external, and their means coercion, this is a very natural conclusion. The public order, morality, peaceful demeanour, and industrious habits of a people in these old societies, are all supposed, by their theories of government, to be enforced, —to be worked into the mind of the body politic by appliances from without. Government, in these cases, is like the dexterous occupation of the herdsman or the hunter; who, in the one case, pens-in his animals, and only allows them to graze at his pleasure, and, in the other, circumvents them by his cunning and art. How far the state of these old countries has made this essential, it is not for us to discuss; but, at any rate, if the necessity exists, it does not speak much for the intelligence and morality of the people. The pageantries of state, the trappings of royalty, the draperies and ornaments of decorated officials,—together with the infinite and endless, soul-less ceremonies to be observed,—are all, no doubt, brought in to heighten the impression, and strike the senses of the vulgar. Those who place the power of good order and national security in these external things, will, as a corollary, think of the United States as a most lawless community. Not having the insignia of order, as found in their own country, they may, perchance, imagine that the substance is absent.

It was the fortune, good or ill, of the present writer, to pass from Boston to Pittsburgh, and, of consequence, through all the intermediate space, embracing most of the cities, towns, and country of the older States, without setting his eyes on a single soldier, liveried policeman, or any other human being wearing the dress of authority. At the last-mentioned place he saw an assembly of volunteers, horse and foot; and, on inquiry, found that they had turned out to do honour to the remains of one of their neighbours, an officer, who had lost his life in the Mexican war, and had been brought home for sepulture. But though there was not the slightest appearance of any thing in the form of external coercion through all the space mentioned, society lay as unruffled, as peaceful and quiet, as one of their own beautiful lakes on a summer's evening. Let it not be

imagined, that this repose is the stillness of death. Probably no equal number of men on earth are so active, so fully engaged, or have more various and complex business transactions than this population. Industrious, eager for wealth, proud of distinctions, and sensible of the benefits of a good standing in society, these people are working their way up the hill; and yet there is no visible, certainly no military, force to keep them in order.

Here, then, are phenomena to be solved. How is this? What is the power leading to this state of things? The answer to these questions will vary with the creed of the parties putting them. The political philosopher will look to his theories for a solution, and attribute the power and advancement of society to civil institutions, to the republicanism of the country. He will say that the principles and provisions of this system, lying at the basis of the body politic, and extending their ramifications through the whole, are the motive power of the existing life, contentment, and happiness of the people. The economists, the merchants, the men of trade, the dealers in money, and the jobbers in all sorts of speculations, will, in their turn, call in, to aid the investigation, ideas and notions taken from the wide-spread territories of the States, the fertility of the soil, the extent and usefulness of their rivers, the spaciousness of their harbours—their mines, forests, manufactures, farms, and all the other agencies of industry and wealth.

Without in the least depreciating the importance and value of all these things; and, moreover, allowing them their just share in producing the existing prosperity of the country; we must avow our scepticism as to the power of these means to create the greatness and the happiness of the American nation. It is, indeed, an unspeakable advantage to be saved from the pressure of a crowded, and, as a consequence, a pauper, population. This is fully enjoyed. Every man has scope for his enterprise without treading upon the heels of his neighbour, or injuring his prospects by competition. Every family has room for developement; the young can be profitably employed, and the certainty of success presents itself to stimulate their industry and activity. There is a sufficiency of soil for the scions of every house to take root and spread their branches; and, in case of suitable culture, the sunshine of heaven, its dews, and its rains, they are certain to rise to maturity. No kind of genius, of

skill in the arts, of inventive powers, of mechanical capacity, of eminence in the professions, of governing talent, of senatorial eloquence, or intellect of any other kind, can possibly go unrequited. There may be rivalries, contentions, and fierce gymnastic-like trials of strength, for the higher prizes of the world; but there is an area of sufficient space to occupy the population in the ordinary courses of life; whilst great numbers are being trained, in these normal schools, to aspire to the more honourable posts.

Then, allowing for all the advantages referred to, we ask, Are they of themselves sufficient to account for the peaceful and progressive state of society, as it is seen in the United States? I confess, I am not persuaded of their sufficiency. There must be something else; more profound, more permanent, more influential over men's souls,—something more deeply embedded in the moral sentiments of the people, more divine, than any thing we have mentioned. If, in the absence of external coercion, society is found to be moral and quiet, then these virtues cannot arise from this cause. If not guided by the skill and the power of a master, men must be the masters of their own movements; and in case these movements are in the paths of wisdom, good order, peace, and morality, to what does this lead us? It leads to the inevitable conclusion, that moral sentiment is the guiding light and the sustaining power of such a community. But then is it possible for morality to have any vitality without religion? We think not. A morality which is not based on the doctrines of Christianity, is a baseless fabric, a sapless tree, a lifeless mummy; in fine, a contradiction, a falsehood. But we are not left to speculation on these points. Inferences in many cases may be pretty truly drawn; but we prefer facts.

It is, then, an undoubted fact, that the American people do pay great regard to religion; and as this, like every thing else, is with them a personal and not a conventional concern, it is all the more energetically promoted. It seems a principle of Americanism, that the obligations of our nature are untransferable. An American never dreams of putting his social or religious obligations into commission. He never considers himself as having denuded himself of his responsibilities, when he has given his vote for a president, and taken his share in constructing a government. Even his political duties are not, in his

own estimation, put in abeyance by these transactions, much less his moral and religious. He does not expect the government to serve God for him, or to take into its hands the task of publicly providing for that conservation of morality and religion which he knows can only be secured by personal exertions.

According to American ideas, the state does not consist of public functionaries, whether civil or ecclesiastical, but of the people. The souls and bodies of the population, unitedly, constitute the state: not a function, not an office. In the state making provision for this or the other, the American would include himself. He has no notion of public men taking his place, and relieving him of the burden of his own intelligence, conscience, humanity.

This is a living power. It is refreshing even to look upon a true and real American with his swinging gait, in the full consciousness of his manhood. There is something even in his appearance different from other people. It is not recklessness, not rudeness, not isolation, not misanthropy. Nothing of this sort is seen. And yet there is an air of perfect independence and freedom, consciousness of strength and power, repose in the midst of activity, calmness, and dignity with profound emotions. An American, more than any character it was ever my happiness to study, looks like a man who is sensible that he carries his own destinies about him; that he is complete in himself; that he is a self-acting, self-moving intelligence; that he has to shape his own course, and become the architect of his own fortune. He does not seem to be looking without, to catch the chances of some stray events by which to fashion his life: his thoughts are steadily fixed upon strengthening his own resources, and he is always laying in a stock for the voyage he is upon. The effect of this is to produce (I hardly know what to call it) a rotundity,—a fulness,—a completeness of manhood,—not seen in other societies; and to those who do not comprehend him, or who have only been accustomed to the fawning flatteries—and as false as they are fawning—of other nations, all this is extremely offensive.

Enter an American store, and, instead of being baited, wheedled, and deceived, the language, as expressed by action, is, "You may buy, if you please. It is your own concern; do as you like." It came to the author's know-

ledge,—and the fact will illustrate our point,—that a very popular traveller and writer, who was receiving the incense of the fashionable world in the States next to adoration, in the midst of this excitement, sent for a grave tradesman to wait upon him at his rooms; no doubt with the intention of entering into some business arrangements. What was the reply? In spirit, "My compliments to Mr. ——, and inform him it is not the custom of our house for one of its principals to seek or receive orders in such circumstances. If Mr. —— wishes to do business with us, or has any thing to propose, he must come to us; we shall be glad to see him." "How rude!" says one of the gentlemen of "the trade," in "the Row," or at the West End. Well, the question of rudeness must be settled betwixt the two parties. It is just possible that the American might think it as rude to be summoned to attend the English traveller, as the latter considered it in him. We only select this instance of independence as illustrative of character. It is a general trait.

Instead of moving and acting like the members of the body at the bidding of some other head or will than his own, instead of being dragged along, like the helpless travellers of a railroad train, by forces independent of himself,—the American chooses to consult his own counsels, to examine his own course, and to move the machine intrusted to him by his Creator by his own free volitions. All this may either be good or bad. In case the forces which are thus put in motion are fitted to move aright, it is easy to see that the results must be vastly important. Man, free, unfettered, acting on his own convictions, supposing them to be wise and good, must possess a power which men in chains, or working in gangs like slaves in a plantation, cannot enjoy. This individualism is, in point of fact, the leading feature of American character. The true son of the soil never parts with it. The combinations, confederations, unions, and committees into which politics or commercial enterprises drive him, never despoil him of his identity.

How then, seeing that every American is expected to act for himself, is he prepared to take his post? Let us examine this point. Its solution is what we want to get at. Is he let loose on the world a mere animal to prey upon its vitals, or is he religiously prepared? This leads us to the question of education. Great attention is paid by the Ame-

ricans to this vital subject. What would be called in this country national education, universally prevails. Schools are provided at the public expense; and though this people have a proverbial antipathy to taxation, yet they willingly tax themselves for this purpose. The system so often attempted here, on the model of some of the continental nations, is not the system of America. They have not established a central power, or educational department, under a minister of state, or any thing analogous to our Committee of Privy Council. The people manage their own affairs in this as in other things. The municipal bodies and the parochial authorities have the power to assess themselves for educational purposes. This is done on a broad scale; in the elder States the provision is universal, so that every child may, if his parents choose, obtain the advantages of a good common education. And inasmuch as every inhabitant is obliged to pay his share of the expense, whether he avails himself of the school or not, this is found to operate against parental neglect. But the advantages are so obvious; the popular voice against ignorance, and in favour of knowledge, is so influential; the duties of citizenship, in which all share, are so pressing, and its honours so tempting; that every parent is induced to place his children in one of these schools.

Zealous partisans would probably say, that these are not religious schools, because particular creeds are not enforced. This would be impossible in a country where no creed possesses a pre-eminence, or is sanctioned by the state. But if the holy Scriptures constitute the basis of Christianity, then these are Christian schools, notwithstanding the absence of creeds. The Bible is read daily, it is the standard book, the foundation of every thing; and its divine authority is thus universally taught, and its sacred lessons constantly inculcated. True to their principles, the Romanists at New-York, some time ago, attempted to get the Bible banished from the public schools. In this they failed; for though by their union and compactness they possess much strength, and on merely political questions, by throwing their weight into one scale, they have it in their power to turn the balance,—on this point, which was deemed a religious one, and on which all the Protestants were agreed, they utterly failed in their unholy attempt.

This educational provision, being purely popular, may be taken as an indication of the public mind on a great

religious question. Instead of leaving their children to go astray from their birth, we see that Christian instruction is provided for them, as an essential and national blessing. This does not seem as if the people were indifferent to Christianity; and, moreover, it proves that they desire to seize the most fitting time in the life of man to inculcate its sacred lessons. This, no doubt, is one of the healing ingredients thrown into the troubled waters, one of the moral forces which ever after works in determining the character of the individual, the state of domestic life, and the conditions of society. And instead of indifference in this one arrangement, we see religion, in its most catholic form, employed as an instrument of national order, virtue, and peace; and that a useful and virtuous citizenship is not expected without the employment of suitable means.

We are considering the question of religion. Do the Americans trust to the processes of secular knowledge, or the power of merely human means, for the maintenance of public order, and social prosperity? The answer to this question stands out in bold relief. In every city, small and great, are seen large and spacious public buildings; and, on inquiry, the stranger is told that these are the common day-schools of the place. On entering, he finds that, besides the routine of a very good educational system, embracing the usual matters of secular instruction, the Scriptures are taught to the whole population; God speaking to them in the impressive lessons of his own word. Here the work of Christianity begins. Can any one calculate the amount of influence produced on the public mind, and on the moral state of a great people, by this one living, active, pervading agency? Religion is here brought to operate upon the youthful heart in its blandest and most winning, attractive form; namely, that of the words of Scripture. It is not so very evident as some persons seem to imagine, that the best way to impress the mind of children is to drill them to get by heart some metaphysical, crabbed dogmas of theology which neither themselves nor their teachers can in the least degree comprehend. Yet, in the jargon of our sectarianism, this is called teaching religion, whilst the reading of the Bible itself is considered as not teaching religion at all; and schools using *only* the word of God with prayer, are said to be secular. Certainly, Americans do not think so. The holy Scriptures are a reality with them; and by their conduct,

we have reason to think that they place more confidence in the divine teaching of these "lively oracles" of God, than they do in the step-by-step process of Catechisms, all of which begin at the wrong end; commence at the top and build downwards; start with the highest abstractions on the divine essence and attributes, and then from this elevation lead the poor little inquirer down into the details and facts of revelation. Is not a population, formed on the inculcation of the Scripture, as likely to become real Christians and good citizens, as a population drilled in the abstractions of any existing Catechism? There is a breadth, a fulness, a simplicity, and especially a divinity, in the word of God, which cannot be found any where else; and, least of all, in the *bare-bone*, skeleton-like lessons propounded to the poor children of this nation. On the whole, then, it must be seen that the entire American people are trained in religion from their childhood, if the Bible teaches it. At any rate, an impression is made as to the divine authority of this holy book, that it is the word of God, the charter of salvation, the guide to heaven, and the only rule of faith and practice binding on the human conscience. One would think this is doing something towards forming society, and building the morals, happiness, and progress of the nation on our glorious Christianity.

But besides the care taken of the young, we find that Christianity pervades the United States in vigorous action. This is seen in the numbers attending public worship, in the extent of church-communion, in the observance of the sacraments of the church, in the respect paid to the sabbath, in the number and variety of religious and charitable institutions, in the placing of their collegiate and higher educational departments under the care generally of religious men, in the diffusion and influence of a Christian literature; and, in fine, by the depth and extent of religious feeling and principle. By these means, Christianity, it is evident, touches and influences the entire social and political state.

It is not meant by this that every individual is a pious Christian, but that the spirit of the evangelical system is in sufficient power to give to religious opinion and sentiment the complete ascendant in society. A man is not reflected upon, or deemed less fit for the higher duties of the state, by belonging to a Christian church; he is rather considered the better qualified for even civil posts of trust

and responsibility. It happened that the writer fell in with persons, and heard from them the declaration, that they could not give their suffrages to a very favourite candidate for the presidential chair, chiefly on the ground that he was thought to be too lax in his habits. And, moreover, it was said again and again, that he had damaged his position and blighted his prospects by this very circumstance. Afterwards, indeed, this gentleman had reformed; and it was stated, on good authority, that he had joined a Christian church, so that the objection must have fallen to the ground. This will appear foolish and bigoted to many of the wise men of this world, and may be thought to have been the feeling only of hot-headed enthusiasts. Not so. And it illustrates the point for which it is adduced, namely, that Christianity is a very powerful element in American society.

A very sensible and amiable gentleman, living in the States, remarked on the voyage out, "One of the things which will surprise you is the number of sects existing in the country." By the by, there is not much difference in this respect between the mother and the daughter. But the fact here stated is a great stumbling-block to many, who can entertain no idea favourable to religion itself unless it exist as a unity, and is placed under the leadership of their favourite ecclesiastical functionaries. Certainly such parties will not find their "ideal church" in America. But if they will look deep enough, they will discover what is better than an external organization of stupidity and death; they will find very much of the vitality of Christianity, a settled and active faith, together with a profound conviction of the obligations to energetic piety, and the exercise of a divine charity.

This division of the Christian body in America into sects, and the fact that a union with any one of these sects is no bar against employments of the most honourable kind, is, to us, an anomaly. A Methodist lord-chancellor, a Baptist attorney-general, a Presbyterian commander of the forces, an Independent secretary of state, and an Episcopal, or Popish, gentleman doomed to take rank with one of these sectarians, or under him, as the case may be, looks strange in this country. This is no fictitious picture, but a matter of fact. Men are united in the common service of their country indiscriminately, irrespective of their creed or religious connexions. The sects may hate each other, as is their wont elsewhere; but

the state knows no distinction betwixt one class of religionists and another.

At the present moment, though I was told that the president does not hold communion with any church; yet he usually listens to a Methodist sermon in the morning, from one of the chaplains of Congress, who is of that persuasion, and to a Presbyterian minister in the evening, his lady belonging to that church. One of the judges of the Supreme Court, answering as nearly as possible to our Court of Chancery, is at this moment a member of the Methodist Episcopal body, not nominally, but really; observing the rules, and attending upon all the services, of his church in all his movements. Moreover, the talents, character, and standing of this gentleman are such, that in the present contest for the office of president he has been mentioned, indeed brought forward by a numerous and most respectable class of his fellow-citizens, as a candidate for the high distinction. These are only given as instances of the working of the system; and no doubt every other appointment is in agreement with these cases of perfect impartiality.

But the matter of fact is, that in the United States the several churches to which reference is made are not, in our sense of the expression, sects at all. There are no sects in America, no Dissenters, no seceders;—or, whatever other term may be employed to designate the position and standing of a Christian society. They are all alike considered as Christians; and adopting, according to the judgment of charity, with equal honesty the common charter of salvation, the word of God, they are treated as equal, and as possessing similar and indefeasible rights.

This is certainly a new aspect of living and visible Christianity; and our business with it at present is, to test its operations on society. Can perfect liberty and equality in religion work well when favoured by circumstances as in the United States? Is Christianity itself, in its own revelations, its own glorious platform and basis, its own provisions and divinity, when made plain, and put into the hands of a people, sufficient, without being formed and modified by the political society, to produce its legitimate fruits? This question, like many others, is in course of solution in the States. Go into a popish country, and speak of Christianity, and the native of one of these nations, however elevated in rank, or polished by education, instantly thinks of Popery. He

knows of no religious system but the hierarchy of Rome; and it is impossible to get into his head an idea of an abstract, a divine, and an unalterable Christianity, reposing on the truth of God, and connected with his throne. It is very much the same amongst ourselves, and especially amongst the higher ranks. These gentlemen cannot conceive of any Christianity otherwise than that which is embodied in their own church. In almost all the speculations of men amongst us, church organizations, official distinctions, ecclesiastical canons, and the dress and tinsel which men put upon their own fond creations, are confounded with Christianity itself, and so called. If looked at only in this light, the evangelical economy must be pronounced an utter failure. Of all the wretched things whose history stands out in the annals of time, the history of churches is the most humiliating, and the most calculated to make human nature blush. What has ecclesiastical, hierarchical Christianity done for the world in ancient times? It has put its trammels upon the simple, primitive, and personal piety and usefulness, which had been produced from time to time by the pure gospel, and reduced the so-called church to the condition of one mighty conglomerated mass of stupid ignorance and vice; then, seizing the reins of even political power, has entwined itself parasitically around the institutions of society, reducing the world to the dominion of a politico-religious despotism.

Much debate has risen in the world respecting states adopting the church, then corrupting, then enslaving, her. In passing, it may be permitted one to ask the zealous partisans of state purity and state corruption, of church love of freedom and state love of tyranny, just to reverse their inquiries, and ask, in all possible candour, as to the real delinquents in this matter. My belief is, that, as a general rule, the state has not corrupted the church, except as a participant, just as companions in vice vitiate each other; but the church has, in most instances, corrupted the state. Neither has the state enslaved the church, as a general rule, though sometimes this may have been the case; but the church has, whenever it was allowed, invariably enslaved the state. Nothing is so detrimental to the liberties and the virtues of mankind as a corrupt, a fetid religion, at the same time organized and guided by the subtle and crafty genius of a profligate priesthood.

It can be no matter of surprise that the American people, being favoured with the opportunity, the soil being clear, and no old institutions standing in the way, should be disposed to adopt a new principle, and, discarding all authoritative church-organization, try the effect of Christianity itself, in its own native grandeur and divine simplicity. This they have done. We have seen that the people is the state; and the state, in this sense, namely, through the people, has, with the exception of the infidels amongst them, adopted Christianity; only, instead of being an hierarchical government, it is that of the holy Scriptures,—the Bible itself being the governing light, the decisive authority, the court of final appeal. All the interests of society converge to this point; religion is its life, its power, its beauty. It is like the *substrata* of the world, on which all the soils whence the vegetable productions spring repose in security.

Is this common Christianity, taught and developed in Scripture, sufficient for a nation? May the people of a state be safely left, other things being favourable, to this simple process? The answer to this question is in course of solution in the United States. So far as it has been tested, it is believed to have answered. Notwithstanding the number of churches, bearing different names, and adopting diversified forms of service, there is probably as much or more unity in these States than elsewhere. Looking at their spirit and visible position; that is, in the general absence of polemic strife, of bitter contentions between church and church, of acrimonious declamation against each other in their religious periodicals;—and then their intercommunion and good neighbourhood, joint exertions for common objects, and, on the whole, harmonious agreement:—these all unite to show that these professors of the name of Christ can meet each other on the ground of their common Christianity, though differing in non-essential points. So far as he had the opportunity of intercourse with ministers and Christians of various denominations, the author is bound to say, that he met with the most frank and affectionate courtesy, and saw the same spirit manifested one to another; and, moreover, that there appeared infinitely less of what is distinctive and sectarian than in this country. Whilst at the Conference at Pittsburgh, all the Protestant pulpits of every sort were filled each Sunday by Methodist ministers, except some one or two of the Episcopal

churches, whose ministers were believed to be tinctured with Puseyism.

It is no marvel that this unity of spirit prevails. The bitterness of sectarianism is prevented by the nature of their position. No one church thinks of calling another church, resting on the Scriptures as its basis, and only differing in external organization, "heretics," "schismatics," and "Dissenters." No class of ministers, except popish priests and a few hair-brained Puseyites, ever dream of saying of other ministers that they are "unauthorized," have no "vocation," are "intruders" into other men's folds, and "usurpers" of the priestly office. These things can have no existence where common-law Christianity prevails; they are the assumptions of sects, of exclusive pretensions, of caste claims. The only unity that ever can be found in this world,—unless God miraculously cut down all souls to one common level,—is this. No power on earth can screw mankind into one shape and form on matters of faith and religious opinion. Unity can never exist in the sense of sameness, like bricks in a wall, or metal from a die. What is to throw souls into the same type? The idea is absurd; but this kind of unity has ever been the cant of bigots, or oftener still the instrument of tyrants to obtain the object of their ambition,—dominion over their fellow-men. The unity of the gospel lies deeper; it is unity in the truth, not as seen by another, but as apprehended by the individual mind. But this truth is large, broad, open. The divine revelations are not given in set and limited propositions, like the syllogisms of man. It seems to be the purpose of God to leave the *manner* of apprehending and believing the gospel undefined and free. How should it be otherwise? Give any dogma to the first dozen men who may be met with, and it is certain that every one will conceive of it differently. How, then, can unity be found in the *manner* of holding the truth? But though the gospel may be apprehended variously, yet, if it is really embraced, and simply believed, as the mind is assisted by the helps within its reach, and especially as taught by the Spirit, who shall say that this vitiates the truth itself?

Hence, though in the United States the churches may be called by different names, and there may be diversities of opinion, even in matters of faith; yet it does not follow from this, that they are not every one of them true churches. But it is more on points of discipline and

church order, than on questions of truth and faith, that differences spring up, and become the prolific parents of separations. Can any one prove from holy Scripture, that the Author of Christianity has not left this an open question? Or, can any one show that He has given his followers a model church, a platform, a skeleton temple? He has done no such thing. In his mercy and goodness to mankind, He has—following the analogies of nature—prepared a world, a universe of truth and grace, appearing confused, but not so in reality, stretching infinitely beyond the line and definitions of man. And just as men are left to build their social state and polity, in the midst of the agencies and provisions of nature; to cultivate their fields, erect their cities, appropriate to themselves the bounties of Providence, and create the forms of civilization for themselves;—so, in like manner, Christians are permitted to erect their tents, found their churches, and enjoy the blessings of religion freely, on the broad field of scriptural truth; and, for any thing which can be shown to the contrary, one organization is as lawful as another; the only difference being in the fitness of such organization to edify the people themselves, and evangelize the world without.

The American system looks for unity on this broad basis. As far as can be seen, it is as much secured as can be well expected in the midst of the infirmities of human nature. At any rate, society is not convulsed, nor the state put into jeopardy, by religious contentions, claims, and projects. If religion does not bless, neither does it curse, the country; if it does not produce health, neither does it extend any social pestilence; if, in fine, it does not allay human passions, neither does it exasperate them. But the matter is placed too low by being thus hypothetically put. It is my deep conviction, that religion is the conservative power of American society. It is the salt of the community: it is the life and the soul of public and private virtue: it is the cement, the power of coherence, which holds the States together; and, by purifying the public morals, elevating the soul with noble sentiments, creating the sense of responsibility, and stimulating to industry, it is creative of their greatness and power.

But by the English reader it will be instantly asked,—which, in fact, has often been the case,—If religion be so powerful an element in American society, why does it not

abolish slavery? Let us look at this question impartially. If this is done, it will be found that either Christianity, or some other great moral force, has done something in this direction already. The whole continent, including all the existing territory of the republic, was inherited, at first, from this country, with this great curse. Has any thing been achieved to get rid of it? The answer is, that many of the States have freed themselves from the evil. The States of Maine, New-Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa,—have all renounced slavery. Let us learn to do justice where right principles have prevailed.

Christian truth must have had something to do in freeing the people of colour from their chains. This, no doubt, has been the motive power in bringing about this issue. There remains another triumph even in these States, for the same influences to effect; namely, the enfranchisement of the liberated African race in the rights of citizenship. They still remain aliens, though free. The constitutions of the several States, without exception, continue to proscribe them for the sin of the colour of their skin, however religious, virtuous, and orderly they may be.* These people give their allegiance, their labour, their support to the state; and yet they are denied any place within its pale. This is unjust, and it is as impolitic as it is oppressive. But we must trust to time, to the growth of better principles, to the improvement of the African race itself; and no doubt, where so much has already been accomplished, in the end right views and feelings will prevail.

Nothing can be said respecting those States which are not only slave-holding, but manifest a fixed resolution to foster and perpetuate the evil. It is true, the difficulties in the way of getting rid of the institution are prodigious;

* The constitutions of the several States merely *pretermit* them, by enacting that "every white male" shall possess the franchise. This is sufficiently effective. The State of New-York, indeed, mentions them expressly; but, (strange to say!) in the case of the African race, they establish a property-qualification. The words are: "No man of colour shall vote, unless he shall have been three years a resident of the State, and, for one year next preceding the election, shall have owned a freehold worth two hundred and fifty dollars above all incumbrances, and shall have paid tax thereon."

much more so than the people of this country can apprehend. But this is no reason why the injustice should be cherished, and the aggregation of the mischief and misery increased, which is undoubtedly the case. We see amongst these southern States no disposition to take even a first step in the direction of liberty. What the religious element will ultimately do, no one can at present tell. If its lessons and influences are not neutralized by the antagonism of slavery itself, in time no doubt it will produce the same results as in other places. If this is not the case, then the evil, as in other instances, must take its own course, and work its own cure. It is impossible that so monstrous an injustice should continue stationary. God has made in his decrees, in his immutable laws, the accumulations of evil to work their own destruction. Men may endure oppression up to a certain point; but beyond that point it cannot be carried. The recoil comes, in the destruction of either the oppressors or the oppressed. One of these two results must, in the nature of things, take place in this case:—religion will illuminate, exalt, and set the African race free; or, being opposed, the ignorance, vice, discontent, and turbulence of slavery will, at some time, rise in revolt, and seek its revenge. The alternative is before the southern people; they cannot evade it, any more than they can stop the sun in his course. The question at present, though difficult, admits of a peaceful solution; in a while this period of probation will pass away, and some fearful hurricane, some dreadful catastrophe, will come in to settle that which religion and justice failed to accomplish.

PART II.

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF METHODISM IN AMERICA.

CHAP. I.—*Introductory Remarks—Mr. Wesley's great Talent for Government—The Confidence reposed in him—His disinterested Encouragement to all who were capable of rendering Service to Religion—Became the Bond of Union to the first Methodists in America.*

THE history of Methodism in its commencement is one of those singular facts which come in to illustrate the force of that hidden and divine agency to which the glorious triumphs of Christianity are, in holy Scripture, always attributed. The insignificance of the instruments often employed in the accomplishment of the work of God, is intended to demonstrate its spiritual, its divine origin. When parties, destitute of every human distinction, are seen to commence and carry to a successful issue the most difficult enterprises of religion, it seems certain, from this, that they are employed by a higher power; that they have received a commission from God.

It is true, that, in all its branches, Methodism possessed, from the beginning, the advantage of the counsels and consummate guidance of its great leader. No man was ever better fitted for the task assigned him, in this respect, than John Wesley. His religious opinions and his policy were in perfect agreement;—scriptural, simple, catholic, practical. Every thing with him resolved itself into one great purpose,—the promotion of the salvation and happiness of man, in connexion with the highest glory of God. Happily for mankind, the best blessings of religion lie within the compass of this simple area. Policy often perplexes, but never ultimately serves, the cause of true Christianity.

The idea will look like a paradox to men who can see no wisdom in government but what is circuitous, mystical, and subtle,—to say that true policy is found on the surface, —that it consists in a clear, lucid, and perspicacious adherence to simple truth. And yet this is unquestionably the case. God, the supreme Ruler, has impressed certainty on

all his laws. His government is not a labyrinth, a contradiction, a confused and clashing contrivance, a subtle system of expedients, intended to allure and to decoy his creatures into certain courses. The sunbeams of heaven are not clearer and brighter than the moral laws of the universe; and the throne of the great Parent of all is no other than the throne of truth, which truth is being evolved in his entire administration and government.

Confidence in this truth was never carried further, probably, by any uninspired man than by the founder of Methodism. His position made him necessarily the patriarch and the governor of his people every where. On what did he depend to accomplish his work? Nothing, certainly, but the force of truth through his long life; and though often placed in very anomalous and perplexing circumstances, yet we never see him resorting to any kind of finesse. He trusted his work where he trusted his soul, in the hands of God. But his maintenance of principle was free from passion, and equally free from narrow and isolated notions. We never perceive any angry or coercive enforcement even of the truth itself. Truth in his mind was not, indeed, a cold syllogism; it had all the power of a command, an obligation: and yet it was only enjoined in the language of forcible argument, tender and affectionate persuasion, and, as occasion required, an awful lifting up of a warning voice as to the eternal consequences of its rejection. His own keen intellect, illuminated by the Spirit, and sanctified by the grace of God, qualified him to apprehend the appropriate course in matters of administration, as well as in other things, most fully and accurately: and then the purity of his affections, and his tender regard for his fellow-men, enabled him to bear with their infirmities, obtuseness, and even factious conduct, when manifested, with entire confidence as to the result.

But Mr. Wesley was no partial adherent to a system, any more than a dictatorial administrator of its laws. He clearly saw that truth, like nature, is an aggregation; that one principle is linked with another, in harmonious concert, through the universe, and all to the throne of God; that isolation is weakness, whilst a genuine, a catholic belief in religion gives expansion to the mind, and calmness to confidence; that government, like Christianity itself, must embrace the happiness as well as the obedience of its subjects, or it must fail; that man, in all

grades of society, in all conditions of life, in all obligations and duties, in all offices and places of trust, ought to be treated with frankness, honour, and respect; and, moreover, that in all religious relations the holy Scriptures alone must be the rule, the final appeal. A ruler who fixes his thoughts and founds his entire policy on some favourite theory, some logical or mathematical line, some human dogma, some narrow party or sectarian base,—is sure, in the long run, to see his policy fail; and the loss of his chimera will bring discomfiture and despair. His cause being frustrated, he imagines religion itself is lost; whereas, in point of fact, nothing but an embarrassment is gone.

Not so with John Wesley. He had no scheme, no theory, no pet notions, in seeking to bring about the results of religion. He threw himself on the resources and power of God's economy. The spiritual life, the morality, the practical ends of government, secured,—he was perfectly indifferent regarding the external means. With him the experience of piety, the divine affections, the purity and holiness of soul and body; the entire devotedness of talents, influence, property, to God; the operations of a saving and practical faith in the Son of God; the obligations to a consecrated and useful life; the spread of the gospel on the widest possible scale; and all kinds of good offices rendered to each other by Christians;—these were the essentials of religion with him; and whatever best promoted these ends, he considered as all that was important in matters of government.

Hence his administration—if we may so call his care and authority—became easy. He did not fix his regards or bend his efforts to the formation of an ecclesiastical system; but his one object was to help souls to get to heaven; and he taught them that in their journey it was their duty to illustrate their Saviour's glory, and endeavour to persuade others to go with them to the same abodes of the blessed. In a word, it is clearly seen, in all the movements of this great man, that he kept but one thing constantly before his attention; namely, the promotion of experimental and practical religion. And, what is more, the means agreed with the end. There was no ravelled scheme of policy in his government; every one saw the end he proposed, and most persons acquiesced in the agencies employed to secure it.

Nothing is more remarkable in the history of John

Wesley than the confidence his character inspired. All sought his counsel and advice, and deferred, in general, to his opinions. By reason of his disinterested regard to all who "loved our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity," the singleness of his purpose, the simplicity of his course, and the urbanity of his manners,—he won the entire, the unbounded reliance of his followers. Unlike the vulture amongst birds, devouring some and frightening the rest, he attracted all by the music of his love, and never betrayed the confidence reposed in him. His object was, never to crush, to subdue, to repress the rising energies of any, even the poorest, Christian. On the contrary, his whole management turned on the principle of calling out the latent powers of the followers of his Lord, and turning them to the best account. No man ever did so much to exalt the lowly, to elevate the obscure, and to put all who were capable of any kind of service on the right track. Myriads have been rescued from a low and degrading position in life, and ultimately constituted the strength and ornaments of both the religious and the social state, who, but for him, would have passed through the world in some of its meanest and most vicious phases. His rule of action was, in the best sense, that of developement. From his whole proceeding it is evident that he had great confidence in man, as man, irrespective of the accidents of birth and education. His object was to make every one better and happier than he found him. A priest himself,—but entirely free from the priestly spirit,—he sought to enlist, for religion and the progress of the gospel, all the gifts and talents created by experimental piety. By the adoption of this course, he appears, in all the different circumstances in which he is seen, much more of the father than the governor of his people; though, in point of fact, no man more completely directed the affairs of a church than he did; no man ever more really governed any body than he governed the whole Methodist community.

We are often surprised, that instruments apparently so very unsuited achieved so much in the early history of this work. The matter of fact, however, is, that all were directed by one mind. The agencies were various, the instruments often of the humblest kind, the talents, abstracted from the love and zeal of their possessors, were frequently of the meanest order, and the lines of operation adopted were sometimes extremely difficult; but, all

being moulded by the plastic power of this great master of circumstances, the chaos was reduced to order, and the elements which, in their separate state, were weak as water, became compact, massive, and strong; like grains of sand compressed by the laws of nature into mighty mountains.

It has been by the union of these insignificant fragments of piety and goodness, that the Methodist church has risen to its present state. But it is perfectly easy to see, that the power of cohesion could not exist in themselves. A centre of attraction, a uniting force, became essential. Without this, the creations of religion itself must have spent their fire, and evaporated into thin air. In the first movements of any remarkable revival of the work of God, if this take place in the "field of the world," and not within the enclosures of an existing ecclesiastical system;—men must, of necessity, become these centres of attraction, and exercise this power of concentration. Institutions, of course, cannot, at this stage, do this, inasmuch as they have no existence; they may become rallying points afterwards, as they take their position, and develope their excellencies; but in the commencement, individuals constitute the centres around which those who have not the power of self-support naturally collect.

This was the exact position of John Wesley. His labours had put many agencies in motion which could not, of themselves, continue in any useful course; but guided by his wisdom, and held up by his encouraging counsels and support, these simple and good men could accomplish much in the furtherance of the gospel. Hence the first scattered sparks of piety, which flickered in America, at once sought to connect themselves with him. The poor emigrants from this country and Ireland, who, belonging to the Methodist body, were made the instruments of introducing the system,—carried with them the traditions of his excellencies. They considered themselves his children, and connected with the united societies; they had received their religious enjoyments in union with his followers; they had been trained under the discipline he had established; and hence, in their new circumstances, they could not look upon their expatriation as an excision from the parent tree. This, in some measure, accounts for the facts alluded to; namely, that of a great result growing out of very insignificant means. And yet,

by reason of its connexion with Mr. Wesley, nothing seems fortuitous. The rise and progress of Methodism in the States does not look like a happy accident; though, in some of its features, it is sufficiently curious. The modes of the divine operation are often mysterious; but there seems to be one unalterable rule in the economy of Christianity, that is, to bless man by man. The pervading will of God, as well as the influences of his grace, is, indeed, actively and constantly at work in connexion with the progress of his gospel, but not so as to exclude human labour.

This will of God is eclectic as to the choice of agents; electing some to be the depositaries of power, of trust, and of government; giving these parties, truly and really, a divine mission, authenticated by gifts, influence, and blessing, though not by visible miracles; and, as their work is amongst souls, and refers especially to religion, bestowing upon them a remarkable degree of spiritual power, in the form of confidence, exercised in their functions and call. On this principle our founder was an elect man; chosen for his position; endowed with divine gifts; made the centre of a great spiritual power; and became the instrument and messenger of a new developement of the Christian religion; and, inasmuch as he was "ordained a vessel unto honour," God gave him the hearts and affections of men. By reason of this it will be seen, that when the little rills began here and there to bubble up in America, they connected themselves directly with Mr. Wesley; and they thus brought themselves into close and intimate contact with the Fountain of all grace, through the instrumentality of one who had been thus chosen, as the chief channel of its communication in the line in question. The evidences that this is the work of God, are complete. Indeed, the social progress of the United States is not more in proof of the contemporary existence and operation of the moral elements of civilization,—than the origin and progress of Methodism is in proof of the presence, influence, and various gifts and blessings, of the Spirit of God, in connexion with its triumphs.

CHAP. II.—*The Introduction of Methodism into New-York—Philip Embury—Begins to preach—Captain Webb—The first Society — Preaching-Houses — Robert Strawbridge commences preaching in Maryland—Freeborn Garrettson—Captain Webb's Labours in Long-Island and Philadelphia—Attempts to get Mr. Benson appointed to America—Reflections on these Agents—The Class-Meeting.*

WE now hasten to give some notice of the introduction of Methodism into America. Twenty-seven years had passed from the time of the establishment of the "United Societies" in England, and thirty-seven from the period of the meeting of the rudimental society, or "Godly Club," in Oxford, before it made its way into New-York, in 1766. It is impossible to suppose that this time had elapsed without emigrant Methodists having arrived from the mother-country. They had, consequently, lost their religion, or passed into other connexions; in the former case, they had been absorbed in the world, as the persons who, at the above date, were instrumental in beginning the work, were in danger of being.

"Philip Embury, and a batch of emigrant Methodists from Ireland, had so far given up their profession, as to become card-players, when another family arrived from Ireland, amongst whom was 'a mother in Israel,' to whose zeal in the cause of God they were all indebted for the revival of the spirit of piety amongst them. Soon after their arrival, this good woman ascertained, that those who had preceded her had so far departed from their 'first love,' as to be mingling in the frivolities and sinful amusements of life. The knowledge of this painful fact aroused her indignation, and, with a zeal which deserves commemoration, she suddenly entered the room where they were assembled, seized the pack of cards with which they were playing, and threw them into the fire."

How great the pity, that the name and future circumstances of this noble-minded woman are not preserved! She may be justly considered as the real instrument of the work which followed; inasmuch as she roused the slumbering men from their lethargic dreams, and put them in motion.

"Addressing Embury, she said, 'You must preach to us, or we shall all go to hell together, and God will require our blood at your hands.' He tremblingly replied, 'I cannot preach, for I have neither a house nor a congregation.' 'Preach in your own house first, and to our own company,' was the reply. Feeling the responsibility of his situation, and not being able any longer to resist the importu-

nities of his reprover, he consented to comply with her request; and, accordingly, preached his first sermon in his own hired house, to five persons only. This, it is believed, was the first Methodist sermon ever preached in America." *

Thus began Methodism in America. The circumstances are not very auspicious, and the chief agent, as we see, not a very promising person. Had not the faith and zeal of our female heroine come in to the help of pusillanimous men, the feeble spark would, at this time, no doubt, have gone out; and the origin of this great cause would have commenced at some other point, and, possibly, have assumed another character. "From this time they gradually gathered strength, till they were able to rent a room in the neighbourhood, of larger dimensions. Here they assembled for mutual edification, Mr. Embury continuing to lead their devotions, and to expound to them the word of God." †

Captain Webb made his appearance on the scene soon after their first feeble efforts, greatly strengthening the confidence of the "little flock," and, instrumentally, augmenting their numbers. He had been brought to the knowledge of salvation by the remission of sins, at Bristol, about the year 1765; and, it seems, immediately began to call sinners to repentance. The character of his preaching may be pretty well ascertained, by an entry or two in Mr. Wesley's Journal. He says,—

"Captain Webb preached at the Foundery. I admire the wisdom of God in thus raising up various preachers, according to the various tastes of men. The captain is all life and fire; therefore, although he is not deep, or regular, yet many who would not hear a better preacher, flock to hear him. And many are convinced under his preaching, some justified, a few built up in love." ‡

"Captain Webb lately kindled a flame here, (Devizes,) and it is not yet gone out. Several persons were still rejoicing in God; and the people, in general, were much quickened. I found his preaching in the street at Winchester had been blessed greatly. Many were, more or less, convinced of sin; and several had found peace with God. I never saw the preaching-house so crowded before, with serious and attentive hearers." §

At the period under review, the captain was stationed at Albany, the capital of the province of New-York; and his appearance on the theatre must have created great

* Bangs's "History of Methodism in America," vol. i. pp. 47, 48.
† *Idem*, p. 46. ‡ "Works," vol. iii. p. 287.
§ *Idem*, vol. iv. p. 261.

interest in the public mind. His rank in life, his military costume,—in which it seems he preached,—his dauntless resolution, his fervid spirit, would, in a thoughtless and dissipated population, succeed much more in rousing attention than regular ministrations, however plain or eloquent. Accordingly, his preaching "drew many to the place of worship; and the room where they assembled soon became too small to accommodate all who wished to hear. Sinners were awakened and converted to God, and added to the society. These, continuing to walk in the 'fellowship of the Holy Ghost,' were much strengthened and comforted; while others, who beheld their godly conversation, were convinced of the power and excellence of their religion." *

The society of Methodists was now fairly established, the instruments being, as we see, a timid local preacher, a faithful and heroic woman, and a brave, believing, and zealous military officer. The hired room now became too small for the congregation, and the next step in advance was to rent a rigging-loft, in William-street. This place, like the other, soon becoming too strait, the people began to entertain the notion of building a preaching-house.

"While all were deliberating on the most suitable means to be adopted to accomplish an object so desirable, and even necessary for their continued prosperity, an elderly lady, one of the Irish emigrants before mentioned, while fervently engaged in prayer for direction in this important enterprise, received, with inexpressible sweetness and power, this answer, 'I the Lord will do it.' At the same time, a plan was presented to her mind, which, on being submitted to the society, was generally approved of, and finally adopted. They proceeded to issue a subscription-paper, waited on the mayor of the city, and other opulent citizens, to whom they explained their object, and from them received such liberal donations, as greatly encouraged them to proceed in their undertaking."

This led to the erection of John-street chapel, sixty feet in length, and forty-two in breadth; the people calling it, from respect for the venerable founder of Methodism, "Wesley Chapel." This was, most likely, the first chapel ever called by this name; as, most assuredly, John Wesley would never allow either chapel, society, or any thing else, to be called after him, in England, so long as he lived, and possessed the power to prevent it.

* Bangs's "History of Methodism in America," vol. i. pp. 49, 50.

The name of the above female has been happily rescued from oblivion.

"The name of this pious woman was Hick, the mother of the late Paul Hick, who became a member of the Methodist Episcopal church in his youth; and was subsequently a class-leader and trustee, in which offices he continued till near the close of life; and finally died, in the triumph of faith, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. He has children and grand-children, now members of the church in the city of New-York. He has often conversed with the writer respecting the circumstances and incidents of those early days of Methodism, with much apparent delight and gratitude. When quite a lad, his mother used to lead him by the hand to the meetings; and, said he, 'the first sixpence I could ever call my own, I put into the plate, which was carried around to receive the contributions of the people; and I felt, in so doing, an inexpressible pleasure.' God abundantly rewarded him in after-life with both temporal and spiritual blessings; and he lived to see 'this seed of the kingdom spring up, and bear fruit, even a hundred-fold.'" *

In the meantime Captain Webb continued his zealous labours with great success. He preached in various places in Long-Island, produced great awakenings amongst the people, and prepared the way for the formation of societies. His love to the Saviour and the souls of men carried him to Philadelphia, and he became the means of laying the foundation of a great work of God in the famous Quaker city. When, in 1769, the first missionaries, Messrs. Boardman and Pilmoor, landed at Philadelphia, they found the heroic captain in the city zealously pursuing his course, and a society collected by his labours of upwards of one hundred members.

Much about the time these things were taking place, another agent from Ireland, Robert Strawbridge, began to preach in Maryland with equal success. He settled, it seems, in Frederick County in that State, and at first commenced preaching in his own house. These labours were soon enlarged, and, like his contemporaries in the work, he extended his evangelical exertions to various parts of the country around. The success attendant on these efforts obliged our evangelist to turn his attention to the erection of a place of worship, which he accomplished at Pipe Creek, and which passed under the name of the "log meeting-house." This first Methodist place of worship in Maryland became famous in its history, and several of the early Conferences were held within its "log" walls.

* Bangs's "History of Methodism in America," vol. i. pp. 50, 51.

It was in the midst of these first and desultory labours of Mr. Strawbridge, that one of the earliest and most eminent of the native American ministers became acquainted with the way of salvation. FREEBORN GARRETTSON met with Mr. Strawbridge at a friend's house in his own neighbourhood; and this incident seems to be the first link in a chain of events, which led that excellent man to become one of the most honoured and successful pioneers in this great work.

Who does not feel a pleasure in searching out among elevated ridges the springs and rills which, in their course, constitute great rivers? It may be in imagination only; but there is delight in sipping the water at the fountain-head, in spanning the tiny stream as it gurgles out of the rock, and then examining how it makes for itself a channel. There will in this be little to please the economist and the practical man. He only cares for results, for organizations, for a working power: the elements of things are nothing to him; these he willingly gives up to prying curiosity. But it is clear enough that his favourite aggregations could have no existence without these elementary processes; the great has its origin in the little, as the river in the fountain; the woodman's axe, the ploughman's art, the housewife's spinning-wheel, the hand-loom of the humble weaver, the rude log-hut, constitute the foundations of the most advanced civilization. To despise, or even to disregard, first efforts, indicates folly as well as pride. And in despite of the *generalizings* of philosophy, it will be found, in fact, that the characters, the opinions, the modes of operation, the tools, so to speak, which are employed, the lines of labour marked out, and the genius, spirit, and soul of these first essays, will give their colouring, and even forms, to all succeeding creations.

This is evidently true in the case under consideration. Captain Webb seems to have been a perfect embodiment of the true genius and spirit of primitive Methodism. What the grave New-England religionists, and all men of their class, would consider its irregularity, enthusiasm, zeal, activity, and faith,—seems to have had a place in the soul and life of this noble soldier of the Lord Jesus Christ. By reason of his leisure, property, and position, he possessed the means of more extensive labours than Philip Embury or Robert Strawbridge. These good men occupied a sort of pastoral function on a limited scale,

while the good captain acted as an evangelist, pressing into every open door, and boldly proclaiming the glad tidings of salvation. The writer of a letter to Mr. Wesley, signing himself T. T., dated New-York, April 11th, 1768, gives us some insight into the captain's character and proceedings.

"For some time few thought it worth their while to hear; but God so ordered it by his providence, that, about fourteen months ago, Captain Webb, barrack-master at Albany, (who was converted three years ago in Bristol,) found them out, and preached in his regimentals. The novelty of a man preaching in a scarlet coat soon brought greater numbers to hear than the room could contain. But his doctrines were quite new to the hearers; for he told them point-blank, that all their knowledge and religion were not worth a rush, unless their sins were forgiven, and they had the witness of God's Spirit with theirs that they were his children. This strange doctrine, with some peculiarities in his person, made him soon taken notice of, and obliged the little society to look out for a larger house to preach in.....About this period Mr. Webb, whose wife's relations lived in Jamaica, Long-Island, took a house in that neighbourhood, and began to preach in his own house, and several other places on Long-Island. Within six months, about twenty-four persons received justifying grace; nearly half of them whites, the rest Negroes. While Mr. Webb was (to borrow his own phrase) 'felling trees on Long-Island, brother Embury was exhorting all who attended on Thursday evenings, and Sundays, morning and evening, at the rigging-house, to flee from the wrath to come.'.....It was the 26th day of October last when I arrived, recommended to a person for lodging. I inquired of my host, who was a very religious man, if any Methodists were in New-York; he answered that there was one Captain Webb, a strange sort of man, who lived on Long-Island, and who sometimes preached at one Embury's at the rigging-house."

It seems that our good captain not only laboured himself, but exerted his influence to procure others to enter the field. He had an "impression" that Mr. Benson ought to go to America. The matter, as in all similar cases, was referred to Mr. Wesley, who, in a letter dated March 2d, 1773, says,—

"Certainly, you cannot stir, unless you are clearly satisfied of your call from God. An impression on the mind of another man is no rule of action to you. The reasons you give on the other side are weighty, and will not easily be answered."

This call upon Mr. Benson by the captain, roused Charles Wesley, who, in his usual style of frankness and energy, gives his notions of the captain's character.

"I have barely time to say, your own reasons for not yet going to America, and Christopher Hopper's, are unanswerable. Mr. F." (Mr. Fletcher, no doubt) "is only the captain's echo. The captain's impressions are no more, or very little more, to be depended on than George Bell's. He is an inexperienced, honest, zealous, loving enthusiast. God only knows whether you may not be called to America by and by. At present, your call is not clear; therefore, stand still, and send our friends a loving, explicit refusal."

It is singular enough, that whilst the several parties thus dealt with the captain's "impression," they all refer to the same principle. John Wesley thinks the "call," when divine, must be addressed to the person concerned, and not to another; he is the party to be convinced, and to be persuaded. Charles is not sure but the "call" may come some time, and Mr. Benson may be sent to America; whilst he himself evidently refers to the same thing, only he argues, and that so conclusively as to convince the brothers, that to himself the "call" is not sufficiently clear and explicit. It would be difficult to prove that Captain Webb's "impression" in this case was a reverie, an ill-founded piece of enthusiasm. Had his election fallen on some incompetent person, Charles Wesley's biting caustic might have been justly applied. But the "impression" referred to a man whose age, piety, learning, great preaching talents, practical wisdom, entire attachment to Methodist theology, and eminent controversial and literary attainments;—seemed in reason to point him out as the most suitable man in England for the work. Besides, there seems to have been a balance of judgment, two against two,—John and Charles Wesley against, and Captain Webb and Mr. Fletcher in favour. How prescient is Providence! Had Mr. Benson gone to America, and taken the superintendence of the work, as he must have done, it is probable that his influence would have altered the whole aspect of things. Dr. Coke, in that case, could have had no place in the organization of Methodism; Francis Asbury must have been a secondary man; and, with Mr. Benson's views and opinions, it is extremely likely, not to say absolutely certain, that the Methodist Episcopal church would never, in its present shape, have existed. On what wonderful contingencies hang the greatest results!

These, then, are the agents, and this the beginning, of Methodism in America; now grown to be by far the most numerous church in the United States. How different

this commencement to any other religious formations in the country! When the pilgrim fathers sailed in the "Mayflower" with her companion, they constituted a church, an ecclesiastical state. Some of the most eminent Christians, probably, of the age accompanied the expedition; they were men of real greatness of mind and heart; they held a doctrinal system, arranged, digested, put into syllogistic order, and defended at all points; they had left their country for the sake of what they considered a principle, a truth, which they carried with them as a sacred deposit, as the ark of God; the formalities of devotion and of religious rites attended every step; and they seemed to act upon the conviction that they were going, in the name of their Divine Master, to take possession of a new "land of promise." We do not say they were mistaken in their convictions, or that they failed in their anticipations; all that is meant to be noticed is, that this was formal, and that the religion of the transaction possessed a shape, a plan.

When William Penn took possession of Pennsylvania in the name of Quakerism, this was the case also. The Quaker king was himself a great man in every sense. In family connexions, in social rank, in all the qualities of the statesman, in knowledge and literary attainments, and actual standing in society, William Penn was a man to take rank with peers and princes, philosophers and statesmen. Religion, under the auspices of such a leader, has the appearance of a great interest, and likely to prosper. It demands respect, and claims the approval of parties who look more at "the outward appearance," than abstract truth. And, moreover, though the forms of Quakerism were very different, as was its spirit also, from the Puritanism of the settlers of New-England, yet still it had its own peculiar garb, and presented itself to view as a visible embodiment of Christianity.

Methodism began in America in a perfectly different manner. Its first disciples, we see, had no name, no rank, no means, no scholarship, no power, no human credentials. It was introduced by a few poor, unknown, and unnoticed emigrants, who took their place amongst the common people, and occupied themselves in the menial affairs of life. The general population knew not that any parties lived amongst them of any remarkable stamp of character. Neither themselves nor the people for a moment dreamt that they were the chosen apostles of God

to introduce a doctrine, a system, which, in the course of time, was destined to become a great church. There was certainly no design, and no kind of forethought of any results beyond present religious edification. What, then, gave Methodism its force, its momentum? Unquestionably the truth and the Spirit of God in the first degree; but then, it was truth unembarrassed, unsystematized; truth in its simplicity. Moreover, it was not the gospel in any gorgeous array of symbols or of ornament, it was one capital and experimental verity; namely, the offer of the pardon of sin, with its attendant blessings. This was just about all that these disciples of Methodism knew, or could preach to others. But it is exactly such a doctrine as is calculated to arrest attention, to excite the soul to a profound thoughtfulness, to prepare the way for other enunciations; and, by reason of its exact adaptation to man in his guilt and miseries, is likely, in the issue, to win numerous converts. Besides, this single truth is in its nature germinant. Though but one in itself, it leads to every thing else. But how great the difference between the Methodist doctrine of the pardon of sin, and the Puritan doctrine of the decrees, and the Quaker doctrine of the inward light!

The founders of New-England and its religion sought, by all possible means, to establish their repulsive system of election and reprobation; and, as if to give practical effect to their doctrines, refused residence and neighbourhood to every one, unless he believed their creed and belonged to their church. The Quaker-prophet taught the people to look within, and to unravel the right from the wrong, the good from the evil, the light from the darkness, the divine from the human; and insisted that religion was of the nature of an internal oracle, which, if rightly consulted, would lead to truth, virtue, and God. The Methodist, from the earliest period of his appearance in America, on the contrary, went about proclaiming pardon, justification, as freely procured by the death of Christ, and offered to all men in the gospel. This was his mission, the blessing he preached, the acceptance of which he enforced upon his audience; teaching, at the same time, the mode of its attainment by faith, and pointing out its evidences and fruits. There is not so much in this to engage philosophy and excite admiration as in the other systems referred to; but there is much more to meet the wants of mankind, to satisfy the cravings of the soul,

to ease the anguish of the conscience, and to lead to peace and holiness. Mr. Bancroft could not write so splendid and philosophical a dissertation on the Methodist doctrine of pardon, as he has produced on the "inward light" of the Quaker system; and yet this doctrine of pardon has done a thousand times more to evangelize his country, and gained a hundred-fold more disciples, than the system he so eloquently eulogizes. But this doctrine is powerful, not simply because it is so well adapted to man's state: it is effective, because divine; the very blessing of the gospel, to which the Holy Spirit gives his testimony and influence. No one can possibly account for the success of the early propagators of Methodistic doctrine, on any other principle than this. It owed next to nothing to its agents, but every thing to its own intrinsic truth;—stripped of all efflorescent verbiage, and rendered powerful by the blessing of God.

The only external appliance which Methodism possessed, at this first stage of its existence, was the class-meeting. Many parties will be unable to see any thing in this; and some will smile or sneer, as the case may be. Be this as it may, there can be no doubt that these meetings collected the scattered rays of light into a focus, gave solidity to the work, and fostered the courage and confidence of the disciples; strengthened, animated, and inflamed their piety and love; drew out their respective talents, whether for prayer, exhortation, or any other service; and consolidated their means for exertion and usefulness. The social principle in religion is power, as well as in other things; and it is especially necessary in the feeble commencement of any new undertaking. We have seen that Philip Embury and his companions had given way, when roused from their slumbers by the importunities of a more faithful female. The result was the establishment of what is called "a society;" and we hear no more of any vacillations. The members of the "little flock" looked after each other; became, in some sort, answerable for each other's character and piety; assisted each other in their daily trials, and prompted each other "to love and to good works;" and, by these several means, gave solidity and strength to the whole work. But this is not all; these class-meetings became centres of life. Their several gifts were brought into exercise, and, consequently, improved; and many of the members, as the result, became eminently useful, who would, probably, have remained in listless obscurity.

These classes thus proved to be "schools of the prophets;" and, like the fountain in the arid desert, sent forth their fertilizing waters to the regions around, giving religious verdure to places which must otherwise have remained in a state of barrenness and death.

It results from all that we have seen, in connexion with the early stages of this great revival of religion on the continent of America, that, so far as human and external means are concerned, it owes its origin and progress to two very simple powers,—the doctrine of pardon, and the class-meeting. These, it may be thought by some, are inadequate means to produce such effects; that, in point of fact, there must have been something more profound, more recondite. On examination, however, it will be perceived, that, in every thing divine, the declaration of the apostle is found true, "God hath chosen the weak things of this world to confound the mighty." The men first called by Christ to the apostolic office, were selected from amongst the common people; the speech they employed was plain, pointed, and expressed in the idioms of the times; the doctrines they taught were certainly such as we have indicated, and were stated in a popular, and not a scholastic, style; the societies established were evidently spiritual, practical meetings for merely religious purposes; and the church-officers were men of plain sense, good character, and eminent sanctity; whilst their office itself only contemplated the promotion of piety, or relief to the poor. In this manner the Methodist societies were first formed, both in America and elsewhere. Their simplicity was their beauty, their glory, and their strength. This ill accords with the complexity of most ecclesiastical organizations; in which complexity many, though in great mistake, place their strength. In this work, then, there can be no ground for glorying in man. "Not by might, nor by" human "power," were the foundations of Methodism laid in the American colonies. This church can boast of no princely power, no noble patronage, no legislative provision, no chartered immunities, no domestic or foreign support. No apostolic man, linked in the chain of any kind of succession, laid the foundations of this gigantic fabric. The Methodist church cannot count back to a Peter or a Paul, like the pretence of Rome; nor can they reckon on great traditional or historic characters, as coming from afar to plant the

gospel on their shores. The period will allow of no mystery; no strange missionary, as Patrick in Ireland, can ever be palmed on public credulity, as the agent of this work; it is not, it cannot be, lost in the dim distance of a remote antiquity. The curious can never dispute about the origin of the movement. Philip Embury, Robert Strawbridge, Captain Webb, and the "mother in Israel," mentioned before, instrumentally, laid the foundations of one of the most numerous, well-governed, pious, and useful Protestant churches in the world; and the powerlessness of the instruments must lead all to acknowledge, that this is indeed the "finger of God."

CHAP. III.—*Application to Mr. Wesley for Missionaries—Messrs. Boardman and Pilmoor appointed—Account of the State of Things—Messrs. Asbury and Wright—Account of the former—The Spirit of the Clergy—Mr. Jarratt—Thomas Rankin and George Shadford arrive—First Conference.*

WE now enter upon a new period in the progress of Methodism in America,—the period of more regular ministrations. In 1768, the society at New-York addressed Mr. Wesley on the subject of sending them a minister. The writer above referred to, signing himself T. T., was their organ.

"There is another point far more material, and in which I must importune your assistance, not only in my own name, but also in the name of the whole society. We want an able and experienced preacher; one who has both gifts and grace necessary for the work. God has not, indeed, despised the day of small things. There is a real work of grace begun in many hearts, by the preaching of Mr. Webb and Mr. Embury; but, although they are both useful, and their hearts in the work, they want many qualifications for such an undertaking; and the progress of the gospel here depends much upon the qualifications of preachers.

"In regard to a preacher, if possible, we must have a man of wisdom, of sound faith, and a good disciplinarian; one whose heart and soul are in the work; and I doubt not but, by the goodness of God, such a flame will be soon kindled, as would never stop till it reached the great South Sea. We may make many shifts to evade temporal inconveniences; but we cannot purchase such a preacher as I have described. Dear Sir, I entreat you, for the good of thousands, to use your utmost endeavours to send one over. With respect to money for the payment of the preacher's passage over, if they could not procure it, we would sell our coats and shirts to procure it for them."

This letter led to the appointment of the first missionaries from England. Mr. Wesley, referring to this in his Journal, says,—

"Tuesday, August 1st, 1769.—Our Conference began in Leeds. On Thursday, I mentioned the case of our brethren in New-York. For some years past, several of our brethren from England and Ireland (and some of them preachers) had settled in North America, and had, in various places, formed societies, particularly in Philadelphia and New-York. The society at New-York had lately built a commodious preaching-house, and now desired help, being in great want of money, but much more of preachers. Two of our preachers, Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor, willingly offered themselves for the service, by whom we determined to send over £50, as a token of our brotherly love."

The two missionaries landed at Gloucester-Point, six miles below Philadelphia, October 24th, 1769. This ought to be regarded as a red-letter day in the history of Methodism in America. It is the date of an era; it marks the beginning of a direct connexion between the societies, and the father of the entire family; and it also indicates the period of the admission of a new, a regulating power. Henceforward, the American societies became a part of the pastoral charge of Mr. Wesley and the British Conference; and their history stands intimately connected with that of the entire body.

On entering upon their duties, our missionaries divided; Mr. Boardman taking New-York as the centre of his movements, and Mr. Pilmoor Philadelphia. But, adopting the accustomed rule of itinerancy, they exchanged with each other at certain intervals; thus giving vitality and interest to their work, by the effects of varied ministrations. Mr. Pilmoor gave an account of the state of things in Philadelphia, in a letter, dated October 31st, 1769, only seven days after his arrival. He says,—

"By the blessing of God, we are safely arrived here, after a tedious passage of nine weeks. We were not a little surprised to find Captain Webb in town, and a society of about one hundred members, who desire to be in close connexion with you. 'This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.'

"I have preached several times, and the people flock to hear in multitudes. Sunday evening I went out upon the common. I had the stage appointed for the horse-race for my pulpit, and I think between four and five thousand hearers, who heard with attention, still as night. Blessed be God for field-preaching! When I began to talk of preaching at five o'clock in the morning, the people

thought it would not answer in America; however, I resolved to try, and I had a very good congregation.

"There seems to be a great and effectual door opening in this country, and I hope many souls will be gathered in. The people, in general, like to hear the word, and seem to have ideas of salvation by grace."

Mr. Boardman does not write so soon; but on the 24th of April, 1770, he says,—

"Our house contains about seventeen hundred people. About a third part of those who attend get in; the rest are glad to hear without. There appears such a willingness in the Americans to hear the word, as I never saw before. They have no preaching in some parts of the back settlements. I doubt not but an effectual door will be opened among them. O may the Most High now give his Son the heathen for his inheritance! The number of the blacks that attend the preaching affects me much."

It is seen by this, that Philip Embury and Captain Webb had done good service. A third preaching-place, holding seventeen hundred persons, was no mean triumph, for the circumstances in which they were placed.

In the following year another, the most important actor who ever appeared from England in America, took his place on the continent,—Francis Asbury, accompanied by Richard Wright. As Mr. Asbury became so conspicuous a leader in the affairs of Methodism, it may be as well to give his own account of his early life.

Mr. Asbury tells us, he was born near the foot of Hampstead-Bridge, in the parish of Handsworth, four miles from Birmingham, on the 20th or 21st of August, 1745. His father and mother, Joseph and Elizabeth Asbury, "were in common life, but remarkable for honesty and industry." On the death of an only daughter in childhood, his mother "sunk into deep distress, from which she was not relieved for many years." Under this dispensation, "God was pleased to open the eyes of her mind, and she now began to read almost incessantly, strongly urging her husband to adopt family reading and prayer." This affected young Francis; and he tells us, that from childhood he neither

"Dared an oath, nor hazarded a lie."

Being sent to school early, he learned to read the Bible, and took "great delight in the historical parts." His master, proving a great "churl," and using him "cruelly," filled him with such "horrible dread," that it seems he made his escape from this tyranny. This was the amount

of his education; we hear no more of school. He then "lived some time in one of the wealthiest and most ungodly families in the parish;" and became "vain, but not openly wicked." When betwixt thirteen and fourteen, he was "put to learn a branch of business, at which he wrought six years and a half," enjoying great liberty in the family, and was "treated more like a son than an apprentice."

When fourteen years of age, he was awakened by the instrumentality of a "pious man, not a Methodist," who was invited by his mother to visit the family for religious purposes. He began to attend West-Bromwich church, hearing several evangelical ministers, and read all the good books he met with. He now inquired of his mother, "*who*, *where*, and *what* were the Methodists?" and she directing him to "a person who could conduct him to Wednesbury to hear them," we find him for the first time at this place. "The people were devout, men and women kneeling down, saying, *Amen*." They sung hymns, "sweet sound;" the preacher had "no Prayer-Book, and yet he prayed wonderfully;" and, more extraordinary, "he took his text, and preached, and yet had no sermon-book." "He talked about confidence, assurance, of which," he says, "all my flights and hopes fell short." He adds, "I had no deep convictions, nor had I committed any deep known sins. At one sermon, some time after, my companion was powerfully wrought on: I was exceedingly grieved that I could not weep like him; yet I knew myself to be in a state of unbelief. On a certain time, when we were praying in my father's barn, I believe the Lord pardoned my sins, and justified my soul." He was now "free from guilt and fear, and had power over sin, and felt great inward joy." He now began to "hold meetings" with his companions, who were "much persecuted;" the people opening their houses were obliged to close them again. Being driven from these places, he "held meetings" at his father's house, and went also to Sutton-Colefield for the same purpose, "several souls professing to find peace." He had preached some months before he publicly appeared in the "Methodist meeting-houses;" and when his labours became more public and extensive, "some were amazed; not knowing how he had exercised elsewhere." He now became a local preacher, "the humble and willing servant of any and of every preacher that called on him by night or by day; being ready, with hasty steps, to go far and wide to do good." Thus called,

he "visited Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire," "preaching, generally, three, four, and five times a week, and, at the same time, pursuing his calling."*

The account of his entrance on his American mission must be given in his own words.

"On the 7th of August, 1771, the Conference began at Bristol, in England. Before this, I had felt for half a year strong intimations in my mind, that I should visit America; which I laid before the Lord, being unwilling to do my own will, or to run before I was sent. During this time my trials were very great, which the Lord, I believe, permitted to prove and try me, in order to prepare me for future usefulness. At the Conference it was proposed, that some preachers should go over to the American continent. I spoke my mind, and made an offer of myself. It was accepted by Mr. Wesley and others, who judged I had a call. From Bristol, I went home to acquaint my parents with my great undertaking, which I opened in as gentle a manner as possible. Though it was grievous to flesh and blood, they consented to let me go. My mother is one of the tenderest parents in the world: but I believe she was blessed in the present instance with divine assistance to part with me. I visited most of my friends in Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and Gloucestershire, and felt much life and power among them. Several of our meetings were held, indeed, in the spirit and life of God. Many of my friends were struck with wonder, when they heard of my going; but none opened their mouths against it, hoping it was of God. Some wished that their situation would allow them to go with me.

"I returned to Bristol in the latter end of August, where Richard Wright was waiting for me, to sail in a few days for Philadelphia. When I came to Bristol, I had not one penny of money; but the Lord soon opened the hearts of friends, who supplied me with clothes, and £10: thus I found, by experience, that the Lord will provide for those who trust in him.

"On Wednesday, September 2d, we set sail from a port near Bristol; and, having a good wind, soon passed the Channel. For three days I was very ill with the sea-sickness; and no sickness I ever knew was equal to it. The captain behaved well to us. On the Lord's day, September 8th, brother W. preached a sermon on deck, and all the crew gave attention.

"Thursday, 12th. I will set down a few things that lie on my mind. Whither am I going? To the New World. What to do? To gain honour? No; if I know my own heart. To get money? No; I am going to live to God, and to bring others to do so. In America there has been a work of God: some moving first amongst the Friends, but in time it declined; likewise by the Presbyterians, but amongst them also it declined. The people God owns in England are the Methodists. The doctrines they preach, and the discipline they enforce, are, I believe, the purest of any people in the

* Asbury's "Journal," vol. ii. pp. 133—136.

world. The Lord has greatly blessed these doctrines and this discipline in the three kingdoms: they must therefore be pleasing to him. If God does not acknowledge me in America, I will soon return to England. I know my views are upright now: may they never be otherwise!" *

This is the spirit in which this apostle of Methodism in America began his work, and which only terminated with his life,—an eventful period of forty-four years. There were now four missionaries from England in America; and their number was increased by the addition of Robert Williams and John King, emigrants from the mother-country. The band of brothers evidently laboured together, in general, harmoniously, and with equal success. The only difference amongst them seems to have been, on the subject of country work. Mr. Asbury thought his brethren were too fond of remaining in the large towns; whilst he felt, in the spirit of a true evangelist, that, in order to secure the objects of their mission, it was necessary that the villages and country places should share their attention, and enjoy the benefit of their ministrations. With these convictions, he determined to sally forth; and from this time we find him prosecuting his itinerant labours with indefatigable zeal,—rushing into every open door, and, where an entrance could not be found, endeavouring to make one. On this subject his remarks are pertinent. On November 20th, he writes:—

"I am in York, though unsatisfied with our being both in town together. I have not yet the thing I seek,—a circulation of preachers, to avoid partiality and popularity. However, I am fixed to the Methodist plan, and do what I do faithfully, as to God..... At present I am dissatisfied. I judge we are to be shut up in the cities this winter. My brethren seem unwilling to leave the cities; but I think I shall show them the way. I am in trouble, and more trouble is at hand; for I am determined to make a stand against all partiality. I have nothing to seek but the glory of God, nothing to fear but his displeasure. I am come over with an upright intention, and, through the grace of God, I will make it appear; and I am determined that no man shall bias me with soft words and fair speeches: nor will I ever fear (the Lord helping me) the face of man, or know any man after the flesh, if I beg my bread from door to door; but, whomsoever I please or displease, I will be faithful to God, to the people, and to my own soul."

Here we have the moral elements forming the character of Francis Asbury. Firmness, fearlessness, integrity,

* "Journal," vol. i. pp. 1, 2.

singleness of eye for the glory of God, an intense love to the souls of men, faithfulness to the leading idea of Methodism, happiness in labour,—from which he never deviated to the end of life. Such was the man called of Providence to take the lead in this enterprise, in great measure to guide its counsels, and to become its chief apostle.

At this period the Methodist preachers in America, as well as in England, considered themselves connected with the church. Two incidents may be mentioned to show how they fared with different classes of the clergy. In Kent county, Mr. Asbury relates, that he was encountered by Mr. R., a church minister.

"He charged me with making a schism. I told him that I did not draw the people from the church, and asked him if his church was then open. He then said, that I hindered the people from their work. I asked him if fairs and horse-races did not hinder them; and farther told him, that I came to help him. He said, he had not hired me for an assistant, and did not want my help. I told him, if there were no swearers or other sinners, he was sufficient. 'But,' said he, 'what do you come for?' I replied, 'To turn sinners to God.' He said, 'Cannot I do that as well as you?' I told him that I had authority from God. He then laughed at me, and said, 'You are a fine fellow, indeed!' I told him I did not do this to invalidate his authority; and also gave him to understand, that I did not wish to dispute with him; but he said, he had business with *me*, and came into the house in a great rage. I began to preach, and to exhort the people to repent, and turn from all their transgressions, so iniquity should not prove their ruin. After preaching, the parson went out, and told the people they did wrong in coming to hear me; and said, I spoke against learning; whereas, I only spoke to this purpose: When a man turned from all sin, he would adorn every character in life, both in church and state."

This sort of clergy generally predominated in the southern provinces; but Mr. Jarratt, of Virginia, was an exception.

"Under his preaching there was a considerable revival at a place called White Oak. In imitation of Mr. Wesley and his preachers, Mr. Jarratt formed those who were awakened to a sense of their danger into a society, that they might assist each other in working out their salvation. The good effects of these meetings were so apparent, in producing the fruits of 'good living,' that they were encouraged, and the revival went on gradually, chiefly under the labours of Mr. Jarratt, from 1771 to 1773, spreading from fifty to sixty miles in the region round about." *

This good man identified himself with Methodism,

* BANGS's "History of Methodism in America," vol. i. p. 76.

afforded his countenance and encouragement to the preachers, himself took part in their labours, attended some of their early meetings in Conference, threw open his door for their entertainment; and, in fact, became to the infant cause in America exactly what Mr. Fletcher of Madeley, or Grimshaw of Haworth, were to the Methodists of England in their day.

In June, 1773, two other missionaries, Thomas Rankin and George Shadford, landed in Philadelphia; and as Mr. Rankin had travelled several years longer in England than Mr. Asbury, Mr. Wesley appointed him the general assistant (superintendent) of the societies in America.

Mr. Rankin seems to have received, with the superintendency, full powers from Mr. Wesley to hold a Conference. Accordingly, we find, the first Conference ever held in America was convened to meet at Philadelphia, in July, 1773. Up to this time the business of the church had been transacted at the Quarterly-Meetings.

At this Conference we find the following questions and answers:—

"1. Ought not the authority of Mr. Wesley and that of [the English] Conference to extend to the preachers and people in America, as well as Great Britain and Ireland?

"Ans.—Yes.

"2. Ought not the doctrine and discipline of the Methodists, as contained in the Minutes, to be the sole rule of our conduct, who labour in the Connexion with Mr. Wesley in America?

"Ans.—Yes.

"3. If so, does it not follow, that if any preachers deviate from the Minutes, we can have no fellowship with them till they change their conduct?

"Ans.—Yes."

The following rules were agreed to by the preachers present:—

"1. Every preacher who acts in connexion with Mr. Wesley, and the brethren who labour in America, is strictly to avoid administering the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper.

"2. All the people among whom we labour to be earnestly exhorted to attend the church, and to receive the ordinances there; but in a particular manner to press the people in Maryland and Virginia to the observance of this minute."

Thus the Methodist system was fairly established, and its discipline agreed upon, by the consent of the brethren. Mr. Rankin is reported to have been a stern disciplinarian of the Presbyterian class; a Scotchman by birth and

education, and somewhat inflexible in his character, after the manner of his countrymen.

The above resolutions were not passed without debate, or carried into effect without opposition. There seems to have been no demur in regard to the authority of Mr. Wesley and the British Conference; but on the question of the sacraments, the feeling was not equally unanimous. Some of the brethren, as Mr. Strawbridge, had been in the habit of administering these sacred rites to the satisfaction of the people, so that the rule on the subject came into collision with the practice of some of the societies. On other points there was some difference of opinion, and the New-York people threatened to shut the doors of their chapel against Mr. Rankin. These differences gradually subsided, and by the careful enforcement of discipline, together with the faithful ministerial labours of the preachers, order became predominant, and prosperity attended the work. By the merciful ordination of Divine Providence, this work of union took effect at the right time. Events of a distressing character were approaching; and if this consolidation had not been then attained, the probability is, that it would not have been secured for many years, if at all. Peace being established, the brethren had time to extend their evangelical labours through various portions of the provinces of New-York, Virginia, Maryland, Long-Island, Delaware, the Jerseys, Pennsylvania, as well as in the cities. From what followed, it almost seemed as if Mr. Rankin had received an especial commission to grapple with the incipient disorders which had unhappily crept in, and establish on a firm foundation the whole Methodist system, before the revolutionary hurricane broke out.

CHAP. IV.—*The revolutionary Period—Messrs. Rankin, Shadford, and Rodda depart for England—Adventures of Shadford—Asbury determines to remain—His Exercises of Mind—Finds Refuge in the House of Judge White—Persecutions of Messrs. Hartley and Garrettson—Mr. Jarratt's Account of a Revival of Religion in Virginia—Reflections on the Revolution—John Calvin's Dogma—Originates the Revolution—Its Success.*

WE now approach the revolutionary period, which, to the infant Methodist church, was a sore trial. With the English preachers a point of conscience of a very perplexing nature at once arose. The Americans began their work by resolving themselves into an independent confe-

deration, in these words: "Resolved, that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." This instrument bears date July 2d, 1776.* This, of course, left British subjects no choice; they were either obliged to renounce their allegiance to their own sovereign, leave the country, or evade the laws by concealment. All the preachers, except Mr. Asbury, chose at once to return home. But this was evidently a great exercise of their feelings. They delighted in their work, saw much good going on, and had the prospect of witnessing the spread of religion on a magnificent scale.

The agitations of mind and positive dangers to which these good men were exposed, are truly affecting. On Tuesday, May 16th, 1775, Mr. Rankin remarks:—

"The preachers came together from their different circuits, and next day we began our little Conference. We conversed together, and concluded our business in love. Mr. Strenger spent some time with us. We all came unanimously to the conclusion to follow the advice that Mr. Wesley and his brethren had given us, and leave the event to God. We had abundant reason to bless God for the increase of his work last year. We had above a thousand added to the different societies, and they had increased to ten circuits. Our joy in God would have been abundantly more, had it not been for the preparations of war that now rang throughout this city (Philadelphia). .....I endeavoured to open up and enforce the cause of our misery. I told them that the sins of Great Britain and her colonies had long called aloud for vengeance, and in a particular manner the dreadful sin of buying and selling the souls and bodies of the poor Africans, the sons and daughters of Ham."

How singular that we should find, in the midst of these notes of civil war, the following entry!—

"I called at Mr. Fairfax's, (a relation of old Lord Fairfax,) a gentleman of large estate, and who of late years had been savingly brought to the knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ. He was over at Baltimore at our little Conference; and at the love-feast that followed, he spoke of what God had done for his soul with such simplicity and unction from on high, as greatly affected every one who heard him. May he live to be an ornament to the gospel of the Lord Jesus!" †

* "The Constitution of the United States of America." By W. HICKEY.

† RANKIN'S Journal, in JACKSON'S "Lives of Early Methodist Preachers," vol. ii. pp. 189—191.

Mr. Rankin seems to have made his escape on pretty easy terms; but George Shadford was called to encounter more formidable difficulties. He says,—

"The next summer and winter I spent in Maryland; the winter on the eastern shore, where I could labour and be at peace; but as the test-oath must take place there also, I was brought to a strait. I had sworn allegiance to the king twice, and could not swear to renounce him for ever. I dare not play with fast-and-loose oaths, and swallow them in such a manner. We could not travel safe without a pass, nor have a pass without taking the oaths. At our Quarterly-Meeting, I said to brother Asbury, 'Let us have a day of fasting and prayer, that the Lord may direct us; for we never were in such circumstances as now, since we were Methodist preachers.' We did so; and in the evening I asked him how he had found his mind. He said he did not see his way clear to go to England. I told him I could not stay, as I believed I had done my work here at present; and that it was as much impressed upon my mind to go home now, as it had been to come over to America. He replied, 'Then one of us must be under a delusion.' I said, 'Not so; I may have a call to go, and you to stay;' and I believe we both obeyed the call of Providence. We saw we must part, though we loved as David and Jonathan. And indeed these times made us love one another in a peculiar manner. O how glad were we to meet, and pour our grief into each other's bosom!

"Myself and another set off, having procured a pass from a colonel, to travel to the general; and, arriving at the head-quarters, we inquired for General Smallwood's apartments; and, being admitted to his presence, and asked our business, we told his Excellency that we were Englishmen, and both Methodist preachers; and, as we considered ourselves subjects of Great Britain, we could not take the test-oath; therefore should be very glad to return home to our native land. 'We cast ourselves,' we added, 'wholly upon your Excellency's generosity, and hope, as you profess to be fighting for your liberties, you will grant us to have a pass to have liberty to return to our own land in peace.' He answered roughly, 'Now you have done us all the hurt you can, you want to go home.' I told him our motive had been to do good; for this end we left our own country, and had been travelling through the woods for several years, to seek and to save that which was lost. It was true, we could not beat the political drum in the pulpit, preaching bloody sermons, because we considered ourselves messengers of peace, and called to preach the gospel of peace. At last he told us he would give us a pass to the English, if we would swear we would go directly to Philadelphia, and from thence embark to Great Britain. He then swore us, and generously gave us our liberty without any further trouble." *

The danger, however, was not at an end. The same night, Mr. Shadford tells us, that "a man leaped from

* Jackson's "Lives of Early Methodist Preachers."

behind a bush with his gun loaded and cocked," and, presenting it "at his breast, swore, like a fiend," that if he did not stop he should be a dead man. This man finally "dropped his gun," and allowed the Methodist preacher to take his departure. The next day he got to Chester "with his saddle-bags upon his back;" and, at night, "crept on his hands and knees on a narrow plank to that part of the bridge that remained standing, and got his horse over the next morning." He arrived at Philadelphia the next day, and met three or four preachers who, like himself, "were refugees." They remained six weeks in Philadelphia, then took ship for Cork, thence to Wales, and finally for Bristol; and Mr. Shadford "felt a very thankful heart when he set foot on English ground, in a land of peace and liberty, where was no alarm of war or bloodshed."

The stout-hearted Francis Asbury was a man of another mould; he would neither take the "test-oath," nor return to his native land. He resolved to brave all difficulties, remain at his post, and serve his brethren and the cause of his Divine Master as best he could. There is something remarkable in the incidents connected with the final settlement of this apostle of Methodism in America. Before the war broke out, there was evidently some misunderstanding between Mr. Rankin * and Mr. Asbury; and Mr. Wesley again and again recalled the latter, but he firmly, though no doubt respectfully, refused to obey.† Let us listen to the noble sentiments of this *true man* on the subject of deserting the work in America.

"I received a letter from Mr. T. R., (no doubt Rankin,) in which he informed me, that himself, Mr. R., (Rodda,) and Mr. D., (Dempster,) had consulted, and deliberately concluded it would be best to return to England. But I can by no means agree to leave such a field for gathering souls to Christ as we have in America. It would be an eternal dishonour to the Methodists, that we should all leave three thousand souls who desire to commit themselves to our care; neither is it the part of a good shepherd to leave his flock in time of danger; therefore I am determined, by the grace of God, not to leave them, let the consequence be what it may. Our friends here

* See Letters to Rankin, WESLEY'S Works, vol. xii. pp. 308—310.

† The first time I ever saw David M'Nicoll, when very young, I have a distinct recollection that he said of his countryman, Rankin, that he was Mr. Wesley's *cat's-paw*. Great men generally have this kind of animal attached to them, often without any design of their own.

appeared to be distressed above measure, at the thoughts of being forsaken by the preachers. So I wrote my sentiments both to Mr. R. and Mr. G. S."*

Being soon after this left to himself, as far as regards the English preachers, it seems from his Journal that he suffered great perplexity and agitation of mind. But he continued through the whole period to breathe a noble spirit of piety and devotedness to God. His apprehensions of God, the strength and stability of his faith, the tenderness of his spirit, the regularity and fervour of his prayers, (determining to spend ten minutes in every hour in this exercise,) fed his piety, and strengthened his resolution. And then the remarkable caution, forbearance, and prudence he manifested; the ardent, untiring, steady zeal which moved in him with the regularity of the pulse of life; the heroism of his soul in all possible sufferings and perplexing difficulties; the decision he continued to manifest, in the midst of great temptations to deviate, in support of the doctrines and discipline of Methodism; and then his indefatigable labours in travelling and preaching,—are all points of excellency, which are finely and fully brought out by these trying events.

Mr. Asbury was, moreover, evidently a man of much sorrow. The depth of his feelings corresponded with the eminence of his piety, and the delicacy of his spiritual affections. Instead of manifesting any thing like exultation or bravado in his differences with Rankin, and the part he was obliged to take during the troubles of the war, we find his spirit is prostrate in the dust, his soul lacerated with feelings of anguish, and he is constantly heard to sigh after the rest and peace of heaven; very often uttering his wishes in the pathetic language of Charles Wesley's poetry. The outward incidents of his life, in these eventful years, are as nothing compared with the spiritual, the sublime, exercises of his mind. In the case of those who are in the hands of God, every thing turns to good account. Baxter conceived the idea of his Saints' Rest at Melbourne-Hall in a state of great debility, and when unable to perform more active service; and John Bunyan wrought out his wonderful dream, the "Pilgrim's Progress," in Bedford jail. Though Francis Asbury did not write a book in the seclusion into which, for a part of the time, he was driven; yet he diligently

* "Journal," vol. i. pp. 118, 119.

improved his time in reading and study, so as to attain a fitness for his subsequent work, which probably he would not have so fully possessed without these trials. In nothing does this eminent servant of the Lord Jesus appear so great as in his spiritual character and walk with God; and perhaps these excellencies shine forth in more lustre and strength at this period than at any other of his life.

Refusing to take the oath required in the provinces in which he had spent most of his time, Mr. Asbury retired to Delaware, and was most hospitably entertained and protected in the house of Judge White, for about twelve months. He gives the following account of his reasons for this step:—

"From March, 1778, on conscientious principles, I was a non-juror, and could not preach in the State of Maryland, and, therefore, withdrew to the Delaware State, where the clergy were not required to take the state-oath; though, with a clear conscience, I could have taken the oath of the Delaware State, had it been required; and would have done it, had I not been prevented by a tender fear of hurting the scrupulous consciences of others. St. Paul saith, 'When ye sin so against the brethren, and wound their weak consciences, ye sin against Christ.'" *

It seems that from this retreat he occasionally sallied forth, and ventured to preach and visit the people. We give a specimen or two, abridged from his Journal, of his spiritual exercises, and occasional public duties.

Some of these exercises are truly affecting. He says,—

"I was under some heaviness of mind; but it was no wonder,—three thousand miles from home,—my friends have left me. I am considered by some as an enemy of the country, every day liable to be seized by violence, and abused. However, all this is but a trifle to suffer for Christ and the salvation of souls. Lord, stand by me!... I applied myself to the Greek and Latin Testaments: but this is not to me like preaching the gospel. However, when we cannot do what we would, we must do what we can.....To make the best of my time in this partial confinement, I have attended closely to my studies, spent some time in instructing the children, and intend to lecture frequently in the family.....Blessed be God! his providence hath cast my lot in a quiet, agreeable family, where I can make the best improvement of my time in study and devotion. .....This was a day of much divine power and love to my soul. I was left alone, and spent part of every hour in prayer; and Christ was very near and precious.....I then rode on through a lonesome, devious road, like Abraham, not knowing whither I went; but,

* "Journal," vol. i. p. 208.

weary and unwell, I found a shelter late at night; and there I intended to rest, till Providence should direct my way.....At night a report was spread, which inclined me to think it would be most prudent for me to move the next day. Accordingly, I set out after dinner, and lay in a swamp till about sunset: but was then kindly taken in by a friend.....I promised God, that if he would lift me up, I would be wholly his, and spend as much time in returning thanks, as I have spent in seeking his protection, which has been some part of every hour. I felt strong confidence in God, that he would deliver me, being conscious that I sought neither riches nor honour; and what I suffered was for the sake of his spiritual church, and the salvation of my fellow-men.....My heart was kept pure, and panting after God, though I was, in some sense, a prisoner, rather than sacrifice the peace of my conscience, and offend my God. O, my Lord, guide thy poor pilgrim through the rugged ways of this ungodly and dangerous world! And if I suffer with Christ here, may I finally reign with him in glory!.....The Lord makes great discoveries of my defects and short-comings in many points. He melts my heart with humility and tenderness, he graciously draws me nearer and nearer to himself, fills me with the spirit of holy love.....God was my portion, and my soul rested in him. But I was at a loss to know what to do: my time was useless in respect to others, though I carefully improved it for my own spiritual advantage, which, for some years past, had been in a degree neglected, on account of my great attention to the souls of others. And I know not what to determine, whether to deliver myself into the hands of men, to embrace the first opportunity to depart, or to wait till Providence shall farther direct.....This was one of my dumb and silent sabbaths, and was spent in fasting and prayer, that the Lord may turn again my captivity. My soul was greatly humbled, and not a little comforted, in waiting before God.....I formerly thought it would be death to me to keep silence from declaring the word of God: but I am now in a measure contented, and hope to see a day of liberty once again. It appears to be the will of God that I should be silent for a season, to prepare me for further usefulness hereafter. I am not forsaken of all, but am happy in the family where I stay, and my soul is fixed on God. I have a private chamber for my asylum, where I comfort myself in God; and spend my time in prayer, meditation, and reading.....I now enjoy a favourable opportunity of taking a circumstantial review of my past life. But, alas, how am I ashamed, and covered with blushing before God! My soul is bowed in awful reverence and melting humility before the mercy-seat. My intention has been pure, as far as I can judge; but on account of my imperfections, if there were no Mediator, there could be no hope of mercy.....Reading the Revelation, with Mr. Wesley's notes, was made a particular blessing to my soul; but my conscience checked me severely for not reading more frequently that part of the sacred canon, seeing such a blessing is pronounced on them that read and understand it.....I began reading honest John Bunyan's Holy War; and my soul was

kept in peace, but earnestly desirous of every branch and degree of perfect love. Holiness is far preferable to the greatest wisdom..... Ventured to leave my asylum, and, under the special providence of God, came safe to my old abode; where I purpose spending these perilous days in retirement, in devotion, and study.....My temptations were so violent, that it seemed as if all the infernal powers were combined to attack my soul: like Elijah, when persecuted by Jezebel, I was ready to request for myself that I might die. However, about noon the storm abated, and my soul was calm.....My soul was, for the most part, in peace; though, at times, my own trials and the trials of others produced strong agonies of mind. But, strengthened with divine might, I am able to oppose the tempter in his most violent assaults, and am brought off more than conqueror. The study of the holy Scriptures affords me great pleasure. Lord, help me to dig into the gospel-field for hidden treasures!" *

We have other sufferers in the cause of religion, as well as Mr. Asbury.

"Mr. Joseph Hartley, also, another travelling preacher, a man of great zeal and faithfulness, was apprehended in Queen Ann's county for preaching the gospel, who gave bonds and security to appear for trial at the next court. Being forbidden to preach, he attended his appointments; and, after singing and prayer, stood upon his knees and exhorted the people, until his enemies said that he might as well preach standing on his feet as his knees. He went thence to Talbot county, where he was seized and committed to jail for 'preaching Jesus Christ and him crucified.' This, however, by no means silenced him. The people collected around the walls of his prison; he preached to them through the grates; and so powerfully was the word applied to their hearts, that some of them were deeply awakened to a sense of their lost and guilty state, and began earnestly to seek the Lord. This induced some of the inhabitants to remark, that unless Hartley were released from prison, he would convert the whole town. After keeping him confined for some time, he was set at liberty; but such had been the blessed effects of his preaching, that a powerful revival followed, which terminated in the establishment of a flourishing society in that place." †

Mr. Freeborn Garrettson also suffered greatly.

"He was knocked off his horse by a brute named Brown, his head much bruised by the blows he received, and was preserved from death, probably, by a female passing at the time, who, possessing a lancet, very opportunely bled him on the spot. After his restoration to his senses, a magistrate, as violent as Brown himself, proceeded to write a mittimus to send him to prison. But his exhortations and appeals, delivered in the spirit of the gospel, so disarmed his assailants that they desisted, and allowed him to go at

* "Journal," vol. i. pp. 205—212.

† BANGS's "History of Methodism in America," vol. i. p. 127.

large. However, after spending some time in indefatigable labours in his Master's cause, he was finally sent to jail. Though he suffered much in body in consequence of having no other bed than the floor, with his saddle-bags for his pillow, with two large windows open upon him, yet he enjoyed great spiritual consolation in prayer and meditation, reading and writing, and was not a little comforted by the visits and prayers of his friends and pious acquaintances."

Before his trial commenced, however, he was liberated, through Mr. Asbury's intercessions with the governor of Maryland.*

As might be expected, the societies were greatly agitated during the war. The question of the sacraments, as we have seen, came into discussion; and, being pressed upon the subject by the people, a part of the preachers had ordained each other, and administered the ordinances. Mr. Asbury, Freeborn Garrettson, and one or two more, however, remained faithful to Mr. Wesley's principles, and firmly confronted the innovators. A partial separation, for a season, took place; but by the excellent conduct and judicious management of Mr. Asbury, connected with much prayer, the breach was finally healed, and the dissenting brethren not only returned to their old fellowship, but renounced their ordination and the practice of administering the sacraments at the same time.

What is remarkable, in the midst of the commotions of war, and the agitations of the times,—a most extraordinary revival of religion took place in Virginia; and very much by the instrumentality of the Rev. Mr. Jarratt, minister of the English church.

The following extracts from "A brief Narrative of the Revival of Religion in Virginia," written by Mr. Jarratt, will give some idea of the nature and extent of this work.

"DEAR SIR,—You was pleased, when in Virginia, to desire a narrative of the work of God in these parts. I shall give you matter of fact, in a plain artless dress; relating only what I have myself seen and heard, and what I have received from men on whose judgment and veracity I can fully depend.

"That you may have a full view of the whole, I shall go back as far as my first settlement in this parish. August 29, 1763, I was chosen rector of B., in the county of D., in Virginia. Ignorance of the things of God, profaneness, and irreligion, then prevailed among all ranks and degrees; so that I doubt if even the form of godliness was to be found in any one family of this large and populous parish.

* BANGS's "History of Methodism in America," vol. i. p. 127.

I was a stranger to the people: my doctrines were quite new to them; and were neither preached nor believed by any other clergyman, so far as I could learn, throughout the province.

"My first work was to explain the depravity of our nature, our fall in Adam, and all the evils consequent thereon; the impossibility of being delivered from them by any thing which we could do; and the necessity of a living faith, in order to our obtaining help from God. While I continued to insist upon these truths, and on the absolute necessity of being born again, no small outcry was raised against this way, as well as against him that taught it. But, by the help of God, I continued to witness the same both to small and great.

"The common people, however, frequented the church more constantly, and in larger numbers, than usual. Some were affected at times, so as to drop a tear. But still for a year or more, I perceived no lasting effect, only a few were not altogether so profane as before. I could discover no heartfelt convictions of sin, no deep or lasting impression of their lost estate. Indeed, I have reason to believe, that some have been a good deal alarmed at times; but they were shy of speaking to me (thinking it would be presumption) till their convictions wore off.

"But in the year 1765, the power of God was more sensibly felt by a few. These were constrained to apply to me, and inquire, 'What they must do to be saved?' And now I began to preach abroad, as well as in private houses; and to meet little companies in the evenings, and converse freely on divine things. I believe some were this year converted to God, and thenceforth the work of God slowly went on.

"The next year I became acquainted with Mr. M'R., rector of a neighbouring parish; and we joined hand in hand in the great work. He laboured much therein, and not in vain. A remarkable power attended his preaching, and many were truly converted to God, not only in his parish, but in other parts where he was called to labour.

"In the year 1770 and 1771, we had a more considerable outpouring of the Spirit, at a place in my parish called White Oak. It was here first I formed the people into a society, that they might assist and strengthen each other. The good effects of this were soon apparent. Convictions were deep and lasting; and not only knowledge, but faith, and love, and holiness, continually increased.

"In the year 1772, the revival was more considerable, and extended itself in some places for fifty or sixty miles around. It increased still more in the following year, and several sinners were truly converted to God. In spring, 1774, it was more remarkable than ever. The word preached was attended with such energy, that many were pierced to the heart. Tears fell plentifully from the eyes of the hearers, and some were constrained to cry out. A goodly number were gathered in this year, both in my parish and in many of the neighbouring counties. I formed several societies out of those which were convinced or converted; and I found it a happy

means of building up those that had believed, and preventing the rest from losing their convictions.

"In the counties of Sussex and Brunswick, the work, from the year 1773, was chiefly carried on by the labours of the people called Methodists. The first of them who appeared in these parts was Mr. R. W., who, you know, was a plain, artless, indefatigable preacher of the gospel; he was greatly blessed in detecting the hypocrite, razing false foundations, and stirring believers up to press after a present salvation from the remains of sin. He came to my house in the month of March, in the year 1773. The next year others of his brethren came, who gathered many societies, both in this neighbourhood, and in other places, as far as North Carolina. They now began to ride the circuit, and to take care of the societies already formed, which was rendered a happy means both of deepening and spreading the work of God.

"I earnestly recommended it to my societies, to pray much for the prosperity of Sion, and for a larger outpouring of the Spirit of God. They did so, and not in vain. We have had a time of refreshing indeed: a revival of religion, as great as perhaps ever was known, in country places, in so short a time. It began in the latter end of the year 1775; but was more considerable in January, 1776, the beginning of the present year. It broke out, nearly at the same time, at three places not far from each other. Two of these places are in my parish, the other in Amelia county, which had for many years been notorious for carelessness, profaneness, and immoralities of all kinds. Gaming, swearing, drunkenness, and the like, were their delight; while things sacred were their scorn and contempt. However, some time last year, one of my parish (now a local preacher) appointed some meetings among them, and after a while induced a small number to join in society. And though few, if any, of them were then believers, yet this was a means of preparing the way of the Lord.

"As there were few converts in my parish the last year, I was sensible a change of preachers was wanting. This has often revived the work of God; and so it did at the present time. Last December, one of the Methodist preachers, Mr. S., preached several times at the three places above mentioned. He confirmed the doctrine I had long preached; and to many of them not in vain. And while their ears were opened by novelty, God set his word home upon their hearts. Many sinners were powerfully convinced, and, 'Mercy! mercy!' was their cry. In January, the news of convictions and conversions were common; and the people of God were inspired with new life and vigour by the happiness of others. But in a little time they were made thoroughly sensible that they themselves stood in need of a deeper work in their hearts than they had yet experienced. And while those were panting and groaning for pardon, these were entreating God, with strong cries and tears, to save them from the remains of inbred sin; to 'sanctify them throughout, in spirit, soul, and body;' so to 'circumcise their hearts,' that they might 'love God with all their hearts,' and serve him with all their strength.

"During this whole winter, the Spirit of the Lord was poured out in a manner we had not seen before. In almost every assembly might be seen signal instances of divine power, more especially in the meetings of the classes. Here many old stout-hearted sinners felt the force of truth, and their eyes were open to discover their guilt and danger. The shaking among the dry bones was increased from week to week; nay, sometimes ten or twelve have been deeply convinced of sin in one day. Some of these were in great distress, and, when they were questioned concerning the state of their souls, were scarce able to make any reply but by weeping and falling on their knees before all the class, and earnestly soliciting the prayers of God's people. And from time to time he has answered these petitions, set the captives at liberty, and enabled them to praise a pardoning God, in the midst of his people. Numbers of old and gray-headed, of middle-aged persons, of youth, yea, of little children, were the subjects of this work. Several of the latter we have seen painfully concerned for the wickedness of their lives, and the corruption of their nature. We have instances of this sort from eight or nine years old. Some of these children are exceeding happy in the love of God; and they speak of the whole process of the work of God, of their convictions, the time when, and the manner how, they obtained deliverance, with such clearness as might convince an atheist that this is nothing else but the great power of God.

"Many in these parts, who have long neglected the means of grace, now flocked to hear, not only me and the travelling preachers, but also the exhorters and leaders. And the Lord showed he is not confined to man; for whether there was preaching or not, his power was still sensible among the people. And at their meetings for prayer, some have been in such distress, that they have continued therein for five or six hours. And it has been found, that these prayer-meetings were singularly useful in promoting the work of God.

"The outpouring of the Spirit which began here, soon extended itself, more or less, through most of the circuit, which is regularly attended by the travelling preachers, and which takes in a circumference of between four and five hundred miles. And the work went on with a pleasing progress till the beginning of May, when they held a quarterly meeting at B.'s chapel, in my parish. This stands at the lower line of the parish, thirty miles from W.'s chapel, at the upper line of it, where the work began. At this meeting, one might truly say, the windows of heaven were opened, and the rain of divine influence poured down for more than forty days. The work now became more deep than ever, extended wider, and was swifter in its operations. Many were savingly converted to God, and in a very short time, not only in my parish, but through several parts of Brunswick, Sussex, Prince George, Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, and Amelia counties.

"The second day of the quarterly meeting a love-feast was held. As soon as it began, the power of the Lord came down on the assembly like a rushing mighty wind; and it seemed as if the whole

house was filled with the presence of God. A flame kindled, and ran from heart to heart. Many were deeply convinced of sin; many mourners were filled with consolation; and many believers were so overwhelmed with love, that they could not doubt but God had enabled them to love him with *all* their heart.

"When the love-feast was ended, the doors were opened. Many who had stayed without then came in; and, beholding the anguish of some, and the rejoicing of others, were filled with astonishment, and, not long after, with trembling apprehensions of their own danger. Several of them, prostrating themselves before God, cried aloud for mercy. And the convictions which then began in many, have terminated in a happy and lasting change.

"The multitudes that attended on this occasion, returning home all alive to God, spread the flame through their respective neighbourhoods, which ran from family to family; so that within four weeks, several hundreds found the peace of God. And scarce any conversation was to be heard throughout the circuit, but concerning the things of God: either the complainings of the prisoners, groaning under the spirit of bondage unto fear, or the rejoicing of those whom the Spirit of adoption taught to cry, 'Abba, Father.' The unhappy disputes between England and her colonies, which just before had engrossed all our conversation, seemed now in most companies to be forgot, while things of far greater importance lay so near the heart. I have gone into many, and not small, companies, wherein there did not appear to be one careless soul; and the far greater part seemed perfectly happy in a clear sense of the love of God.

"One of the doctrines, as you know, which we particularly insist upon, is that of a present salvation; a salvation not only from the guilt and power, but also from the root, of sin; a cleansing from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, that we may perfect holiness in the fear of God; a going on to perfection, which we sometimes define by 'loving God with all our hearts.' Several who had believed were deeply sensible of their want of this. I have seen both men and women, who had long been happy in a sense of God's pardoning love, as much convicted on account of the remains of sin in their hearts, and as much distressed for a total deliverance from them, as ever I saw any for justification. Their whole cry was,

> 'O that I now the rest might know,
> Believe and enter in!
> Now, Saviour, now, the power bestow,
> And let me cease from sin.'

And I have been present when they believed that God answered this prayer, and bestowed this blessing upon them. I have conversed with them several times since, and have found them thoroughly devoted to God. They all testify that they have received the gift instantaneously, and by simple faith. We have sundry witnesses of this perfect love, who are above all suspicion. I have known the men and their communication for many years, and have ever found them zealous for the cause of God; men of sense and integrity,

patterns of piety and humility, whose testimony, therefore, may be depended on.

"It has been frequently observed, that there never was any remarkable revival of religion, but some degree of enthusiasm was mingled with it—some wild-fire mixed with the sacred flame. It may be doubted whether this is not unavoidable in the nature of things. And notwithstanding all the care we have taken, this work has not been quite free from it; but it never rose to any considerable height, neither was of long continuance. In some meetings there has not been that decency and order observed which I could have wished. Some of our assemblies resembled the congregation of the Jews at the laying the foundation of the second temple in the days of Ezra: some wept for grief, others shouted for joy, so that it was hard to distinguish one from the other. So it was here; the mourning and distress were so blended with the voice of joy and gladness, that it was hard to distinguish the one from the other, till the voice of joy prevailed; the people shouting with a great shout, so that it might be heard afar off."*

This narrative, so creditable to the spirit and talents of the excellent clergyman who wrote it, is only a sample of what was taking place in other parts of the country. We see from this that God's spiritual temple was being built in troublous times. War, the worst of all calamities, was mitigated in its horrors by "the peaceable fruits of righteousness."

In the midst of all these difficulties, Methodism, as an organization, as well as in its spiritual triumphs, made considerable progress during these dreary years. At the close of the war the church numbered eighty-three preachers, and fourteen thousand nine hundred and eighty-six members. The Conference held in 1782 performed an act of justice in regard to Mr. Jarratt by passing the following resolution:—

"The Conference acknowledge their obligations to the Rev. Mr. Jarratt for his kind and friendly services to the preachers and people from our first entrance into Virginia, and, more particularly, for attending our Conference in Sussex, in public and private; and advise the preachers in the south to consult him and take his advice in the absence of brother Asbury."

Thus have we brought our historical notices down to one of the most eventful periods in the annals of this country and of America. The loss of her colonies by Great Britain was an event of the greatest national con-

* Given in BANGS's "History of Methodism in America," vol. i. pp. 90—97.

sequence, an awful catastrophe. The merits of the contest, the principles involved, the spirit manifested on either side, the policy of the Governments, and the talents and blunders of each, are points lying altogether beyond our line. But it was a fearful thing to see masses of men of the same race arrayed in deadly conflict. It may be very true that great principles were at stake, great interests the prize of battle, great issues the result; but this does not alter the painful nature of the fact, that the combatants were brethren. The passions then called forth, and the animosities created, could not but convulse both communities to their centres. To any other nation, less elastic and energetic than Great Britain, the loss of such territory, wealth, population, and political power,—must have produced a perfect paralysis, have prostrated the nation irrecoverably, and sunk her to the state of a fourth or fifth-rate power. And to any other people than the children of this country, the prize won would inevitably have entailed insuperable difficulties.

But the event itself is one of those stupendous facts of history which God decrees once in the course of many centuries for the creation of new epochs on the theatre of nations. Its *morale* is infinite: it must reach through all time; and touch and influence the destinies, in one way or other, of all countries. The reflux of the tide is *now* felt in all nations; and the flow of events cannot be turned till all old things pass away, and, for good or evil, all things become new. Would the first French Revolution ever have taken place, or, if it had occurred, have assumed its democratic form, had La Fayette and his legions never visited America, and imbibed the spirit of the revolt? Would the thrones of Europe have been shaken by the revolutionary war, and the mighty organic changes have been effected by even that war, which really occurred, had not this democratic spirit prevailed? Would the decimating power of the movement have swept away the old aristocracy, and the older church, so as to make way for the military dictatorship of Napoleon, had it not been for this predominant tendency? Would the singular events of the present day,—the republicanism of France, the revolts of all the nations of Europe against their dynasties, the establishment of the democratic power, more or less developed, in new and untried institutions; the freedom of the press, the opening of legislative chambers, the unrestrained expression of public opinion, and

the strange sight of all kings and princes permitted to reign at all borne upon the shoulders of the people to their thrones,—would these things ever have occurred had it not been for American republicanism becoming indigenous on the soil of France? Who can see the end of these things? No one; it is impossible. Time alone can develope the principles and agencies now at work. The swell of the Atlantic, of the western waves, is now felt on every shore of Europe and of the world; and, from appearances, it seems not likely to abate till the tide has borne American principles to every nation under heaven.

How little did John Calvin think of the egg he was hatching when, in the stillness of his study, in the quiet little city of Geneva, he first broached the doctrine that it was lawful for Christians, under certain circumstances, to resist their rulers! This thunderbolt of John Calvin is the power which has shaken the world ever since; and it is that which is heard in the air at this moment. Right or wrong, it is religion, that is, the dogma of a religious man, which has worked all the revolutions of the world. John Calvin's doctrine studied and imbibed by the Puritans caused them to question the power of Queen Elizabeth and the Stuarts in ecclesiastical matters; their collisions with the legitimate representatives of the "divine-right" principle led to the English Grand Rebellion; this, again, led to innovations in the constitution of our country, and the existence of the Protectorate. The republicanism of England nursed young republicans for the wilds of America, where, under the guise of religious freedom, they were all along building up a democratic fabric; till the whole issued, as we have seen, in the independence of the States, and the mighty changes now taking place in the world. If the present movement should, in its desolating effects, subvert even Popery itself,—not a very improbable thing, as so much has already been done,—this will have been effected by John Calvin; that is, by the idea which he first broached, and which has been, like a rolling substance, gathering bulk, solidity, and strength to the present moment; and is destined, like the "stone cut out of the mountain without hands," to dash in pieces the image, whether of gold, silver, brass, clay, or iron,—the image of the beast and false prophet, together with all the forms of power which have so long propped up this monstrous tyranny.

But the American revolution is likely to produce an

equally wide impression of a religious nature. The example of a great nation adopting the purely voluntary principle will, it is extremely likely, be followed by others. The people, who are now every where claiming for themselves the privilege of choosing their own temporal rulers, are not likely, for any length of time, to allow the extraneous appointment of religious governors. The public will claim for itself the right of giving its suffrages in matters ecclesiastical. This principle, indeed, is already powerfully at work. Either a pure voluntaryism, or else nationalism, which is only voluntaryism in a national form, as seems from the tendencies of events, must predominate. A system which nations choose for themselves, may possibly find a place in the new order of ideas; but as to a religious yoke being imposed by a foreign church,—as in the case of Popery in ancient times,—this is utterly impossible in the present state of things. The doctrines of the papacy may indeed prevail in places where they have been held for a great length of time till something better obtains; but as to any thing like the old dominion of the Holy See, this cannot find place in the midst of the growing democracy of the world. Indeed, institutions of every kind seem destined to be controlled by the public voice.

The American Revolution, both in its political and religious phases, may be considered as the advent of a new revelation of ideas; as initiating a new class of social relations; as founding a new order of institutions; as creating a new, a democratic force of tremendous power; as ushering into the social state a new, but universal, element, destined, like the atmosphere, or some other ubiquitous agency, to modify all existing things;—in a word, to put the world upon a new path, another probation, an untried exercise of its moral and political capacity. America has stood before the world, up to this time, like an athletic youth just having escaped from the care of parents and governors. How it will ultimately fare, can scarcely be divined at present. Either from the conviction of conscious strength; from a repugnance of evils, endured or imagined; from the teachings of history, and the antecedent miseries of mankind as suffered in the old world; from the abhorrence of the chains which governments and priesthoods had, in every nation of Europe, forged for the people, and successfully riveted on their limbs; from a detestation of the waste of public money, the hard earnings of the labouring classes, in the

gorgeous decorations of the abodes of pampered idleness and debauchery; from the notion that men, equally made in the image of God, are not, as a consequence, destined to be the playthings of vanity or the sport of despotism, but alike possess all the rights of manhood, and are equally capable of its duties and its blessings; from the impression that rot and decay had entered the timbers of the old social edifices, through the ignorance, impotency, and pride of those who, for age after age, had inhabited them, and that they were about to fall over their heads; from a conviction of the dreadful evils of war and bloodshed, generally arising out of the thirst for aggrandizement, the lust of ambition, the support of despotism, the quarrels of state-gamblers and prize-fighters, and never, on one side, from truth and justice;—we say, from one or all these considerations the American people determined on abandoning the old systems, and to put themselves to the onerous task of working out a new theory. Their trial has proved to be the trial of the world.

The French, in the exuberance of their vanity, attribute the advent of democratic principles to themselves. They, in their own opinion, are the apostles of liberty; the philosophy of modern civilization originated with them; their nation constitutes the only focus of light and intelligence; and, moreover, they are destined to renovate the world. The egotism apart, the truth is not so. The American Revolution is the event to which we must look as giving the impulse to the new order of things; and the seeds of this were laid in the Puritanism of the first settlers.

The disputes about the legality of this Revolution are all lost in the splendour of the issue. Nobody now ever thinks of the principles involved, or the disputants on either side. The fact is, in itself, too great to admit of these minor considerations; it is, in truth, *the fact* of modern history. What will be the consequences of independence to the Americans themselves? Hitherto it is vain to deny that the attempts at self-government have been most successful. No doubt there are ferocious passions in America; and tales about the uses made of the bowie knife, Lynch-law, and matters of that sort, are abundantly rife. It would, indeed, have been a marvel, if a scattered population, living in remote places, away from the seats of government and magistracy, were not guilty of some excesses. And in passing from under the power of the

parent state, and consolidating their own government, it would be equally a matter of astonishment if every thing connected with the state-machine could at once be laid in an even balance, and be made to work without friction. But, bating unavoidable accidents, and the imperfections attendant upon all human affairs, the establishment of the American system and social state must be pronounced hitherto as a perfectly successful experiment. That other races should attempt to follow in the same direction, is no wonder; but we must not thence conclude that they can successfully tread in the steps of the Anglo-American people. The soil was free, the space ample; the institutions founded amongst them while colonies of Great Britain were essentially democratic; the people had been educated for generations in the principles of self-government, and in most places elected their magistrates, and often the governor himself. In this state of things there was no antagonistic power upon the soil. They had no throne to overthrow, no aristocracy to decimate, no hierarchy to proscribe, even no code of law to abrogate. Every thing favoured the experiment; and, allowing for the infirmities of human nature, it must be conceded by all candid persons that hitherto the people have been true to the doctrines of their origin as an independent nation; and that the establishment of the United States in their free and confederated nationality is the greatest event of modern times.

CHAP. V.—*Measures preparatory to the Organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church—Application of the People to Mr. Wesley—His Advice—Dr. Bangs's Account—The Church formed—Success.*

WE now approach a period in the history of Methodism in the United States of great importance; namely, its establishment as an independent church. On the cessation of the war of independence, the American Methodists immediately resumed their intercourse with Mr. Wesley, and sought his counsels and advice. The retirement of Mr. Rankin had obliged them to act for themselves; and the preachers, by their own vote, made Mr. Asbury assistant in his place. This term at the time indicated, that the person bearing the name was assistant to Mr. Wesley; and, consequently, implied subordination to him and the Conference in England. By this act, then, it is

apparent, that they did not contemplate a separation. They had no notion of independence, and did not assert it. The venerable man at once entered into their case, and gave them such advice as he deemed most expedient in their new and altered position. In a letter dated Bristol, October 3d, 1783, he writes:—

"1. Let all of you be determined to abide by the Methodist doctrine and discipline, published in the four volumes of Sermons, and the Notes upon the New Testament, together with the Large Minutes of Conference.

"2. Beware of preachers coming from Great Britain or Ireland without a full recommendation from me. Three of our travelling preachers here eagerly desired to go to America; but I could not approve of it by any means; because I am not satisfied that they thoroughly like either our discipline or doctrine; I think they differ from our judgment in one or both. Therefore, if these or any others come without my recommendation, take care how you receive them.

"3. Neither should you receive any preachers, however recommended, who will not be subject to the American Conference, and cheerfully conform to the Minutes both of the American and English Conferences.

"4. I do not wish our American brethren to receive any who make any difficulty in receiving Francis Asbury as the general assistant.

"Undoubtedly the great danger to the work of God in America is likely to arise either from preachers coming from Europe, or from such as will arise among yourselves, speaking perverse things, or bringing in among you new doctrines, particularly Calvinian. You should guard against this with all possible care; for it is far easier to keep them out than to thrust them out.

"I commend you all to the grace of God, and am your friend and brother, JOHN WESLEY."

This advice was soon followed by greater and much more important events. We refer to the organization of the American societies into a regular and independent church. This event is so important in itself, possesses so great a bearing on the unexampled success of Methodism in the United States;—and, by some, is thought to fix upon Mr. Wesley the blemish of inconsistency with his cherished and long-avowed principles;—that it seems necessary to go into the question. The account given by Dr. Bangs is so exact, and his reasonings upon the case are so perfectly sober and conclusive, and, withal, must, to most in this country, be so new, that it is thought best to give the narration in his own words.

"We have arrived at a very important period in the history of Methodism in this country. And as so much has been said respecting the constituting of the Methodist societies here into an independent church, I shall, in the first place, give a detail of the facts in the case, and, secondly, offer some arguments in defence of the measure.

"I. Hitherto the Methodists, both in Europe and America, had been considered as a society *within* a church: in Great Britain they considered themselves as members of the Establishment, in America as members of that denomination to which they might be attached. The preachers in both hemispheres, not having been consecrated to their work by the imposition of hands, were distinguished as 'lay-preachers,' and had not, except in the instance heretofore narrated, presumed to administer the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper. Under these circumstances, much uneasiness had been manifested both in Europe and America, more especially here. But all solicitation, whether from the preachers or people, for the establishment of a separate church, had been strenuously resisted by Mr. Wesley, as being foreign to his primary design, and incompatible with the principles he had avowed from the beginning of his ministry. He commenced his ministerial labour with the single intention of reviving evangelical religion *in* the church, by preaching her doctrines, and enforcing her discipline. This was the state of things at the time of which we are now speaking.

"As, however, the colonies had now become an independent government, no longer under the control of Great Britain either in civil or ecclesiastical matters, Mr. Wesley began to relax from the sternness with which he had heretofore resisted the solicitations of the American Methodists, and to think seriously of granting their requests; and after consulting with his most intimate friends respecting the propriety of the measure,—for of its lawfulness he had no doubt,—he resolved to grant their request, and adopted means to carry the resolution into effect. 'At the Conference held in Leeds, in 1784, he declared his intention of sending Dr. Coke and some other preachers to America. Mr. Richard Whatcoat and Mr. Thomas Vasey offered themselves as missionaries for that purpose, and were accepted. Before they sailed, Mr. Wesley abridged the Common Prayer-Book of the church of England, and wrote to Dr. Coke, then in London, desiring him to meet him in Bristol, to receive fuller powers, and to bring the Rev. Mr. Creighton with him. The Doctor and Mr. Creighton accordingly met him in Bristol: when, with their assistance, he ordained Mr. Richard Whatcoat and Mr. Thomas Vasey presbyters for America; and being peculiarly attached to every rite of the church of England, he afterward ordained Dr. Coke a superintendent, giving him letters of ordination under his hand and seal, and at the same time the following letter, to be printed and circulated in America:'*—

"* Moore's 'Life of Wesley,' vol. ii. p. 273."

"'*To Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and our Brethren in North America.*

"'*Bristol, Sept. 10th*, 1784.

"'1. By a very uncommon train of providences, many of the provinces of North America are totally disjoined from the British empire, and erected into independent States. The English Government has no authority over them, either civil or ecclesiastical, any more than over the States of Holland. A civil authority is exercised over them, partly by the Congress, partly by the State assemblies. But no one either exercises or claims any ecclesiastical authority at all. In this peculiar situation some thousands of the inhabitants of these States desire my advice: and, in compliance with their desire, I have drawn up a little sketch.

"'2. Lord King's Account of the Primitive Church convinced me, many years ago, that bishops and presbyters are the same order, and, consequently, have the same right to ordain. For many years I have been importuned, from time to time, to exercise this right, by ordaining part of our travelling preachers. But I have still refused, not only for peace' sake, but because I was determined, as little as possible, to violate the established order of the national church to which I belonged.

"'3. But the case is widely different between England and North America. Here there are bishops who have a legal jurisdiction. In America there are none, and but few parish ministers; so that, for some hundred miles together, there is none either to baptize or to administer the Lord's supper. Here, therefore, my scruples are at an end; and I conceive myself at full liberty, as I violate no order, and invade no man's right, by appointing and sending labourers into the harvest.

"'4. I have accordingly appointed Dr. Coke and Mr. Francis Asbury, to be joint superintendents* over our brethren in North America. As also Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey to act as elders among them, by baptizing and ministering the Lord's supper.

"'5. If any one will point out a more rational and scriptural way of feeding and guiding those poor sheep in the wilderness, I will gladly embrace it. At present I cannot see any better method than that I have taken.

"'6. It has, indeed, been proposed to desire the English bishops to ordain part of our preachers for America. But to this I object, (1.) I desired the bishop of London to ordain one only; but could not prevail: (2.) If they consented, we know the slowness of their proceedings; but the matter admits of no delay: (3.) If they would ordain them now, they would likewise expect to govern them. And

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"* As the translators of our version of the Bible have used the English word 'bishop' instead of 'superintendent,' it has been thought by us that it would appear more scriptural to adopt their term 'bishop.'—*Discipline.*"

how grievously would this entangle us! (4.) As our American brethren are now totally disentangled both from the state and from the English hierarchy, we dare not entangle them again, either with the one or the other. They are now at full liberty simply to follow the Scriptures and the primitive church. And we judge it best that they should stand fast in that liberty wherewith God has so strangely made them free.

JOHN WESLEY.'

"The following is the letter of ordination which Mr. Wesley gave to Dr. Coke:—

"'To all to whom these presents shall come, John Wesley, late Fellow of Lincoln College, in Oxford, presbyter of the church of England, sendeth greeting:

"'Whereas many of the people in the southern provinces of North America, who desire to continue under my care, and still adhere to the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, are greatly distressed for want of ministers to administer the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, according to the usage of the same church; and whereas there does not appear to be any other way of supplying them with ministers:

"'Know all men, that I, John Wesley, think myself to be providentially called at this time to set apart some persons for the work of the ministry in America. And, therefore, under the protection of Almighty God, and with a single eye to his glory, I have this day set apart as superintendent, by the imposition of my hands, and prayer, (being assisted by other ordained ministers,) Thomas Coke, Doctor of civil law, a presbyter of the church of England, and a man whom I judge to be well qualified for that great work. And I do hereby recommend him to all whom it may concern, as a fit person to preside over the flock of Christ. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four.

"'JOHN WESLEY.'

"Being thus furnished with the proper credentials, in the month of September, Dr. Coke, in company with Messrs. Whatcoat and Vasey, set sail for America, and landed in the city of New-York on the 3d of November, 1784. From thence they proceeded through Philadelphia to the State of Delaware, where, on the 15th day of the same month, he met Mr. Asbury at Barratt's chapel. Mr. Asbury gives the following account of this meeting:—

"'Sunday, 15th. I came to Barratt's chapel. Here, to my great joy, I met those dear men of God, Dr. Coke and Richard Whatcoat. We were greatly comforted together. The doctor preached on Christ our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption. Having had no opportunity of conversing with them before public worship, I was greatly surprised to see brother Whatcoat assist by taking the cup in the administration of the sacrament. I was shocked when first informed of the intention of these my brethren in coming to this country; it may be of God. My answer then was, *If the preachers unanimously choose me, I shall not act in the capa-*

city I have hitherto done by Mr. Wesley's appointment. The design of organizing the Methodists into an independent Episcopal church was opened to the preachers present, and it was agreed to call a general Conference, to meet at Baltimore the ensuing Christmas; as also that brother Garrettson go off to Virginia to give notice thereof to the brethren in the south.'

"According to this arrangement, Mr. Garrettson set off immediately on his southern journey, sending letters to those he could not see; and Dr. Coke spent the intermediate time in visiting various parts of the country, and preaching to the people. On Friday the 26th, Mr. Asbury says, 'I observed this day as a day of fasting and prayer, that I might know the will of God in the matter that is to come before the Conference. The preachers and people seem to be much pleased with the projected plan; I myself am led to think it is of the Lord. I am not tickled with the honour to be gained. I see danger in the way. My soul waits upon God. O that he may lead us in the way we should go!'

"In conformity with the above arrangement, December 25th, sixty out of the eighty-three preachers then in the travelling Connexion, assembled in the city of Baltimore for the Conference, in which Dr. Coke presided, assisted by Mr. Asbury; and the first act of the Conference was, by a unanimous vote, to elect Dr. Coke and Francis Asbury as general superintendents; for although Mr. Asbury had been appointed to that high office by Mr. Wesley, yet he declined acting in that capacity independently of the suffrages of his brethren over whom he must preside. After his election, being first ordained a deacon, then an elder, Mr. Asbury was consecrated by Dr. Coke, assisted by several elders, to the office of a superintendent, in the manner set forth in the following certificate:—

"'Know all men by these presents, that I, Thomas Coke, Doctor of civil law, late of Jesus College, in the University of Oxford, presbyter of the church of England, and superintendent of the Methodist Episcopal church in America; under the protection of Almighty God, and with a single eye to his glory; by the imposition of my hands, and prayer, (being assisted by two ordained elders,) did, on the twenty-fifth day of this month, December, set apart Francis Asbury for the office of a deacon in the aforesaid Methodist Episcopal church. And also, on the twenty-sixth day of the said month, did, by the imposition of my hands, and prayer, (being assisted by the said elders,) set apart the said Francis Asbury, for the office of elder in the said Methodist Episcopal church. And on this twenty-seventh day of the said month, being the day of the date hereof, have, by the imposition of my hands, and prayer, (being assisted by the said elders,) set apart the said Francis Asbury for the office of a superintendent in the said Methodist Episcopal church, a man whom I judge to be well qualified for that great work. And I do hereby recommend him to all whom it may concern, as a fit person to preside over the flock of Christ. In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this 27th day of December, in the year of our Lord 1784. THOMAS COKE.'

"One of the elders who assisted at the consecration of Mr. Asbury, was the Rev. Mr. Otterbine, a minister of the German church. Having enjoyed an intimate acquaintance with this pious and evangelical minister of Jesus Christ, and having full fellowship with him as a laborious and useful servant of God, Mr. Asbury requested that he might be associated with Dr. Coke and the other elders in the performance of this solemn ceremony.

"The following persons were elected, twelve of whom were consecrated elders: Freeborn Garrettson, William Gill, Le Roy Cole, John Hagerty, James O. Cromwell, John Tunnel, Nelson Reed, Jeremiah Lambert, Reuben Ellis, James O'Kelly, Richard Ivey, Beverley Allen,* and Henry Willis. Mr. Garrettson and Mr. Cromwell were set apart especially for Nova-Scotia, to which place they soon after went; and their labours and success will be noticed in the proper place. Mr. Lambert was ordained for the island of Antigua, in the West Indies.

"John Dickens, Caleb Boyer, and Ignatius Pigman, were elected deacons.

"II. Having thus given an account of these transactions, we proceed to offer a few arguments in their defence. Let it be recollected,

"1. That there was a loud call for these things. Most of the clergy of the English church, during the revolution, had fled from their flocks; and those who remained, with very few exceptions, were fit for any thing rather than ministers of the gospel. From the hands of such men the Methodists felt unwilling to receive the ordinances. As to the Presbyterians and Congregationalists, they would neither baptize the children unless at least one of the parents professed faith in their doctrines, nor admit them to the communion-table unless they became members of their church. The Baptists were more rigid still, as they could fellowship none unless they had been baptized by immersion. To neither of these conditions could the Methodists submit. Besides, by these denominations, the Methodists were treated as heretics, on account of their opposition to the Calvinistic doctrine of decrees, and the final perseverance of the saints. Hence a necessity, originating from the state of things in this country, compelled the Methodists either to remain without the ordinances, to administer them by unconsecrated hands, or to provide for them in the manner they did. Those who disclaim all dependence upon the argument derived from the *necessity* of the case, would do well to inquire whether any man can be justified in doing an *unnecessary* work,—a work that might be scripturally dispensed with. It appears to the writer, that if there be no weight in this argument, then it follows, that Mr. Wesley, and those who acted with him in this solemn affair, were guilty of a work of supererogation, and therefore cannot be justified on any principle whatever, either of Scripture, reason, or conscience.

"* Mr. Allen was not ordained until the Conference in 1785; and Mr. Willis, not being present, was ordained a few weeks afterward.—*Lee.*"

"2. Let it be recollected, also, that those who consecrated Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey, namely, Mr. Wesley, Dr. Coke, and Mr. Creighton, were all regular presbyters in the church of England; and that those who laid hands on Dr. Coke, and set him apart as a superintendent of the Methodist Episcopal church in America, were also presbyters regularly ordained to that office.

"3. It appears manifest from several passages of Scripture, particularly Acts xiii. 1, 2, and 1 Tim. iv. 14, and the testimonies of the primitive fathers of the church, that presbyters and bishops were of the same order, and that they originally possessed the power of ordination.

"4. The doctrine of uninterrupted succession from the apostles, in a third order, by a triple consecration, as distinct from, and superior to, presbyters, has been discarded by many of the most eminent ecclesiastical writers, as resting upon no solid foundation, not being susceptible of proof from any authentic source.

"5. Mr. Wesley possessed a right over the Methodists which no man else did or could possess, because they were his spiritual children, raised up under his preaching and superintendence; and hence they justly looked to him for a supply of the ordinances of Jesus Christ.

"6. Therefore, in exercising the power with which the Divine Head of the church had invested him, he invaded no other man's right, nor yet assumed that which did not belong to him.

"7. Hence he did not, as the objection which this argument is designed to refute supposes, ordain either presbyters or a bishop for the English church, nor for any other church then existing, but simply and solely for the Methodist societies in America. And therefore, in doing this necessary work, he neither acted inconsistently with himself as a presbyter of the church of England, nor incompatible with his frequent avowals to remain in that church, and not to separate from it.

"8. For, in fact, in organizing the Methodist Episcopal church, he did not separate either from the English or Protestant Episcopal church; for that church had no jurisdiction here, and the Methodist was organized some time before the Protestant Episcopal church had an existence. Hence he acted perfectly consistent with himself, with all his avowals of attachment to the church of England, while he proceeded to organize a church here; for while he did this, and thereby established a separate and independent church in America, where the English church had no jurisdiction, he and his people in England still remained members of the Establishment.

"9. While the Scriptures are silent in respect to the particular *form* of church government which should be established, they certainly *allow* of an Episcopal form, because it is not incompatible with any known precept or usage of primitive Christianity.

"10. This is farther manifest from the fact, that the apostles and evangelists did exercise a jurisdiction over the entire church, presbyters, deacons, and people, though at the same time there is no proof that as to order, created such by a third consecration, they were higher than the presbyters.

"11. Distinguishing, therefore, between the power of ordination and the power of jurisdiction, we may see how an Episcopal government may be created by a Presbyterial ordination, and hence justify the act of Mr. Wesley and his associates in setting apart Dr. Coke to the office of a general superintendent.

"These arguments are merely stated here as the grounds on which the organization of the Methodist Episcopal church is justified, referring the reader who may wish to see them in detail, with the proofs on which they rest for support, to the book recently published, called 'An Original Church of Christ.' In that performance he will see all objections met, and, I trust, fully answered, and the proceedings of Mr. Wesley and his co-workers amply vindicated.

"12. Another ground of defence is in the *character* of those who were employed in this transaction. As to the Rev. John Wesley, it is almost needless now to say any thing in his commendation. In him were concentrated all the elements of a great man; and by a conscientious improvement of his gifts, having been made a partaker of 'like precious faith,' he was as much distinguished by his goodness as by his greatness; but all his other endowments were propelled on by his inextinguishable thirst for the salvation of his fellow-men, and fully employed, as an evangelist, in the grand cause of Jesus Christ. And such were the effects of these labours, that, at the time of which we are now speaking, there were no less than sixty-four thousand one hundred and fifty-five members of society, and one hundred and ninety-five preachers, in Europe; and fourteen thousand nine hundred and eighty-eight members, and eighty-three preachers, in America; making in all seventy-nine thousand one hundred and forty-three members, and two hundred and seventy-eight preachers. These had been raised up through his instrumentality in the short space of forty-five years, as seals to his ministry, and as evidences of his call to the work in which he was engaged. Of his call, therefore, and qualification for the work of an evangelist, there can be no doubt, any more than there should be of his *right*, as the spiritual father of this numerous family, to provide them with all the means of grace."*

Thus were the scattered societies in America formed into a regular church-organization. This event, like the political independence of the States, is one of those circumstances which constitute epochs in the history of Christianity. The success of the arrangement has put to silence all surmises as to the wisdom of the settlement, whether entertained in this country or in America. It gave, in the first place, a free and independent action to the church so established; which, under the able and judicious management of the new bishops, and especially

* BANGS'S "History of Methodism in America," vol. i. pp. 151—163.

of Bishop Asbury, at once began, as if with new life to develope its strength. Much has been said on the subject of Mr. Wesley's love of power, and, by Southey, on his towering ambition; but this whole business palpably refutes all such allegations. It is not a characteristic of the love of power to part with it; and the yielding up of authority to others is but an ill proof of ambition. John Wesley might have retained an entire and undivided exercise of government over the American societies, just as he did at home, had he chosen to do so. His appointment of preachers would have been undisputed, and they, on their part, would have cordially supported his pastoral authority; his missives of instruction would have been unhesitatingly received by his sons in the gospel, and obeyed in the most perfect docility of spirit; the decisions of the British Conference, expressed in its Minutes, would have been complied with, for aught that appears, as the canon-law of the American body; a president, sent from England in the name of the father of the whole family, might have presided in the Conferences, and kept up the link of union, and thus have secured subordination. All this might have taken place; and, would, no doubt,—or some other line of policy similar in spirit,—have been pursued, had this great man been actuated by selfish or ambitious views. No act of his life, rightly considered, so fully indicates the integrity of his mind, the purity of his motives, the grandeur of his views, and the magnanimity of his character, as this arrangement. It is the act of a generous, noble-minded parent, dispossessing himself of his patrimony and power, to bestow it upon a son during his own life-time. The magnanimity of the measure, also, appears in its largeness. It went far beyond the anticipations or desires of the parties themselves. They had merely requested to have the ordinances amongst them, and, for this purpose, desired the ordination of ministers. But this could have been secured, as in Scotland, without either the establishment of an independent church or the appointment of superintendents. The only question in the mind of Mr. Wesley must have been, What is best for the parties interested? He soon answered the question by his conduct. His penetrating mind, his sound understanding, his knowledge of the whole case, his Christian philosophy, and capacity to see into the future as well as the present;—all this, in connexion with his noble disinterestedness, deter-

mined him to take the initiative, and himself to originate the organization and independent position of the Methodist Episcopal church.

The issue has amply verified, and, one would think, more than verified, the highest anticipations of this faithful shepherd. The great end he sought, in the extension of the gospel, and the conversion of sinners, has certainly been secured on the widest scale ever witnessed in modern times. This of itself would be to him a sufficient reward. He had no other purpose save this, in all he did. The object proposed by the several institutions ordained by him, was the extension of our Lord's kingdom in the salvation and happiness of mankind.

But every other purpose has been secured, as well as this primary one. The doctrines he held so dear have been faithfully conserved, and widely disseminated; the main points of Methodist discipline have been sedulously guarded and carried out; the holy living and piety towards God, so indefatigably promoted by him in his whole career of labour and of shame, have been happily secured; the unity of a numerous people, who, with few exceptions, have given a cordial and hearty allegiance to the system he adopted, has been exhibited for the illustration of the truth of Scripture, and the edification of the world; and that evangelic action which is indicated by the establishment of itinerancy, has been fully secured and prosecuted even beyond the extent of their own gigantic country.

Moreover, the world may now, if it chooses, look upon a primitive episcopacy in actual and living operation. Before this period it was only ideal. It might be found in the New Testament, in the practice of the first churches, in the remains of the primitive fathers, in the writings and speculations of men of moderate, but true and authentic, notions; but the reality had long been absorbed in the monstrous usurpations of Popery, and other systems of ecclesiastical error and tyranny. That man must have possessed a stout heart who, in the presence of existing establishments, and the prevalent opinions of the day, and even of the church to which he professed himself to belong,—who had the courage to return, practically, to primitive usage, and build up a living body on the model of the Presbytero-Episcopal church of the first and best ages. He could not help foreseeing, also, that the temerity which would venture upon such a course must expose

him to all manner of reproach. He braved it all; and the American Methodist Episcopal church now stands, and will for ever stand, as the noble monument of his wisdom, love of truth, disinterested devotion to his Master's honour, and his people's good; as well as his own courageous contempt of this world's petty scorn, or of the grave or bitter rebukes of an incensed and privileged priesthood.

CHAP. VI.—*The new Order of Things—Mr. Asbury becomes the real Bishop of the Church—His Character and Qualifications for the Office—Dr. Coke exceeds his Powers—Certificate—The Episcopacy defined and guarded—Mr. Wesley's Offence at the Use of the Term "Bishop"—Letter to Asbury—Dr. Coke in Difficulties respecting the Address to Washington—And on Slavery—The Church takes its Standing amongst the Institutions of the United States.*

MR. ASBURY, under the new order of things, became the real superintendent of the Methodist church, Dr. Coke returning home, and only occasionally visiting the continent. It was a merciful dispensation that this power fell into his hands. In addition to true piety, which we have before considered, he was blessed with a sound judgment, great moderation, tender sympathy with his fellow-labourers, intense desire for the salvation of mankind, uncompromising integrity, and entire decision of character. He seems to have devoted himself most sedulously to the cultivation of a knowledge of theology, as far as circumstances would allow; was a constant and zealous preacher,—plain, practical, energetic, though not eloquent; an assiduous pastor, naturally caring for the spiritual and temporal welfare of all the people; and bent, in his evangelical toils, upon spreading true religion through the entire continent. But Mr. Asbury seems to have possessed, in an eminent degree, that wonderful gift which is sometimes seen in favoured individuals,—an almost irresistible influence over men. Undoubtedly this originates, in part, in confidence in their integrity; and yet not altogether so. Indeed, without the conviction of this quality, and many others, the homage would not be given; but no assemblage of moral excellencies will, of themselves, lead to this result. It is evidently the power of mind; though in what that power consists, is extremely difficult to define. To say it is intellectual would not meet the case, as there are many men of high and noble intellect who possess no very commanding influence

amongst their fellows. Extraordinary religious attainments, and the reputation of exalted sanctity, though producing great reverence, yet do not, of themselves, lead to the dominion of the mind of which we speak. It appears to consist of—shall we call it?—robustness of soul, especially in strength of will. This, when connected with a corresponding amount of intelligence, judgment, insight into character, integrity, and honour; and, withal, that strange thing called "tact,"—a perception of the right time, the right means, the right spirit and mode of proceeding,—seem to constitute the elements of this character.

Be this as it may, these characteristics all met in Mr. Asbury. But, after all, his power was his piety, connected with corresponding energetical labours. No natural endowments could have made him what we see him to have been. He seems to have possessed an intense and a profound faith which was constantly at work. He was a believer in the living, active, omnipresent reign of God; and was in the habit of viewing all things through the medium of His providence and will. His mission to America was undertaken, as we have seen, in the full and unwavering persuasion, that it was the call and will of God. The resistance he set up against Mr. Wesley's commands to return home, after only being in the country a short time, and his pertinacious determination to remain at his post at the period of the revolution, though adopted in the midst of the most painful and embarrassing exercises, were taken with the full belief that his continuance at his post was the ordination of God. So, again, when all his English brethren deserted him, and his heart was left to bleed at their loss, and especially for the loss of George Shadford, for whom he entertained the warmest possible affection; when he stood alone, and had to pass through years of distress, anxiety, and sorrow;—he still adhered to the belief that he was called of God to all this. In like manner, when it was proposed to him to take the new office of superintendent, and adopt the church-system which Mr. Wesley had framed, and of which he seems to have had no premonition whatever, on consideration, connected with prayer, he entered upon it as the appointment of God. This was the habit of his mind. And never taking up a new position without being entirely persuaded that it was the will of God, he never afterward swerved.

These are the men who rule mankind. Their soul

seems to be rooted in some eternal, immutable, unalterable truth,—which, as the soil supports the oak, strengthens them for every emergency. Hence they are always the same; the vacillations of weaker men, the sweep of time, and all other contingencies, find them still inflexibly bent upon their mission. But this decision of character in Mr. Asbury by no means made him insensible, or blunted his feelings. We often find him in deep distress of mind, his sensibilities lacerated, his soul in an agony, as evils present themselves before him; but still his refuge is prayer, leading him constantly to God in Christ. The miseries of his itinerant life deeply affected him. Something like the spirit of Jonah, when he saw his "gourd" wither, and the sun smote him, occasionally appears in his Journals. When traversing the untrodden forests, and crossing dangerous rivers, in the midst of all kinds of weather, the summer's heat, and the winter's cold; living on the meanest fare, and that by the charity of others; lodging in log-huts, in the midst of filth, vermin, and noisy children;—he sometimes gives way to exclamations of anguish, and longs for death and heaven. No wonder. Yet, harassed by all these exercises, he still goes on. Not an expression of doubt as to his line of duty ever occurs; no shrinking under his load of labour and privation is ever witnessed; not a whisper of giving in, of retiring, of seeking ease, is ever heard. Certainly, he had no desire for any thing on earth different from his life of toil and danger; and the only change he ever refers to, is a dismissal by the command of his heavenly Master to the rest of heaven.

Such was the man to whom was chiefly committed the interests of the newly-formed Methodist Episcopal church. As might be expected, some little friction appeared in the movements of the machine for a short time; but nothing of any weighty consideration. It seems astonishing that the new *régime* was permitted to come into operation so easily; but with great wisdom and foresight of consequences Mr. Asbury refused to take the office assigned him by Mr. Wesley, till he had obtained the concurrent suffrages of the Conference. This assent was accorded unanimously; and, of course, afterwards they could not quarrel with their own election. This did not enter into the plan of Mr. Wesley, nor of Dr. Coke; but this judicious man understood his position; and, as in all his proceedings, before he moved in the matter, he made his ground perfectly sure.

In a while after the settlement of these affairs, Dr. Coke returned to England; and, it seems, exercised some of the functions of his new office while at home. This gave umbrage to his brethren in America. And when, on his second visit, he arrived in Baltimore,—

"Some dissatisfaction was manifested towards him, because, while in Europe, he had, as was contended, so far transcended his powers as to alter the time and place for the Conference to meet, after they had been fixed by the Conference itself. This, with some other complaints of a trifling character, drew from Dr. Coke, with a view to allay all apprehensions of his American brethren hereafter, the following certificate:—

"'*The Certificate of Dr. Coke to the Conference.*

"'I do solemnly engage by this instrument, that I never will, by virtue of my office as superintendent of the Methodist church, during my absence from the United States of America, exercise any government whatever in the said Methodist church during my absence from the United States. And I do also engage that I will exercise no privilege in the said church when present in the United States, except that of ordaining according to the regulations and laws already existing or hereafter to be made in the said church, and that of presiding in the said Conference; and, lastly, that of travelling at large. Given under my hand, the second day of May, in the year 1787.

"'THOMAS COKE.'

"And with a view to guard as much as possible against similar infringements of their rights in future, the following question and answer were entered on the Minutes:—

"'QUES.—Who are the superintendents of our church in these United States?

"'ANS.—Thomas Coke (when present in the States) and Francis Asbury.'" *

About this time the two superintendents took upon them the name of "bishop." This was done, it appears, in the first instance, by their own act, (was it not that of Dr. Coke?) in subscribing themselves such, in a new edition of the book of Discipline. This led to some little altercation, and grievously offended Mr. Wesley. But though the Conference did not determine the question in the first place; yet, on their assembling in 1787, they approved of and confirmed it in the following words:—

"We have constituted ourselves into an Episcopal church, under the direction of bishops, elders, and deacons, and preachers, according to the form of ordination annexed to our Prayer-Book, and the regulations laid down in this form of Discipline."

* BANGS'S "History of Methodism in America," vol. i. pp. 256, 257.

In the Conference of 1788, we have this question and answer :—

"Ques.—Who are the bishops for our church in the United States ?

"Ans.—Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury."

Thus Episcopacy was formally established, to the great annoyance of Mr. Wesley, who had employed the more humble term "superintendent." Hence he addressed the following characteristic letter to Bishop Asbury :—

"There is, indeed, a wide difference between the relation wherein you stand to the Americans, and the relation wherein I stand to all the Methodists. You are the elder brother of the American Methodists : I am, under God, the father of the whole family. Therefore, I naturally care for you all in a manner no other person can do. Therefore I, in a measure, provide for you all ; for the supplies which Dr. Coke provides for you, he could not provide were it not for me, —were it not that I not only permit him to collect, but also support him in so doing.

"But in one point, my dear brother, I am a little afraid, both the Doctor and you differ from me. I study to be little, you study to be great ; I creep, you strut along ; I found a school, you a college. Nay, and call it after your own names (Cokesbury). O beware ! Do not seek to be something ! Let me be nothing, and 'Christ be all in all !'

"One instance of this, of your greatness, has given me great concern. How can you, how dare you, suffer yourself to be called bishop ? I shudder, I start, at the very thought ! Men may call me a fool, or a rascal, a scoundrel, and I am content ; but they shall never, by my consent, call me bishop ! For my sake, for God's sake, for Christ's sake, put a full end to this. Let the Presbyterians do what they please, but let the Methodists know their calling better.

"Thus, my dear Frankey, I have told you all that is in my heart. And let this, when I am no more seen, bear witness how sincerely I am, &c."

The somewhat anomalous position of Dr. Coke as a British subject and an American bishop, now that the States were free, brought him into some trouble on both sides of the Atlantic. Occasion was taken, by the part he took in presenting the following congratulatory Address to General Washington, on his appointment to the Presidency of the United States, to call the Doctor's consistency in question.*

* "The event led to great dissatisfaction in England ; so much so, as to cause the Conference to leave the Doctor's name off the Minutes."—Drew's "Life of Coke," p. 144.

"*To the President of the United States.*

"SIR,—We, the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal church, humbly beg leave, in the name of our society, collectively, in these United States, to express to you the warm feelings of our hearts, and our sincere congratulations, on your appointment to the presidentship of these States. We are conscious, from the signal proofs you have already given, that you are a friend of mankind; and, under this established idea, place as full confidence in your wisdom and integrity for the preservation of those civil and religious liberties which have been transmitted to us by the providence of God and the glorious revolution, as we believe ought to be reposed in man.

"We have received the most grateful satisfaction from the humble and entire dependence on the great Governor of the universe, which you have repeatedly expressed, acknowledging him the source of every blessing, and particularly of the most excellent constitution of these States, which is at present the admiration of the world, and may in future become its great exemplar for imitation; and hence we enjoy a holy expectation, that you will always prove a faithful and impartial patron of genuine, vital religion, the grand end of our creation and present probationary existence. And we promise you our fervent prayers to the throne of grace, that God Almighty may endue you with all the graces and gifts of his Holy Spirit, that he may enable you to fill up your important station to his glory, the good of his church, the happiness and prosperity of the United States, and the welfare of mankind.

"Signed in behalf of the Methodist Episcopal church,

"THOMAS COKE,
"FRANCIS ASBURY.

"*New-York, May* 29, 1789."

The following is the reply of President Washington:—

"*To the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America.*

"GENTLEMEN,—I return to you individually, and through you to your society collectively, in the United States, my thanks, for the demonstrations of affection, and the expressions of joy, offered in their behalf, on my late appointment. It shall be my endeavour to manifest the purity of my inclinations for promoting the happiness of mankind, as well as the sincerity of my desires to contribute whatever may be in my power toward the civil and religious liberties of the American people. In pursuing this line of conduct, I hope, by the assistance of Divine Providence, not altogether to disappoint the confidence which you have been pleased to repose in me.

"It always affords me satisfaction when I find a concurrence of sentiment and practice between all conscientious men, in acknowledgments of homage to the great Governor of the universe, and in professions of support to a just civil government. After mentioning that I trust the people of every denomination, who demean themselves as good citizens, will have occasion to be convinced that I shall always strive to prove a faithful and impartial patron of genu-

ine vital religion, I must assure you in particular, that I take in the kindest part the promise you make of presenting your prayers at the throne of grace for me; and that I likewise implore the divine benediction on yourselves and your religious community.

"GEORGE WASHINGTON." *

On the proposition being made to present an Address to the new president, we are told that Conference approved and appointed the two bishops, Dr. Coke and Asbury, to draw it up, which they did. Bishop Coke, however, being a British subject, it was thought he ought not to read it, and Asbury performed that service, "with great self-possession." The other ministers and denominations were angry that "the Methodists should take the lead;" and the next week batteries of raillery and vituperation were let loose on the poor Doctor. They ironically asked, "Who was he? How came he to be a bishop? Who consecrated him?" then uttered severe strictures on the impropriety of a British subject signing an address approving of the Government of the United States; charging him with duplicity, and that he was the enemy of the independence of America.

To the good people on this side the water, at the time, it would appear equally strange for a British subject to eulogize as a "glorious revolution," a war which had beaten and imprisoned the armies of his country, and wrested a mighty empire from under her dominion. And then, it would appear equally a question, whether Dr. Coke could, consistently, call the new institutions of America, "the most excellent constitution of these States, which is at present the admiration of the world, and may in future become its great exemplar for imitation." The Doctor did not trouble his head much about these embarrassments; if he saw any awkwardness in his position, it made no difference in the discharge of what he conceived to be his duties.

But Dr. Coke got into hot water on another, a more vital matter, namely, that of slavery. Southey gives this case with so much truth and felicity of expression, that we cannot do better than insert his narrative.

"Wesley had borne an early testimony against the system of Negro slavery; on this point his conduct is curiously contrasted with Whitefield's, who exerted himself in obtaining a repeal of that

* BANGS'S "History of Methodism in America," vol. i. pp. 284—286.

part of the charter granted to the colony of Georgia, whereby slavery was prohibited. Dr. Coke, feeling like Wesley, took up the subject with his usual ardour, preached upon it with great vehemence, and prepared a petition to Congress for the emancipation of the Negroes. With this petition, he and Asbury went to General Washington, at Mount Vernon, and solicited him to sign it. Washington received them courteously and hospitably; he declined signing the petition, that being inconsistent with the rank which he held; but he assured them that he agreed with them; and that, if the Assembly should take their petition into consideration, he would signify his sentiments by a letter. They proceeded so far themselves, that they required the members of the society to set their slaves free; and several persons were found who made this sacrifice from a sense of duty. One planter in Virginia emancipated twenty-two, who were, at the time, worth from thirty to forty pounds each. His name was Kennon, and it deserves to be honourably recorded. But such instances were rare; and Dr. Coke, who had much of the national ardour in his character, proceeded in such an intolerant spirit of philanthropy, that he soon provoked a violent opposition, and incurred no small degree of personal danger. One of his sermons upon this topic incensed some of his hearers so much, that they withdrew, for the purpose of way-laying him; and a lady Negro-owner promised them fifty pounds, if they would give 'that little doctor' an hundred lashes. But the better part of his congregation protected him; and that same sermon produced the emancipation of twenty-four slaves. In one county the slave-owners presented a bill against him, which was found by the grand jury, and no less than ninety persons set out in pursuit of him; but he was got beyond their reach. A more ferocious enemy followed him, with an intention of shooting him: this the man himself confessed, when, some time afterwards, he became a member of the Methodist society. On his second visit to America, Coke was convinced that he had acted indiscreetly, and he consented to let the question of emancipation rest, rather than stir up an opposition which so greatly impeded the progress of Methodism."*

Thus in connexion with some slight agitations, not however, of principle, but of accident, the Methodist Episcopal church took its ground in the midst of the institutions of the United States. The authorities, from the beginning, evidently viewed it with no displeasure; and, as far as the States has control in such matters, rather gave it countenance than the contrary. The lay public, except in the expression of those outbursts of malignity, spleen, and opposition, which are common to all populations, when an earnest and spiritual religion is introduced amongst them, were quiet or favourable. Some jealousies,

* "Life of Wesley," vol. ii. p. 452.

as might be expected, prevailed amongst the religious bodies, and especially with the ministers. The prescriptive Calvinism of the old churches was disturbed by the introduction of the Wesleyan doctrine; and their notions of the independence of churches, in their individual and isolated state, became antagonized by the connexional principle on which the Methodist church was established. The title assumed, of bishop, could not be very palatable to ministers who had all along associated the idea of aristocracy, prelacy, and lordship with this innocent name. The very term must, in America, have awakened bitter associations in the minds of the descendants of the expatriated refugees, often driven from their homes by the persecutions of bishops, in the days of their domination in this country. That so little opposition was encountered at the time, indicates the moderation and the tolerant spirit of the Americans. Taken as a whole, the Methodist church, in the principles of its foundation, its rules and institutions, together with the titles assumed by its chief officers, presented itself to view as, perhaps, the most conservative institution of the States. That it should have excited so little jealousy, and properly no opposition, in the midst of the new democratic republic, shows the confidence of the people in their own power, the entire absence of religious bigotry, and the real and practical predominance of a free and generous spirit.

PART III.

THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

CHAP. I.—*The doctrinal Basis of the Church—The Articles of Religion—This places the Church on a System of dogmatical Truth—The Difference between this and the English System.*

IN presenting some account of the institutions of the American Episcopal church, it is necessary to keep in mind that it rests altogether upon a *constitutional* basis. Nothing is left to usage, to tradition, to common-law, or to the individual judgment of its officers. By a series of enactments a complete and well-defined code of law and order has obtained, so that it is perfectly easy to comprehend and analyse the entire system.

From 1766, the time of the formation of the first society in America, till 1784, they adopted the Minutes of the English Conference as the rules and regulations of their administration; but at the latter period, ceasing to be mere societies, and becoming a regular church, they, partly by Mr. Wesley's recommendation, and partly by the enactments of their own Conference, proceeded to frame, from time to time, the ecclesiastical constitution by which they are at present governed.

The doctrines themselves are the same as those held by the Methodist body in this country and all over the world; but the documents securing the recognition and promulgation of these doctrines are different. In this country Mr. Wesley's four volumes of Sermons, and the Notes on the New Testament, constitute the legal creed of the Methodist church; in America the Articles of Religion of the English church, altered by Mr. Wesley with a view to bring them into harmony with his own opinions, have been adopted. These Articles of Religion were originally prepared by Mr. Wesley, and printed in "The Sunday Service," which he sent over to America. They were accepted and published in 1785, and incor-

porated into the body of the Discipline in 1790.* These Articles have been reduced from thirty-nine to twenty-four, and some of those which remain have been changed in their phraseology, and portions omitted. Those which have been entirely left out are Articles—III. Of the going down of Christ into Hell. VIII. Of the three Creeds. XIII. Of Works before Justification. XV. Of Christ alone without Sin. XVII. Of Predestination and Election. XVIII. Of obtaining eternal Salvation only by the Name of Christ. XX. Of the authority of the Church. XXI. Of the Authority of General Councils. XXIII. Of ministering to the Congregations. XXVI. Of the Unworthiness of the Ministers, which hinders not the Effects of the Sacraments. XXIX. Of the wicked, which eat not the Body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper. XXXIII. Of excommunicate Persons, how they are to be avoided. XXXV. Of the Homilies. XXXVI. Of the Consecration of Bishops and Ministers. XXXVII. Of the Civil Magistrates.

The Articles which have been adopted, it will be seen on examination, constitute a clear and complete standard of truth, notwithstanding the omissions; that is, on the theory of Mr. Wesley, that the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination and election is not founded on the truth of the word of God. The expurgation of the Articles on the descent into hell, the three creeds, the authority of the church to ordain ceremonies, the general councils, and matters of that sort, will be deemed by the great body of Protestants of this day as a benefit; but, of course, the omission of the seventeenth Article will be differently considered by those who hold the doctrine therein contained.

But the point to be regarded is, that by this arrangement the Methodist Episcopal church is found to adhere to a system of positive, of dogmatical, doctrinal truth. In these days of rampant speculation and theorizing on matters of doctrine, this is of great consequence. The American people, like many parties in Europe, are somewhat addicted to give reins to their imagination and critical acumen, even on questions of sacred truth. It is, therefore, of some importance to bind the Methodist body to the observance of something tangible. It argues

* EMORY'S "History of the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church."

sobriety and reverence in them,—a new, an active, and a perfectly free people, to adopt the venerable forms in which the church of this country put the truth nearly three hundred years ago, instead of placing themselves on the current of living opinion. We believe there have been very few secessions from the doctrinal opinions of the general body, and heresy is almost unknown in the history of the Methodist church in the United States.

There is, indeed, one striking difference between the American and English Methodists regarding doctrines. We on this side the water are bound by legal enactment to preach the doctrines taught in Mr. Wesley's writings, and it seems the Americans are under no such *legal* obligation. It follows that the obligation with them is *moral*, a matter of conscience, of faith, of conviction. Here then, at this point, tradition comes in, usage, and the influence and force of a common opinion.

It is very well known, that Mr. Wesley has taught, in his four volumes of Sermons and Notes on the New Testament, opinions which are not found in the twenty-four Articles of Religion adopted by the American church, except in the way of a very remote inference. Reference is here made to such subjects as the witness of the Spirit, —the witness of our own spirit,—Christian perfection,— and many other nice points of experience and duty. Now, as far as appears on the face of documents, and the Book of Discipline, the Methodist church in the States has not bound itself to these expositions of doctrine. It has indeed enforced some of them, as that of Christian perfection, in the Minutes of Conference; but they are not found in the Discipline. It has, on the other hand, adopted the fundamental articles of religion, as so many great centres of truth, and, as it seems, left the detail and the interpretation to the living expositor. This will probably startle the English Methodist; but, as far as appears from the publications, preaching, and testimony of the American church, they have hitherto proved themselves true to the sentiments of our founder, and teach them as faithfully as is the case in this country. The doctrines of a religious community, so long as they retain their vitality and simplicity, are always adopted as the living faith of the people. There is no danger while this vitality continues; the danger commences in the decay of piety, in the loss of spiritual life, and in the forfeiture of all that grace of which the doctrine is the type. This day has

not yet come to the American Methodists. If it should ever arrive, it might possibly be useful to possess the doctrines of Methodism proper, in some way, so embedded in the system as to place them beyond the reach of rash and faithless men: and yet the history of the church awfully shows how fragile all safeguards have been in the presence of the floods of ungodliness, which have arisen and swept truth and holiness alike before its desolating wave.

CHAP. II.—*The federal Nature of the Church—The Idea of Unity—How secured—Doctrinal—Visible governing Power—Episcopacy.*

THE Methodist church is federal as well as episcopal. Its *régime* is constructed on the principle of the federation of the whole body, securing the rights and freedom, and, in defined cases, the independent action, of the several parts.

The federal character of the church will be found developed in the establishment of the Annual Conferences—their rights and immunities—connecting with the General Conference. Its unity is a unity of several parts, possessing almost independent rights.

In the spirit of this compact the ecclesiastical canons and government of the church will be found to stretch to the very circumference of its extent. Every minister is alike under the dominion of its laws, every member is equally subject to its rules, the same doctrines are preached in all its congregations, its worship is the same every where, and the same forms of discipline pervade the whole body. None of these things are left to the suffrages of the people, to the influence of the popular will, to the fancies and sentiments of the moment. The frame-work of the church has been built by the architectural skill of the able fathers of the community; and those who enter into its family do not so enter to frame a system or to establish a government of their own as they think best, but to seek for personal edification, and to obey rules already existing.

This unity is variously preserved. The first element, however, is to be found in the adoption of the common creed and frame of government referred to above. When open and tangible symbols of the truth are professed in a church, and subscription to these is enacted as a condition of admission from the candidates for office, there can then be no room for disputation or difference, inasmuch as those who cannot conform to the doctrines to be subscribed have an easy remedy in not taking upon them the office. This is certainly a fair principle towards

all parties; and, to the church adopting it, must tend to preserve peace and oneness: and it is equally clear, that churches following any other mode must often be convulsed with discord and divisions. A sufficient freedom, without any compromise of the truths of the gospel, seems the desirable and the difficult question in establishing a church upon a creed. How far this freedom should extend, is a problem not easily solved. That all understandings can arrive at conclusions perfectly similar, or express themselves in the same manner, is a pure impossibility. The intellectual, and indeed spiritual, varieties found amongst Christians will make this absolutely hopeless. Could it have been the will of God? If so, how is it that in his creating wisdom he has made so great a difference in the structure of the soul? And, especially, how is it that the glorious verities of God's word are given to man with so little mathematical or logical precision? It seems sufficient for the purposes of Christian unity that men should believe in the same great truths, and seek for themselves the blessings which these truths indicate. Should not a church be large enough to admit men of every calibre of mind? and whilst it faithfully adheres to all truth, and even states it dogmatically, which it has a right to do; ought it not to leave the mysterious to stretch into the hidden and eternal, whence it emanates, and to which it points? No human power can compress the truth of God into a syllogism, into a definition, into a logical proposition. In adopting the articles of religion as amended by Mr. Wesley, the American Methodist church has secured all the great and glorious doctrines of the Christian system, but left the minute details unexplained. This gives as much freedom as any parties can have a right to expect, or as it would be safe to grant.

Next to the doctrinal basis considered as a means of unity, must be reckoned the central power of legislation which has always existed. Without some recognised head, whether Pope, Parliament, Assembly, or Conference, it is impossible that a people can be one. The principle on which this is found universally to prevail is evidently one of those fundamental laws of the universe which stamp them as divine. No society, social or sacred, can exist without some visible, palpable, recognised head. But it should seem that the mode in which the principle and law shall be embodied is left very much to human discretion, guided by the providence of God.

Without the popish appendages, claims, and absurdities attached, the religious world seems very much disposed to go back to the old practice of giving its allegiance, so far as external order is concerned, to councils, and assemblies of men. These centres of life and authority, besides having the reputation of great wisdom by the joint exercise of many minds, and of purity and disinterestedness by the supposed impossibility of collusion in crime, are looked upon with favour by the people, from the fact that, in different ways, they consider themselves represented, either by election, or else by having men present who are connected with them, whom they know, and on whose integrity they can depend. They whose faith teaches them to expect God to interpose at all in the government of mankind, whether in church or state, look reverently to these centres of order and influence as the depositaries of his power, as the visible and outward embodiment of his mind and purpose. That the shoulders of individuals can no longer bear the weight of government, is clear enough; and that the people are indisposed any longer to give their allegiance to authority and power as a unit, is equally certain.

That the church, and mankind at large, will fare better under the new developement than the old, is a subject of general hope and expectation; the realization is in the future; and the lover of mankind may indulge the anticipation with glowing exultation, how much soever of disappointment awaits him. We see that things held at one time as sacred and undoubted truths are only allowed a limited course; like material substances, they can only endure a certain amount of friction, and then wear out. Who could have imagined, in the palmy days of Popery, that the sentiment of the divine power living in the person of the Pope, or in general councils, and spoken from the infallible throne of St. Peter, would have been held as transferred to the French Chamber? and yet the faith of Lamartine, and men of his cast, is as devoutly fixed on the Revolution and its representative as the embodiment of the Divinity, as that of the ancient devotees of Rome was fixed upon His Holiness.

Be this as it may, the central power which has all along done so much for the unity of the Methodist Episcopal church, is one which partakes very much of the spirit of the age; namely, the Conference. We only refer to this now, as a means of union and success amongst the Me-

thodist societies. With few exceptions, this body has evidently possessed the confidence of the people; and it has employed its influence assiduously and wisely in promoting both the consolidation and expansion of the church. It is very evident that, in American society, mere power can do but little to bring about such a result. The cohesive force must be something different from naked, palpable, and frowning authority. With firmness and adherence to constitutional rule and order, we believe the moderation of the American Conference has been its power. Its undoubted desire to promote the extension of religion; to secure the happiness and interests of all its people; to give them all the advantages of knowledge with those of piety; to leave their civil rights and position intact, without any attempt to make them political tools; the desire for their temporal advancement, and sympathy in their exercises and troubles; the respect paid to all their feelings and sentiments, as expressed by petition and other means; the anxiety to follow them in their pilgrimages into the wilderness, to minister to their spiritual wants;—all these, and many other proofs of paternal care and goodwill, have united to attract the confidence of the Methodists to their embodied head. So long as this confidence remains unshaken, the unity of the church will be secured; but the moment this confidence is lost, it must be dissolved. The abstraction of the key-stone of an arch would not more surely lead to the fall of the entire fabric, than the forfeiture of confidence in the American Conference, on the part of the people, would lead to the demolition of the church, and the breaking up of the entire fellowship.

But we have another great element of federal unity in the American church in its episcopacy. It is extremely likely that all the rest would be insufficient without this. This is a vital bond of fellowship. The bishops of the church are in the habit of living amongst the people: they see and converse with them, they heal their differences, they carry amongst them the symbols of unity and paternity, and in all things their office is found to conserve the societies. The Americans are too wise and too practical to leave a question of so much importance as the union of the church to the influence of abstractions, to ideas and laws; they embody the federal principle in their living representatives. These good men have never betrayed their trust; never sought personal aggrandizement at the ex-

pense of public peace and usefulness; never attempted to build up the office of bishop into either a sinecure or a domination. They become in this way the depositaries of a power which, though unfelt, is very efficient. It is impossible that a large community can long remain without causes of difference and debate. These, if left to themselves, will soon produce jars and friction, which must, in the end, lead to disruptions. Men who refuse to submit to each other are generally willing to refer differences to a third party; and, supposing confidence in his integrity is felt, are equally willing to bow to his award. This oversight of the flock is thought to be well adapted to perpetuate the oneness of the body.

CHAP. III.—*The Methodist Church in its Subdivisions—The Circuit and Station—The Station an Innovation—The Quarterly-Meeting Conference—Its Powers.*

THE divisions of the Methodist church exist in the form of circuits or stations, districts, and local Conferences; that is, Conferences in the sense of a territorial division.

We begin with *circuits* and *stations*. In the commencement of the work, circuits, embracing several preachers, and numerous societies, prevailed in America, as is now the case in England. In these circuits, an exchange amongst the ministers constantly took place, so that the congregations were each Sunday, and at other times, addressed by these preachers alternately. This practice continues at present to a considerable extent, and especially in the country places.

It seems impossible to cultivate a thinly-populated tract of country at first, except upon the adoption of the missionary principle; which principle is embodied in the practice of a pure itinerancy. Hence we find in the new countries, only partially peopled, that the ecclesiastical demarcation is now, properly so called, a circuit.

But this principle has been nearly altogether abandoned in the towns and cities. The substitution for this is the STATION, which means the appointment of a single minister to the pastoral charge of one society and congregation during his term, which cannot be longer than two years. This minister is usually known by the designation, "the preacher in charge" of such and such a church. This "preacher in charge" is the sole pastor of the church in question, and he is alone responsible; no one has the right to interfere with him, except as by the provisions of

the constitution. This arrangement is important, inasmuch as it is the abandonment of the practice of an alternating, mixed ministry, deemed so essential an appendage of Methodism in this country. Either by the force of habit, the influence of tradition, or the opinion of Mr. Wesley, and some of his most eminent followers, it is now a sort of settled point, an understood case, to be admitted without question or debate, that the same congregation cannot be well and efficiently served in their spiritual interests, without a change of ministers; if not once every Lord's day, at any rate every other Sunday. If any deviation from this should be suggested, a thousand voices, without a moment's reflection, indeed, in less time than thought could be formed into words, would cry out, "Heresy!" and at once predict that Methodism would be ruined! These parties would do well to meditate upon two facts; namely, that when Mr. Wesley established a universal system of itinerancy, including the change of men in the same circuit, he considered them as mere preachers, and not pastors; and in theory he regarded the Methodist body as societies IN the church; and consequently that the Establishment was *the church* to which he and his people belonged; and, moreover, that the minister of the Establishment who administered the sacraments to them, was their proper pastor. With these views, and with the purpose of perpetuating this state of things, he made itinerancy a legal part of the Methodist system in this country. The second fact is, that when he established a church in the United States, though no doubt his desire and expectation were that itinerancy in all its gradations would prevail, yet he made no provision for its perpetuity. He evidently did not intend that the American ministers should be considered only as preachers. Hence his ordinations, his preparation of the "Sunday Service," his organization of a complete church.

Without giving up itinerancy formally, it will be found, on examination, that the introduction of the "station" scheme is a very great and important modification of the principle. Many of the "preachers in charge" are literally confined to one congregation. They never preach beyond the precincts of their own church, and visit no country places, cottages, or any thing else in the city in which they reside;—in point of fact, they are limited to the pastoral charge of one congregation, and discharge none of the work of evangelists. It is not intended by

this, that these men are idle, that they fail in the duties of their vocation, or, in fine, that they cease to possess the spirit of real ministers. A large society and numerous congregation will find enough of employment for any one man. American Christians, like those nearer home, require pastoral attention, and earnestly demand it at the hands of their minister. This, with constant preaching to the same people, fills up the time, and entirely engages the labours, of "the preacher in charge."

The internal government of these circuits and stations is provided for in an exact manner. We find that an executive power, called the "Quarterly-Meeting Conference," is, with the "preacher in charge," the governing body. Besides providing funds, and discharging the secular duties of the station, they possess judicial functions of some consideration. Indeed, it seems from the Rules that they constitute a court of appeal, as the last resort in all cases of discipline affecting the standing or character of members. The delinquent member is, in the first place, brought to trial—

"Before the society of which he is a member, or a select number of them, in the presence of a bishop, elder, deacon, or preacher. If the accused person be found guilty by the decision of a majority of the members before whom he is brought to trial, and the crime be such as is expressly forbidden by the word of God, sufficient to exclude a person from the kingdom of grace and glory, let the minister or preacher who has the charge of the circuit expel him..... Nevertheless, if in any of the above-mentioned cases the minister or preacher differ in judgment from the majority of the society, or the select number, concerning the innocence or guilt of the accused person, the trial, in such case, may be referred by the minister or preacher to the ensuing Quarterly-Meeting Conference."

Again:

"If there be a murmur or complaint from any excluded person, in any of the above-mentioned instances, that justice has not been done, he shall be allowed an appeal to the next Quarterly-Meeting Conference; and the majority of travelling and local preachers, exhorters, stewards, and leaders present, shall finally determine the case." *

This evidently places the final decision of all cases of discipline, regarding members in any particular station, in the hands of the authorities of that station. There is no appeal in these cases of moral criminality to any juris-

* "Discipline," pp. 99—101. Last edition, 1844.

diction beyond the boundaries of the local church to which the accused party may belong.

It may be interesting to some to give one item of the temporal economy of the Methodist church through this Quarterly-Meeting Conference.

"It shall be the duty of the said Committee, appointed by the above body, or one appointed for that purpose, who shall be members of our church, to make an estimate of the amount necessary to furnish fuel and table expenses for the family or families of the preachers stationed with them, and the stewards shall provide, *by such means as they may devise*, to meet such expenses, in money or *otherwise*." *

It is to be hoped these Committee gentlemen who are called to sit in judgment on the eating and drinking capacity of their preachers, their wives, and children, are uniformly family-men themselves, possess the sympathies of parents and husbands, and do not receive their appointment because of a disposition to put the poor wretches upon "short commons!"

CHAP. IV.—*Subdivisions continued—The District—How constituted—The presiding Elder—Rules and Laws—The several Orders of Ministers.*

THE district is the charge of the presiding elder, and is constituted of a greater or less number of circuits or stations, according to the convenience of the case. Properly speaking, the presiding elder is a bishop, and the district is his diocess. He is not appointed to any local charge, and travels through his district constantly for the purpose of superintending its affairs.

The presiding elders are chosen by the bishops; they are stationed and changed by the bishops: the bishops may allow a presiding elder to remain in the same district for any term not exceeding four years successively; after which he shall not be appointed to the same district for six years.

The duties of the presiding elder are,—

"1. To travel through his appointed district.

"2. In the absence of the bishop, to take charge of all the elders and deacons, travelling and local preachers, and exhorters in his district.

"3. To change, receive, and suspend preachers in his district during the intervals of the Conferences, and in the absence of the bishop, as the Discipline directs.

* "Discipline," p. 190. Last edition, 1844.

"4. In the absence of a bishop, to preside in the Conference; but in case there are two or more presiding elders belonging to one Conference, the bishop or bishops may, by letters or otherwise, appoint the president; but if no appointment be made, or if the presiding elder appointed do not attend, the Conference shall, in either of these cases, elect the president by ballot, without a debate, from among the presiding elders.

"5. To be present, as far as practicable, at all the Quarterly Meetings; and to call together, at each Quarterly Meeting, a Quarterly-Meeting Conference, consisting of all the travelling and local preachers, exhorters, stewards, and leaders of the circuits, and none else, to hear complaints, and to receive and try appeals. The Quarterly-Meeting Conference shall appoint a secretary to take down the proceedings thereof, in a book kept by one of the stewards of the circuit, kept for that purpose.

"6. To oversee the spiritual and temporal business of the church in his district, and to promote, by all proper means, the cause of missions and Sunday-schools, and the publication, at our own press, of Bibles, tracts, and Sunday-school books; and carefully to inquire, at each Quarterly-Meeting Conference, whether the rules respecting the instruction of children have been faithfully observed; and to report to the Annual Conference the names of all travelling preachers within his district, who shall neglect to observe these rules.

"7. To take care that every part of our discipline be enforced in his district. And to decide all questions of law in a Quarterly-Meeting Conference, subject to an appeal to the president of the next Annual Conference; but in all cases the application of law shall be with the Conference." *

From these rules, it is evident the office of the presiding elder agrees, in character, with the suffragan bishop of ancient times. By right of his appointment, in the absence of the bishop he presides at meetings for business; he hears appeals, and sits in judgment in cases of discipline; he travels through his district for the purpose of "overseeing" its state, and putting all things in order; and on him lies the responsibility of seeing that all the rules of the Discipline are observed by both preachers and people. But the fact that all this is only done in the absence of the bishop, indicates that he is, in some sort, considered as his substitute. In point of practice, the whole falls pretty constantly upon the presiding elder, in consequence of the constant travelling of the bishops. We see from these laws that the American Methodists are not afraid of giving power to their officers sufficient to enable them fully to exercise the functions of their calling.

* "Discipline," pp. 31—33.

A vigorous executive is what their system every where indicates; but, at the same time, this executive is responsible for all its acts.

Various other ecclesiastical officers are found in one of these districts. It may be proper to give them a place here, that the whole case may be understood.

"There are the *exhorters*, who receive their license from a Quarterly-Meeting Conference, and have the privilege of holding meetings for exhortation and prayer.

"A *preacher* is one that holds a license, and is authorized to preach, but not to baptize or administer the Lord's supper: he may be either a travelling or local preacher. A local preacher generally follows some secular employment for a livelihood, and preaches on the sabbath, and at other times occasionally, without any temporal emolument. A travelling preacher devotes himself entirely to the work of the ministry, and is supported by the people among whom he labours. All these, after being recommended by the class to which they respectively belong, or by a leaders' meeting, receive their license from a Quarterly-Meeting Conference, signed by a presiding elder.

"A *deacon* holds a parchment from a bishop, and is authorized, in addition to discharging the duties of a preacher, to solemnize matrimony, to bury the dead, to baptize, and to assist the elder in administering the Lord's supper. It is his duty also to seek after the sick and poor, and administer to their comfort.

"An *elder*, besides doing the duties above enumerated, has full authority to administer all the ordinances of God's house. These generally, whenever a sufficient number can be had, have the charge of circuits, and the administration of the several parts of the discipline of the church." *

These extracts, it is hoped, will give a pretty accurate notion of a Methodist district in the American church, and of the functions of its several officers. The gradation of orders, it is seen, is very strictly observed. The exhorter, the preacher, the deacon, the elder, the presiding elder,—all taking their place in conformity to law and order; and no man, as appears, moving in any sphere without a commission. The recommendation of "a class," as to a man's qualifications, and the power exercised by the Quarterly-Meeting Conference, will appear novel to us; but on examination, the anomaly will not turn out to be very great, neither be found very much different from our own practice.

* Bangs's "History of Methodism in America," vol. i. p. 246.

CHAP. V.—*Subdivisions continued—The Episcopacy—Bishops, how appointed—Laws and Regulations—Reflections—The Division of Labour amongst the Bishops—Names of those who have received this Office—Purity of Election—Popularity.*

WE now approach a grave question: we enter upon the consideration of that function by which the Methodist church is distinguished. We are not here called upon to enter into the controversies which arose on the appointment of superintendents for the Methodist church by Mr. Wesley, or the assumption of the title of "bishop," as we have seen, by these superintendents, first by themselves, and then as assented to by the Conference. Our task is rather to describe the nature of the office, and the manner in which this episcopacy has hitherto worked.

We begin with the appointment to the office. We have already seen that Mr. Asbury refused to take upon himself the episcopate on the nomination of Mr. Wesley, till he had obtained the suffrages of his brethren in Conference; so that his assumption of the duties of the station assigned him was rendered valid by the election of the body in question, as well as by the nomination of the father of the family. This precedent, no doubt, has had its effect in all future appointments. The bishops have never been, from that time, elected to the office by the episcopacy itself, by the call of the bishops preceding them, but by the Conference. It is necessary to give the law itself on this case. The Conference enacts as follows:—

"QUES. 1.—How is a bishop to be constituted?

"ANS.—By the election of the General Conference, and the laying on of the hands of three bishops, or at least of one bishop and two elders.

"QUES.—If, by death, expulsion, or otherwise, there be no bishop remaining in our church, what shall we do?

"ANS.—The General Conference shall elect a bishop; and the elders, or any three of them, who shall be appointed by the General Conference for that purpose, shall ordain him according to our form of ordination.

"QUES.—What are the duties of a bishop?

"ANS.—1. To preside in our Conferences.

"2. To fix the appointments of the preachers for the several circuits, provided he shall not allow any preacher to remain in the same station more than two years successively; except the presiding elders, the general editor, the general book-steward and his assistant, the editor and assistant-editor of the Christian Advocate and Journal, the editor of the Sunday-school books, the corresponding secretaries, editors, and agents at Cincinnati, the supernumerary, superannu-

ated and worn-out preachers, missionaries among the Indians, missionaries to our people of colour, and on foreign stations, chaplains to state-prisons and military posts, those preachers that may be appointed to labour for the special benefit of seamen, and for the American Bible Society, also the preacher or preachers that may be stationed in the city of New-Orleans, and the presidents, principals, or teachers of seminaries of learning, which are or may be under our superintendence; and also, when requested by an Annual Conference, to appoint a preacher for a longer time than two years to any seminary of learning not under our care; provided, also, that with the exceptions above named, he shall not continue a preacher in the same appointment more than two years in six; nor in the same city more than four years in succession; nor return him to it after such term of service till he shall have been absent four years. He shall have authority, when requested by an Annual Conference, to appoint an agent, whose duty it shall be to travel throughout the bounds of such Conference, for the purpose of establishing and aiding sabbath-schools, and distributing tracts, and also to appoint an agent or agents for the benefit of our literary institutions.

"3. In the intervals of the Conferences, to change, receive, and suspend preachers, as necessity may require, and as the Discipline directs.

"4. To travel through the Connexion at large.

"5. To oversee the spiritual and temporal business of our church.

"6. To ordain bishops, elders, and deacons.

"7. To decide all questions of law in an Annual Conference, subject to an appeal to the General Conference; but in all cases the application of law shall be with the Conference.

"8. The bishops may, when they judge it necessary, unite two or more circuits or stations together, without affecting their separate financial interests, or pastoral duties.

"Ques. 4.—To whom is a bishop amenable for his conduct?

"Ans.—To the General Conference, who have power to expel him for improper conduct, if they see it necessary.

"Ques. 5.—What provision shall be made for the trial of a bishop, if he should be accused of immorality in the interval of the General Conference?

"Ans.—If a bishop be accused of immorality, three travelling elders shall call upon him, and examine him on the subject; and if the three elders verily believe that the bishop is guilty of the crime, they shall call to their aid two presiding elders from two districts in the neighbourhood of that where the crime was committed, each of which presiding elders shall bring with him two elders, or an elder and a deacon. The above-mentioned nine persons shall form a Conference, to examine into the charge brought against the bishop; and if two-thirds of them verily believe him to be guilty of the crime laid to his charge, they shall have authority to suspend the bishop till the ensuing General Conference, and the districts shall be regulated in the mean time as is provided in the third and fifth sections; but no accusation shall be received against a bishop, except

it be delivered in writing, signed by those who are to prove the crime; and a copy of the accusation shall be given to the accused bishop.

"QUES. 6.—If a bishop cease from travelling at large among the people, shall he still exercise his episcopal office among us in any degree?

"ANS.—If he cease from travelling without the consent of the General Conference, he shall not thereafter exercise the episcopal office in our church." *

The real genius of the American church comes out in these regulations.

1. We may remark, that the execution of the laws and discipline of the church is invariably committed to men, not to Boards, to Committees. There is a great difference. A Committee is a thing: it is an amalgamation of many intellects, minds, hearts, consciences, just making—*nil*. A Committee can do no wrong; because, as all are supposed to do the wrong thing, none do it! And as a Committee can do no wrong, so it can suffer no punishment! Who could hang a Committee? Because business is done by many and not by one, some parties have the idea, that more freedom is secured by this arrangement, and that Committees cannot play the tyrant, whilst a man may do so. A greater fallacy never entered the brain of man than this; and all experience, whether in church or state, will furnish ample illustration. Surely, the Americans understand the question of liberty pretty well; and, no doubt, it was this feeling, in connexion with other reasons,—and, amongst the rest, the intention to have their work done, and not shelved from time to time,—which led them to commit its execution into the hands of living, tangible, responsible men.

2. With the office and obligations of great duties, they consistently give ample power for the execution of the trust. In this we see no suspicions, no niggardly and petty jealousies, no fear. A frank and noble confidence in the men of their choice is manifested; and these men, we see, are sent through the churches with full credentials and powers to execute their noble task.

3. This investiture with real authority is not nullified by the miserable bondage of a load of conditions. They are not sent to move through the country with a web of spiders'-work around them at every point; or with nets, gins, pitfalls at their feet, into which at any

* "Discipline," pp. 27—31.

moment they may tumble; nor has any small creature the power, by means of some of these contrivances, to trip up their heels, or prevent them from moving. What says the law? The bishops shall "travel through the Connexion." This is all. It is not said how fast, by what routes; whether on foot, on horseback, or in a carriage. The meaning is, they shall be free to go, to execute their commission, none hindering or putting obstructions in their path. There is this difference betwixt a little and paltry, and a great and magnanimous, policy: the former sends its agents forth bound hand and foot, as mere puppets, to execute its commission by the instructions received; the latter selects competent men, furnishes the commission to act, and then gives freedom to the soul,—and in this freedom is strength. No human rules and canons can meet the exigences of the world; man's soul alone, taught by God's own truth and Spirit, can do this. It is this principle, we are persuaded, which has given American Methodism its strength, its elasticity, its expansion, and its triumphs.

4. With these powers and this freedom of action, then, we find connected the principle of responsibility. But this responsibility is, in the law, limited very much to the question of immorality. These bishops are not put upon their trial as to the observance of technical rules in their administration. Any dereliction in these matters is left to circumstances, to the force of public opinion, and to the power of the constitution to rectify any existing evil. The absence of all fear as to any mischievous effects resulting from freedom, whether possessed by a bishop in the execution of his office, or by the private member in the enjoyment of his privileges, is very apparent in the whole economy.

It may be as well to remark, at this point, that the bishops are not appointed to their respective provinces, or spheres of labour, by the Conference. The practice is, for the bishops to meet after each General Conference, and settle amongst themselves the several parts of the work to be done by each, till the meeting of the next General Conference. By this method the same bishop is not confined constantly to the same portion of the country; they change as occasion may require, and the state of the church may render it expedient.

Some may be curious to know how these dignitaries of the church fare in the matter of living, episcopal palaces, and

all which pertains to the external glory of a bishop. This, then, is the matter of fact: "The annual allowance of the married travelling, supernumerary, and superannuated preachers, *and the bishops*, shall be two hundred dollars, and their travelling expenses." * We find such notices as the following in Bishop Asbury's Journal:—"The weather has been unpleasant; and our clothing needed improvement and increase." "The superintendent bishop of the Methodist church in America being reduced to two dollars, he was obliged to make his wants known." This was in 1814, after he had been a bishop about twenty years.

Under this constitution the following bishops have been appointed in the American church; namely, Dr. Coke, Asbury, Whatcoat, M'Kendree, George, Roberts, Soule, Hedding, Andrew, Emory, Waugh, Morris, Hamline, Janes; and in the Methodist Episcopal church South, Capers and Paine.

Bishop Whatcoat was an Englishman, and was recommended for the work by Mr. Wesley. He was evidently a man of ardent piety; a constant and successful preacher; a most amiable man, and a faithful bishop; and was, moreover, greatly beloved by his brethren and the people. Bishops Asbury and Whatcoat seem to have been kindred spirits, and greatly attached to each other. They travelled much together, and Asbury constantly speaks in the most respectful and affectionate terms of his brother Whatcoat.

Bishop M'Kendree is evidently, after Bishop Asbury, about the first man amongst the dead who ever belonged to the church: angelically devout; fervent, holy, and affectionate in his spirit; an ardent, pathetic, and powerful preacher; constant, and indefatigable, and self-denying in his labours; and a most upright, judicious, dignified, and faithful superintendent of the church. In his early days the bishops had to traverse the whole continent; and we find Bishop M'Kendree taking his share in this painful toil. Often in company with his noble-minded leader, we see him suffering every kind of privation and inconvenience to win souls to Christ, and spread the savour of his Divine Master's name. After the death of Bishop Asbury, being the senior, he was called to perform very onerous duties in the affairs of the church; and

* "Discipline," p. 182.

by his goodness, firmness, wisdom, and entire devotion to his Master's service, succeeded in rescuing it from many perils, as well as establishing it in greater stability and order than when he entered upon his work.

Bishop Emory was a different man to either of the above. Being educated for the law, his mind became sharpened by his studies, so that he possessed great acuteness and logical power. He was, however, an eminently good man, a very able preacher; and, during the short time of his continuance in office, displayed all the essential qualities of a most excellent superintendent. He was mysteriously called away (being killed by the overthrow of the vehicle in which he was travelling) in the prime of life, and the prospect of great usefulness.

As far as appears, the Conference has never been moved by party feelings in the choice of these important officers. No low or paltry motives seem to have entered into their views in conferring this responsible trust. They have invariably selected fine and excellent men; the proof of this is in the fact, that no charge has ever been substantiated against any of them. But this is low praise; they have shown themselves to be men of exalted character. With such bishops, there is no danger of episcopacy being subverted in America.

This system, moreover, has been, on the whole, extremely well received amongst the people. It may, indeed, be said to have been popular; and the few attempts which have been made to subvert the episcopacy, have been utterly fruitless. It is clear, that the people affectionately reverence these men of God; and not the less, but the more, for their being bishops. There is, indeed, nothing in them to offend the most simple, the most republican, taste. Sacerdotal habiliments were attempted at first, but, meeting with opposition, were soon laid aside. It is not likely, in a country where the president of the States, the speakers of the Senate and Congress, the judges and counsel of the courts, all appear in plain attire, that robes of office would be very palatable in the Methodist priesthood. Religion itself is the power of these holy men; the people know their character, and esteem them for their work's sake; and were it not for this, coupled with great and disinterested labours, the Methodist episcopacy would undoubtedly soon come to an end.

CHAP. VI.—*Subdivisions continued—The Annual Conference—How constituted—Its Functions—Elects Delegates to the General Conference.*

THE Annual Conferences are forty in number, and embrace the whole area of the United States. An Annual Conference means, amongst other things, a territorial district, defined by the general laws. Each preacher of the body in America belongs, ministerially, to one of these Annual Conferences, and not to the general church. In the ordinary course of things, he consequently moves within the limits of this ecclesiastical demarcation; and if he remove to any other Conference, he is transferred to the new sphere by the proper authorities.

The Conference assembly is composed of all the travelling preachers of the district in question; and this meeting is presided over by a bishop. The business of this assembly consists of the ordinary routine, and it has no legislative functions whatever. The usual questions are asked as to "What preachers are admitted on trial? Who remain on trial? Who are admitted into full connexion? Who are the deacons? Who have been elected and ordained elders this year? Who have been elected, by the suffrages of the General Conference, to exercise the episcopal office, and superintend the Methodist Episcopal church in America? Who have located this year? Who are the supernumeraries? Who are the superannuated or worn-out preachers this year?" &c. If charges are found against any of the preachers, they are put upon their trial at this tribunal, with the right of appeal against its decisions to the General Conference. Monetary matters are adjusted at this meeting, and accounts received from the circuits and stations. The preachers here receive their appointments for the year, within the bounds of the Conference, and always by the authority of the bishop.

It is evident from all this, that the Annual Conference is chiefly an administrative body. It is the meeting of the preachers with the bishop, for the transaction of the business of the church in that particular department. Of course, they have enough to do. The Conferences often consist of one hundred, and sometimes near two hundred, preachers; and to settle the business of their several circuits, and adjust what may be out of order, will require much time and talent. On the approach of a General Conference, these local bodies elect their delegates to

attend, the proportion being one representative for every twenty-one preachers. These Annual Conferences, of necessity, exercise great moral influence within their own sphere; and they possess certain constitutional rights, which the General Conference cannot annul; and when these constitutional rights come in the way of that body, they cannot move without the concurrence of three-fourths of the votes of the preachers composing these Annual Conferences.

CHAP. VII.—*Subdivisions continued—The General Conference—Dr. Bangs's Account of its Formation—Its Powers—Fundamental Principles—Reflections.*

THE General Conference, as a distinct institution, did not come into existence for several years after Methodism had assumed great strength. The account given by Dr. Bangs, which we now transcribe, will place this subject in its true light. Under the date of 1792, he says,—

"As has been seen in the preceding pages, the general affairs of the church had been conducted heretofore chiefly in the several Annual Conferences, which were considered only as so many parts of the whole body; for nothing was allowed binding upon all, unless it were approved of by each and every of these separate Conferences. It is true, that the Christmas Conference of 1784, at which the church was organized, was considered a *General* Conference, because all the preachers were invited to attend, for the transaction of the important business then and there to be submitted to them; and, therefore, the acts and doings of that Conference were considered to be binding upon the whole church. As the work continually increased and spread over such a large and extended territory, it was found impracticable for all the preachers to assemble annually in one place, without too great a consumption of time and expense; and hence the practice which had been adopted of appointing several Conferences in the same year in different parts of the country, for the convenience of both the bishop and the preachers: but as one of these Conferences could not make laws for all the rest, nor yet all the rest for that one without its consent; and as it was not likely that so many independent bodies could be brought to harmonize in all things pertaining to the welfare of the church; there was danger from this state of things of a dissolution of the body, and the establishment of a number of separate and distinct communities, acting independently of each other.

"To prevent evils of this character, and to create a centre of union to the entire body, the *council* had been instituted; but, this unpopular measure not answering the end of its organization, was, by general consent, dissolved, and a General Conference called in its place. This was, it seems, agreed upon by the several Annual Conferences which had been held this year.

"This Conference assembled in the city of Baltimore, on the first day of November, 1792, and was composed of all the travelling preachers who had been received into full connexion. As this was considered the first regular General Conference, and as those who composed it came together under an expectation that very important matters would be transacted, it seems proper to give a particular account of their acts and doings. Dr. Coke had returned from Europe, and presided, conjointly with Bishop Asbury, over their deliberations.

"As there were no restrictions upon the powers of this Conference, the entire discipline of the church came up for review and revision; but to prevent, as far as possible, any improper innovation upon existing rules, or the premature adoption of new regulations, they agreed that 'it shall take two-thirds of all the members of the Conference to make any new rule, or abolish an old one; but a majority may alter or amend any rule.'

"They soon had an opportunity to try the strength of this rule in preserving them from an innovation upon established usage, in respect to the power of stationing the preachers." *

"Another General Conference was held in 1796; and at this Conference the discretionary power of the bishops to assemble as many Annual Conferences as they pleased was taken away, and the number limited to six.

"In 1806, Bishop Asbury submitted a proposition to all the Annual Conferences, in which he proposed, for the first time, the establishment of a delegated General Conference. As it was deemed proper to secure perfect unanimity on so grave a question, this was defeated by Jesse Lee, who induced the Virginia Conference to object." †

"In 1808, this question was brought to a decision in favour of the measure, by the adoption, on the part of the General Conference, of the following recommendation of a committee appointed to consider the subject:—

"Whereas it is of the greatest importance that the doctrine, form of government, and general rules of the united societies in America be preserved sacred and inviolate; and whereas every prudent measure should be taken to preserve, strengthen, and perpetuate the union of the connexion;

"'Therefore, your committee, upon mature deliberation, have thought it advisable, that the third section of the form of Discipline shall be as follows,'—adopting the principle." ‡

It only remains to give the constitution of this supreme assembly of the American Episcopal church.

"1. The General Conference shall be composed of one member for every twenty-one members of each Annual Conference, to be appointed either by seniority or choice, at the discretion of such Annual Conference; yet, so that such representatives shall have travelled at least four full calendar years from the time that they

* BANGS'S "Methodism in America," vol. i. pp. 342—344.
† *Idem*, vol. ii. p. 177. ‡ *Idem*, vol. ii. p. 229.

were received on trial by an Annual Conference, and are in full connexion at the time of holding the Conference.

"2. The General Conference shall meet on the first day of May, in the year of our Lord 1812, in the city of New-York, and thenceforward on the first day of May, once in four years perpetually, in such place or places as shall be fixed on by the General Conference from time to time; but the general superintendents, with or by the advice of all the Annual Conferences, or, if there be no general superintendent, all the Annual Conferences respectively shall have power to call a General Conference, if they judge it necessary at any time.

"3. At all times when the General Conference is met, it shall take two-thirds of the representatives of all the Annual Conferences to make a quorum for transacting business.

"4. One of the general superintendents shall preside in the General Conference; but in case no general superintendent be present, the General Conference shall choose a president, *pro tem.*

"5. The General Conference shall have full powers to make rules and regulations for our church, under the following limitations and restrictions, viz.:—

"(1.) The General Conference shall not revoke, alter, or change our articles of religion, nor establish any new standards or rules of doctrine contrary to our present existing and established standards of doctrine.

"(2.) They shall not allow of more than one representative for every fourteen members of the Annual Conference, nor allow of a less number than one for every thirty: provided, nevertheless, that when there shall be in any Annual Conference a fraction of two-thirds the number which shall be fixed for the ratio of representation, such Annual Conference shall be entitled to an additional delegate for such fraction; and provided, also, that no Conference shall be denied the privilege of two delegates.

"(3.) They shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government, so as to do away episcopacy, or destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency.

"(4.) They shall not revoke or change the general rules of the United Societies.

"(5.) They shall not do away the privileges of our ministers or preachers, of trial by a committee, and of an appeal: neither shall they do away the privileges of our members, of trial before the society, or by a committee, and of an appeal.

"(6.) They shall not appropriate the produce of the Book-concern, nor of the Charter Fund, to any purpose other than for the benefit of the travelling, supernumerary, superannuated, and worn-out preachers, their wives, widows, and children. Provided, nevertheless, that upon the concurrent recommendation of three-fourths of all the members of the several Annual Conferences, who shall be present and vote on such recommendation, then a majority of two thirds of the General Conference succeeding shall suffice to alter any of the above restrictions, excepting the first article; and, also, whenever such alteration or alterations shall have been first recommended by two-thirds of the General Conference, so soon as three-fourths of the members of

all the Annual Conferences shall have concurred as aforesaid, such alteration or alterations shall take effect." *

Here, then, we have the MAGNA CHARTA of Methodism in the States. This document indicates the good sense and the diligent forethought of those who framed it. We see from it, that the American Methodists are no revolutionists, and that they desire to escape such a catastrophe. The legislative power is not at liberty to alter any thing deemed fundamental. This limits the functions of the assembled ministers within what may be considered a settled and fully recognised constitution. This constitution supposes various points as already settled, to which all agree, and which are not to be disturbed.

The doctrines of the church are amongst these fundamental principles. Here innovation generally begins, when churches decline. The loss of vital religion always causes the truths of the evangelical system to become tasteless. Or, perhaps, rather, these truths being found antagonistic to a bad life, or a state of spiritual sloth, they are hated on account of the irritation and condemnation which they inflict. But, more than this, when religion is itself given up, in its experience and holiness, these doctrines are not wanted; no one needs the spirit-stirring instructions of the gospel to teach him to go to sleep, to live in sin. Besides this tendency, there is always found another, namely, that of adventurous speculation. One age is never satisfied with the past. Whilst praising the great men of former times, yet, still we generally think we can improve on their intellectual labours, and do something better for ourselves than they could do for us. The "go-ahead" principle so rife in America, in political and social matters, is not absent from the genius of its theologians. They seem to be much tempted to drive criticism to something beyond its legitimate province, and to push their inquiries into the spiritual world beyond what is revealed. The age and the circumstances of the country favour this sort of adventurous spirit. It must consequently be considered a wise arrangement, that the great truths of the evangelical system, embodied in their Articles of religion, are not to be altered,—are not, indeed, to be discussed.

Another fundamental point is the episcopacy. This, as we see, is not left an open question. The church, through all time to come, is to be the Methodist Episcopal church. This enactment, it must be recollected, was adopted after

* "Discipline," pp. 21—24.

this form of church-government had been upon its trial for several years. It had, consequently, been tested as to its working, in respect to the general ministry, the conservation of order, and the progress of religion; and in all these particulars had approved itself to general acceptance. It must be remembered also, that the men who sanctioned this principle as final, were the ministers themselves,—the parties most interested in the question; and their approval is to be taken as complete evidence that, in their judgment, the episcopacy was considered both scriptural and profitable. The overthrow of episcopacy would, consequently, perfectly revolutionize the church.

The "general rules" of the society are equally held as sacred. These are not to be touched by the legislative body. This is important, and promises to be one means of perpetuating true religion for ages to come.

The right of a "fair trial" of the preacher by his peers,—which means, that liberty and an impartial treatment shall be secured,—is equally inviolate. This point is not to be discussed or altered.

Other subjects which relate to property are not deemed so sacred. But though left open to revision, this is to be effected in the most cautious manner; and numerous safeguards are placed around the law. These are very important provisions, and promise to check any rash tendency to innovation, which may from time to time arise.

CHAP. VIII.—*Subdivisions continued—The Author's Presence at the Pittsburgh General Conference—Impressions—The Bishops—The Ministers—Mode of Debate—Decorum and Order—Questions at issue—Mode of conducting Appeal Cases—Reflections.*

IN Pittsburgh, in the year 1848, it was the author's good fortune to be present at one of these General Conferences. It was an era in the history of Methodism in the United States. The great division of the church between the North and the South had taken place four years before, and this had not produced satisfaction and peace. Strong feelings and passions prevailed; the minds of the ministers were much agitated; and business of great importance had to engage their attention. In this state of things, it might be expected, that the assembly could not preserve its usual order and decorum; that strong feelings would excite corresponding language; and that, consequently, some disorder would ensue. Nothing of this kind, however, disturbed the proceedings for a moment.

As a matter of course, the attention of a stranger would be first directed to the highest officers of the church,—the bishops. They were all present, five in number,—Hedding, Morris, Waugh, Hamline, and Janes. The three first named are men in years, especially Bishop Hedding; the other two are in the prime of life. They preside in turn, beginning with the senior, whose business it is to open the Conference. This is usually done by reading a written document of considerable length, entering upon the general state, prospects, and duties of the church,—somewhat after the manner of the Message of the President of the United States.

These grave and dignified officers constitute what might be fitly called "the bench of bishops," only they happen to sit in chairs. They are seated by themselves, facing, of course, the assembly, on a platform, elevated, it may be, two feet above the common level of the floor. None share with them the distinction of this position. The secretary and his assistants are placed at a table on the floor of the house; and no other officers, of any sort, or for any purpose, are tolerated in the assembly.

The spirit and demeanour of the bishops could not but excite attention. "How do they conduct themselves in their high office?" was a natural question. It was soon answered. The bearing of these men of God was perfectly uniform: there was no deviation. It is difficult to describe it; just as what is pre-eminently beautiful, excellent, and morally sublime, refuses to submit to the touch of the most perfect artist. It is not enough to say, that it was dignified, grave, judicious, impartial, commanding. It was all this; but all this with much more combined. There is always in mental and religious excellence an intangible, an impalpable power, glory, of the soul, which cannot be described. It is this inward and spiritual force which gives to the several faculties their strength and elevation; and when these faculties are so balanced as to receive the hidden impulse equably, and transmit it to practical and useful purposes, then greatness is produced. This was manifest in these eminent officers: and it was never the writer's good fortune to behold a class of men who gave him such an ideal of what bishops ought to be, as these American ἐπίσκοποι.

It is not customary for the bishops to take part in the debates, or in any way to interfere with the proceedings of Conference, except on questions of law and order. Two or three occasions arose in connexion with points of

law, when one of the bishops expounded its meaning with great clearness and logical precision. The bishops seem to be perfect masters of all constitutional questions, and also of the complicated details of business. When they had occasion to interpret any matter of order, being appealed to for that purpose, all parties invariably acquiesced; not an objection was ever raised, or any infringement attempted. Some persons may imagine that all this must reduce these officers to mere ciphers. Not so. They possess great influence, and are treated with undeviating reverence and respect. Their moderation, in fact, is their power. By not attempting to do too much, they possess the means of doing every thing which their station requires from them.

The great body of ministers appeared to be, on the whole, very able and good men. There was clearly an entire absence of party, and party-spirit, and, consequently, of party-leaders. No man appeared in this latter character. There is nothing answering, so far as could be seen, to Tory and Whig, in their church politics. No number of men were seen acting together as the type of any particular class of opinions. They seemed alike desirous of promoting the common cause; and parties who had given their votes together on one question, would give them against each other on the next. This absence of party-spirit not only gave the appearance, but the reality, of perfect independence. No man is bound to the opinions or the interests of another; and, right or wrong in his judgment, certainly every one acts for himself, and gives a sincere and conscientious vote. There is no embarrassment in consequence of this state of things. No preacher ever thinks of impugning another's character as something analogous to *radical*, because he gives his suffrages in a particular way. He speaks, votes, *stands up* in perfect fearlessness as to the consequences of the side he takes. There is no low Methodism and high Methodism, no *ins* and *outs*, no *government* and its partisans to keep in office, or to remove. Methodism is one; and every person seems intent on giving it his best support.

The debates of the Conference to an Englishman are somewhat strange till the matter is understood. The fact of the existence of a constitution, designated "the Discipline," is always present in the mind of the speaker. A subject is scarcely ever discussed on its merits, but always in reference to this constitution. Every question

falls under some law and rule; and this is invariably the starting-point with the speaker. How the matter squares with the law, and how it may be disposed of constitutionally, are the subjects argued. This, of necessity, produces some amount of stiffness in the style of speaking, and the logical faculty is much more in requisition than that of impassioned oratory. These men certainly excel in the use of sound, sober, clear reasoning. This habit produces great self-possession. The calmness of the preachers in their debates is truly astonishing. Nothing hurried, perturbed, indistinct, or confused, ever appears,—not even in the youngest. This is a remarkable characteristic of American debate, and is possessed in an eminent degree by these ministers. Self-command seems to produce distinctness of enunciation, so that every one is enabled to say what is in his mind to utter. These debates were invariably conducted, on the part of the speakers, in the spirit and manner of men having the most perfect respect for the understanding and capacity of their auditory. No clap-trap finesse, or attempt to play upon the passions or fancy of others, ever appeared. This, considering that these debates take place in the presence of the public and the public press, is rather singular. But certainly no speech, whilst I remained, was delivered in reference to popular taste or prejudices, and the people were never mentioned with the idea of invoking their suffrages; indeed, for aught which appeared in the proceedings, they might not have been present at all.

The rules of debate and good order are admirably preserved. There was not, in my presence, an instance of the least confusion. No man ever interrupted another, except very occasionally, on a point of order, and the interposing party invariably did it in the most courteous manner; the appeal was always to the chair, no third party ever interfering; and, when the chair had decided, no one ever disputing the award. In listening to these ministers of religion for a fortnight, truth obliges me to say, that I never heard an angry tone, an uncourteous word, the employment of a single sarcasm, the use of any kind of personality, any the least attempt to throw odium upon an opponent, or refer to the opinions of others otherwise than with the most perfect respect. If good breeding constitutes a Christian gentleman, then most certainly this assembly of ministers may be pronounced most emphatically as Christian gentlemen.

We have said, that the Conference did not indicate that they were divided into parties, or placed themselves under leaders. This is not intended to insinuate that they have no leading men. That is impossible. The master-spirits in any assembly are soon perceived. They could not be mistaken in the American Conference. It required no long time to find out who possessed the mastery of mind. This, however, in every case was borne with great modesty. No intellectual *puppy* appeared on the stage. I was surprised at this, because I understood that great numbers of young men attended these Conferences, and that, moreover, these scions of exuberant life often delivered themselves with sufficient confidence. It was said at the Pittsburgh Conference, that an unusual number of young men were present. There must be some mistake in this. Because the old men who used to take part in public assemblies are absent, some in the grave, and others from debility, it is often taken for granted that those who take their place must be young men. Ah, how easy it is to lose sight of the progress of time! At this Conference there was present certainly a considerable number of old men; hardly one belonging to the delegates could be properly considered as young, whilst the greater number were men in or above middle life. Many of these are the princes of the people. It would be easy to mention their names; there is a temptation to it; nothing could give greater pleasure; but delicacy forbids.

The great subjects of debate at this Conference related to the division of the church into the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Methodist Episcopal Church South. This division had taken place four years before; but various points still remained unsettled. These divided themselves into the constitutional question, as to whether the Conference possessed the power to make such a division at all;—the boundary-line which had been agreed upon;—the division of the property of the Book-Concern;—and the fraternal recognition of the delegate who had been sent from the Southern Church.

As the gentleman sent by the South was present, this latter question came on first for settlement. After considerable debate, it was unanimously agreed that, till the matters in dispute were finally arranged, he could not be received. The persons who took part in the debate were very firm and decided, but perfectly calm and courteous in their language. And though, for the present, the Conference

could not fraternize with their brethren in the South, Dr. Pierce, their representative, was invited to take a seat, as a private gentleman, with them. This he did not deem it right to do; and when he appeared in Conference at all, he took his place amongst the strangers.

The boundary question, after being sent to a committee, was disposed of by abolishing the settlement altogether; so that each party is at liberty to make reprisals upon the other, and extend their operations as best they can. This must lead to painful collisions. The ministers upon the borders will be brought into perplexing and miserable disputes with each other; it is to be feared, to the great injury of true religion and Christian charity. Both parties seem determined to exert their utmost strength, and are confident of the ultimate triumph of their principles.

The Book-Concern dispute was settled, so far as the action of the Conference was concerned, by referring the matter to—I think—four gentlemen, not of the Methodist communion, whose arbitration was to be final.*

But the constitutional point which had been raised could not be decided. How was it possible that the supreme legislative body could agree that a former act of the same body was unconstitutional? The difficulty, however, gave rise to a proposition, on the part of Bishop Hedding, as the organ of his colleagues, to appoint a body of men whose office should be to determine on the constitutional nature of the enactments of the legislature, (that is, the Conference,) with a power to arrest the progress of any such enactments. I confess, I was greatly surprised at this proposal for the moment; till, recollecting that a similar principle prevailed in the civil constitution of the United States, the astonishment ended. This power in the civil state belongs to the judges of the Supreme Court. The idea seems to ground itself on the sovereignty of the people. The people, universally considered, are supposed, in convention, to have framed and assented to the constitution by which they are governed; that the legislative bodies are not omnipotent, but subordinate to the sovereign power, this power being the people; and that they have not, and cannot have, the right to infringe on the principles and provisions of this constitutional system so agreed upon by the sovereign power. But, to secure this provision inviolate, it was found necessary to deposit a power

* Since brought before the courts of law.

of judging of the acts of the legislature somewhere; and it was determined to give it to the highest judicial functionaries in the land; that is, to the Supreme Court, answering, in some sense, to our Court of Chancery. This power not only exists, but has, on some occasions, been exercised; and Acts of the American Parliament have been arrested by this authority.

In like manner, constitutional difficulties having sprung up in connexion with the division of the church, and the legality of the enactment by which it was effected being disputed, the bishops found themselves in a dilemma; and to prevent future perplexities of the same sort, they proposed the above-mentioned court. The subject had not come on for decision when I left, and I believe the proposition fell to the ground; probably for the want of a suitable body to whom to refer questions of such grave importance.

The General Conference is a court of appeal, as well as a legislative body; and, of course, numerous appeals come up for adjudication every four years. The practice is, that the appellant, either in his own person, or by the employment of one of the preachers as his counsel, shall have the privilege of an impartial hearing and settlement of his cause. I witnessed two of these appeal causes, conducted, in one case, by the appellant in person, and in the other by one of the ministers.

In order clearly to understand this, it is necessary to give the rule on the subject.

"In all the above-mentioned cases, it shall be the duty of the secretary of the Annual Conference to keep regular minutes of the trial, including all the questions proposed to the witnesses, and their answers, together with the crime with which the accused is charged, the specification, or specifications, and also preserve all the documents relating to the case; which minutes and documents only, in case of an appeal from the decision of an Annual Conference, shall be presented to the General Conference, in evidence on the case. And in all cases, when an appeal is made, and admitted by the General Conference, the appellant shall either state personally, or by his representative, (who shall be a member of the Conference,) the grounds of his appeal, showing cause why he appeals, and he shall be allowed to make his defence without interruption. After which the representatives of the Annual Conference, from whose decision the appeal is made, shall be permitted to respond in presence of the appellant, who shall have the privilege of replying to such representatives, which shall close the pleadings on both sides." *

* "Discipline," pp. 73, 74.

The first case to be mentioned is that of an unhappy *wight*, not accused of immorality, but of embroiling the people, and throwing the church into a state of perfect confusion. This had taken place again and again; and at length it was found necessary to arrest the evil, and put the culprit upon his trial. He had been found guilty, and sentenced to suspension. This case came on by appeal, and the appellant appeared in person. He had been, amongst other things, a great mesmerist, and something else which I did not understand, connected with the same science. It was my fortune to listen to this odd subject for half a day; that is, during the morning sitting. He conducted his defence with great ability, of its kind. We had from *him* a profusion of wit, raillery, sarcasm; he dealt heavy blows against his judges; but all with that sort of *sang froid* which indicates the absence of malice. It was evident enough, from his defence, that he could not live without throwing around himself the smoke and fire of all manner of confusion and mischief. But with this tendency, he was not devoid of great acuteness and powers of reason.

The Annual Conference to which this scapegrace belonged had sent his case to a committee, and on their report had formed their decision. It will be seen by the law, that the secretary of the Annual Conference is required to preserve "the questions and answers." The secretary, in this case, was not a member of the committee; and in his absence they had appointed one from their own number. The documents were perfectly regular, and had been deposited with the secretary, but had not been taken down by that officer of the Annual Conference. With great tact, the appellant pleaded this in bar of the decision against him. But he did not rest his cause on technical questions. He went through the whole case, lampooning every body who came in his way; and calling the parties amongst the people with whom he had quarrelled in a most unmerciful manner. All this was done, it must be recollected, in the presence of the public, and the public press. Had it taken place in this kingdom, it would have thrown the whole church into confusion from one end of the country to the other. Such, however, is the difference of manners in the two communities, that nobody seemed to care any thing about it.

But during all this outpouring of invective, no human creature ever interrupted this man. And he was not

only unassailed, but not the least confusion or disorder took place. The Annual Conference delegated their defence to one of their members, who very ably replied. The contrast was great. The harshest thing he said,—what every body could easily perceive,—was that brother so and so possessed "all manner of sense but common sense." The argument of the appellant on the law question was submitted to the decision of the bishops. They, like impartial judges, gave the prisoner the benefit of a doubt, and pronounced that the omission of the secretary's copy, according to rule, was fatal to the trial; and that the case must go back to the Annual Conference.

The other case was not conducted by the appellant in person, but by Dr. Holditch. The form of the argument, the appeals to law, the technical objections raised, the eloquence and zeal evinced, might have led a spectator to suppose himself listening to an appeal case before the Privy Council, or in the House of Lords. The whole subject was managed with an ability, regularity, and order, both on the part of the counsel and the court, which would have done credit to any tribunal of justice in the world. These cases impressed me with the idea, that the personal rights and privileges of the Methodist preachers, in the American body, were held as very sacred things.

One other matter remains,—the privilege of petition. Many petitions were presented on various subjects, and vast numbers were read at length. The most numerous class related to the division of the church. Many societies on the borders of the division, which held anti-slavery views, had, by the arrangement, been placed on the South side of the line of demarcation, and handed over to the pro-slavery church. These parties felt sorely aggrieved. They remonstrated, not only in energetic tones against the impropriety of being incorporated with the South, but they argued the question in all its breadth; and some of them with much force and ability. These, and all other petitions of the people, were received with great deference, and many of them read in full, and sent for investigation to their appropriate committees.

One word on these committees. They are appointed on the opening of the Conference, and embrace all the subjects which can come before the attention of that body. They sit concurrently, during the whole period of the session, and usually meet in the afternoon of each day. We had committees on the Episcopacy,—on the state of the

Church,—on the Itinerancy,—on the Missions,—on the Sunday-schools,—on the Temperance question,—on the Boundary subject,—on the Book-Concern, &c.; so that instead of appointing a committee to consider separate matters of interest, every thing needing the examination of such a body was sent to one of these standing committees.

Such, in substance, was the Pittsburgh Conference. There was much to admire in the parties present, merely considered as men. They exhibited, with religion, the real American character. Individualism is one of its obvious characteristics. But this is not selfish, egotistic, or flippant and vain. It is rather the exhibition of the freedom of the soul, connected with calm judgment and conscious strength. Deliberation in the movements of the mind, in speech, in coming to a decision, is an evident feature of American character. Nobody seems to be in a hurry, to indulge in fidgetty feelings, impassioned exclamations, or haste either in mind or body. This affects the character of their oratory. There is infinitely less of the impassioned, the figurative, the ornate, than amongst us; but much more of the force of reason, of natural logic. I was surprised at this, after hearing so much of American violence and passion; and also considering the exciting atmosphere in which some of them live. There appears, indeed, some difference betwixt the Northern and Southern men; but the latter were less fiery than might be expected.

In its aggregate character, the Conference may be considered as near what is desirable as it seems possible to carry the order of a large deliberative assembly. All things combined to produce this effect. The dignified impartiality of the presiding bishops on the one hand, and the willing deference paid to them on the other; the establishment of exact and well-digested rules of debate, not only in written codes, but as carried out in practice, and the scrupulous regard paid to them by all parties; the avoidance of all irritating modes of address in reference to each other, together with perfect courtesy in language and bearing constantly manifested; the absence of all party strife, and the apparently simple purpose of every one to bring his best faculties to support the common cause of Christ; the religious spirit blending, like heavenly unction and influence, with all things, and impressing them with purity and piety;—in fine, the fear of God, and the love of each other, all tended to present a picture such as the mind

loves to dwell upon, and desires to see prevail every where. Were there, then, no blots and drawbacks? no dark shades? I only report what I saw, and the impressions left on my own mind. Illusions are common, sometimes pleasant; but what one sees with one's eyes, can hardly be an illusion.

This, then, is the church of John Wesley. He did not consider Methodism in England, in his days, as a church, but as Christian societies. He felt himself free to act, in respect to America; and we have a right to infer, that had he entertained any other notions of what a real Christian church ought to be, he would have attempted its establishment. He gave them the platform of their present episcopacy; and, consequently, this was his "ideal of a church." He, indeed, refused to call his superintendents bishops; but that is of no consequence; he gave the order and the office, and the name followed as a matter of course.

No doubt this agreed with his most cherished and mature opinions. At the period he established this order of things, he could have little temptation to falsify his own convictions by doing a thing repugnant to his judgment. He was nearly at the end of his eventful journey; the opinions of men could be of little consequence to him, and he heeded them as little; he expected constantly to be called to give his account, and yield up his spirit to God;—in this state it is impossible to conceive that he would perpetuate a practical falsehood, and finish his life by establishing a system which he did not fully believe to be accordant with the truth of God, and the good of man. But, besides, these convictions were the mature judgment of a minister of religion who possessed all the means of studying the whole question, of acquainting himself with the voice of antiquity, of observing the operation of all religious systems, almost in every part of the world; and the conclusion, we find, was, the establishment of the episcopal order.

The progress of the American church is only the developement of this idea. History must judge whether the anticipations of Mr. Wesley have been realized. Time has now been given for this. The trial has been made, and made on a most magnificent scale. Has this trial failed, or has it succeeded? Facts must answer this question. And, in order to meet this important query as fairly and fully as possible, we now go to the consideration of our next point,—the territorial progress of the American Methodist Episcopal church.

PART IV.

TERRITORIAL PROGRESS OF THE AMERICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

It is desired, in attempting to give some account of the territorial progress of the Methodist Episcopal church in the United States, to notice such educational and other institutions as are found existing in the several localities, hoping by this to attain to a pretty accurate notion of the practical operations of the entire system. And, moreover, as the different States and churches have each something characteristic and peculiar, it is intended to notice, briefly, these circumstances, by way of enlivening the narrative of details. These details, in themselves, are necessarily dry, as statistics must be; but we have always something interesting, where living men are found, to give vivacity to subjects in themselves tedious and barren.

It is hardly necessary to say, that the investigation has been found beset with difficulties. It has, indeed, cost much trouble and research; and even, after all, exactness and perfect accuracy cannot be claimed for these statements. All that can be hoped,—all which is possible under the circumstances,—is, to give a general outline of a great work. It would require an American, with much leisure, great experience, and a command of documents, to do justice to such a subject. And it is a subject well worthy of the attention of some master-mind in the United States.

The authorities possessed have been consulted with much attention; and the whole ground has been carefully examined and gone over, so far as these guides could lead the way. By the kindness of my friends in the States, I have been put into possession of most valuable historical documents; and had I found more leisure, a much better digest and analysis would have been possible.

To secure order and precision, as well as to render our survey intelligible, it is proposed to take certain lines of country separately, making the Annual Conferences the basis of our statistical calculations. By this it is hoped, that something clear and tangible may be kept

before the mind of the reader; whereas, if we allowed ourselves to wander at large on a space so great as the American continent, we must soon feel ourselves lost in a perfect labyrinth.

Adopting this principle, we propose to examine the state of Methodism, 1. On the Atlantic seaboard. 2. By the line of the Hudson and the Lakes. 3. Along the Ohio and the adjoining country. 4. The Mississipi.

I.—THE ATLANTIC CONFERENCES.

It seems natural that we should begin our survey where population had its commencement. The Atlantic States embrace a line of sea-coast extending eighteen hundred miles from north to south, and stretch into the interior for a distance constantly varying, but in some places amounting to between three and four hundred miles. These States are filled with great cities; possess the most magnificent bays and harbours in the world; a considerable amount of manufacturing industry, in various branches; a great and flourishing commerce; and the country parts are occupied by beautiful villages, and a prosperous agriculture. The people of these States, being the descendants of the original settlers, constitute the *élite* classes of society; and the living mind of these people has always predominated.

I. We begin our survey at the northern point of the Atlantic line,—the Maine Conference. In connexion with this division we find six districts; namely, *Portland*, *Gardiner*, *Readfield*, *Bangor*, *Thomaston*, and *Buckport*. One hundred and sixty-four circuits and stations; one hundred and sixty-one ministers, with one hundred and sixty-seven local preachers; and twenty thousand two hundred and eighty-one church-members.

Methodism was introduced into Maine in 1793, by the indefatigable Jesse Lee.

"A few weeks after the adjournment of Conference, he entered upon what in those days was a journey of considerable magnitude. Leaving Lynn, he passed through Newburyport into New-Hampshire, Greenland, and Portsmouth, preaching as he went; and thence, on the 16th of September, entered Maine, and, at a little village called Laco, on the same night preached in a private house, crowded with attentive hearers, on Acts xiii. 41. As the most of his time, until the Conference of 1794, was employed in the formation of a circuit in Maine, we may very properly give a brief narra-

tive of his labours, abridged from his History of the Methodists. From Laco, he went to Castine, at the mouth of the Penobscot River; thence along the river to the upper settlements near Old Town, and returned by the way of Twenty-Five Mile Sand to Kennebec River; thence up to Sandy River, and back to Hallowell, and through to Portland. 'Although I was a perfect stranger, and had to make my own appointments, I preached almost every day, and had crowded assemblies to hear. After viewing the country, I thought the most proper place to form a circuit would be on the west side of the Kennebec.' Here the first circuit in Maine was formed, and it is known in the Minutes of the period as Readfield. It was nearly two hundred miles beyond the circuits already formed in New-England. It extended from Hallowell to Sandy River. It was not long after the formation of this circuit, and the establishment of regular preaching, before God mercifully vouchsafed His blessing to those who went forth sowing precious seed. Sinners were converted, and sought church fellowship with those from whom they had received the 'good word of God.' Societies were soon formed, churches were erected, and Methodism started out upon a wide career of usefulness, with stirring zeal and vigorous hope."*

The progress made from the above date will be seen to be very great, if the whole case is considered. It must be kept in mind, that the church-members mentioned are persons meeting in class, communicants; and do not include the congregations attending the ministry of the word who are not members, nor the children of either of these classes. Judging from the common rules of proportion betwixt communicants and hearers in both countries, it seems probable, that the number of persons and families which are found under the ministry and influence of the Methodist church in this region, will amount to four or five times the numbers enumerated above. On this principle, which, it must be admitted, is a perfectly sound one, the souls under the religious care of the Maine Conference will amount to something like one hundred thousand.

II. Adjoining Maine we find the State of NEW-HAMPSHIRE; and the Methodist church has established one of its local centres in this place, bearing the name of the State. The New-Hampshire Conference, like the territory itself, does not appear to be large, compared with many of the other Conferences; and yet it is evident, from the extent and numbers of the church, that successes much the same

* DR. LEE'S "Life and Times of the Rev. Jesse Lee."

as in other places have crowned the efforts of the servants of God.

We have three districts; namely, *Dover*, *Concord*, and *Haverhill*. Seventy-seven circuits and stations; eighty-two ministers, with sixty-four local preachers; and ten thousand three hundred and eighty-four church-members.

We have the following extra appointments:—Osmond C. Barker, Professor in the Biblical Institute; Richard R. Rust, Principal of the New-Conference Seminary; William D. Cass, Agent for the New-Hampshire Conference.

The work in New-Hampshire began about 1794; the pioneer evangelist being Mr. Hill, who seems to have had little success in the beginning. But the mission soon fell under the care of Mr. Lee, he being appointed presiding elder for several districts of country, of which this was one; and progress was soon manifested.

III. Descending the coast-line from this northern point, we arrive at the New-England States; and here we find a Conference, bearing the name of the NEW-ENGLAND CONFERENCE. This Conference embraces such places as Boston, Cambridge, Newburyport, (the burying-place of George Whitefield,) Lowell, the famous cotton-manufacturing Manchester of America, Worcester, Springfield, together with their adjacent towns and villages. We have here three districts; namely, *Boston*, *Worcester*, and *Springfield:* one hundred and twenty-one stations and circuits; one hundred and eight regular ministers, with seventy-six local preachers; and thirteen thousand three hundred and eighty-one church-members.

This portion of the country may be considered as the cradle of the American system. Here the pilgrim fathers landed; here, in the midst of the wilds and tempests of nature, and the wars of the Indians, these brave spirits cherished the love of freedom, for which they had abandoned their native land; here, left very much to themselves by the mother country, the people fostered the habits of self-government, elected their own council, officers, and even governors; and here, in the performance of the functions of a tiny, but actually independent, society, were laid the foundations of the existing state of things; here the stern Puritanism, founded partly on the rigorous dogmas of a Calvinistic creed, and partly on the *jus-divinum* principle of church-order and government, which characterized the

rigid opinions of early times, took entire possession of the hearts of the people; here, strange to say, an ecclesiastical power, as exclusive, as undivided, as repulsive even as Popery itself, became the established and dominant religion; here, on this spot, the obtrusive Quakers and Baptists, when they dared to adventure, and all others not of the church of the prevailing sect, were expelled; here a number of poor old, and some young, women were mercilessly put to death for witchcraft; and here the Mathers and such men preached, ruled, put up and put down at their pleasure;—blessed, cursed, and did many other things which look very strange to us in these days.

But though homogeneous and awfully stern, this was a great religion. The faith of the men was vividly realizing. The nearness and majesty in which they beheld God, inspired them with inflexible principles; their habit of connecting the divine decrees and providence with all the events of life, led to the idea that, in all things, they were the agents of the sovereign will of Deity; and their admission of, their belief in, the supreme and paramount importance of pure, spiritual religion, as they understood it, caused them to expel from their society "all the sons of Belial," and, indeed, every opinion and sentiment which they considered heretical and injurious. Animated by this strong belief in their call and destination, connected, moreover, with the bitter persecutions they had endured in their own country;—their banishment for conscience' sake; the sufferings and hardships they had passed through; the labours, privations, and terrors of the wilderness, and the solitude in which they lived; their habitual converse with the invisible and spiritual world;—these men were prepared to become the pioneers of a great religious and social creation.

The following extracts may be taken as specimens of the faith and religious feelings of these great Christians. Nathan Morton, the historian of the first years of the settlement, thus opens his subject:—

"GENTLE READER,

"I HAVE for some length of time looked upon it as a duty incumbent, especially on the immediate successors of those that have had so large experience of those many memorable and signal demonstrations of God's goodness, viz., the first beginners of the plantation of New-England, to commit to writing his gracious dispensations on this behalf; having so many inducements thereunto, not only otherwise, but so plentifully in the sacred scriptures, that so, what we

have seen, and what our fathers have told us, (Psalm lxxviii. 3, 4,) we may not hide from our children, showing to the generations to come the praises of the Lord; that especially the seed of Abraham his servant, and the children of Jacob his chosen, (Psalm cv. 5, 6,) may remember his marvellous works in the beginning and progress of the planting of New-England, his wonders and the judgments of his mouth; how that God brought a vine into this wilderness; that he cast out the Heathen, and planted it; that he made room for it, and caused it to take deep root; and it filled the land; (Psalm lxxx. 8, 9;) and not only so, but that he hath guided his people by his strength to his holy habitation, and planted them in the mountain of his inheritance, in respect of precious gospel-enjoyments: and that, as especially God may have the glory of all, unto whom it is most due; so also some rays of glory may reach the brows of those blessed saints, that were the chief instruments and the beginning of this happy enterprise.

"So they left that goodly and pleasant city of Leyden, which had been their resting-place for above eleven years; but they knew that they were strangers and pilgrims here below, and looked not much on these things, but lifted up their eyes to heaven, their dearest country, where God hath prepared for them a city, (Heb. xi. 16,) and therein quieted their spirits. When they came to Delft-Haven, they found the ship and all things ready; and such of their friends as could not come with them, followed after them; and sundry came from Amsterdam to see them shipped, and to take their leaves of them. One night was spent with little sleep with the most, but with friendly entertainment and Christian discourse, and other real expressions of true Christian love. The next day they went on board, and their friends with them; where truly doleful was the sight of that sad and mournful parting, to hear what sighs and sobs and prayers did sound among them; what tears did gush from every eye, and pithy speeches pierced each other's heart, that sundry of the Dutch strangers that stood on the quay as spectators, could not refrain from tears. But the tide (which stays for no man) calling them away that were thus loath to part, their reverend pastor, falling down on his knees, and they all with him,* with watery cheeks, commended them with most fervent prayers, unto the Lord and his blessing; and then, with mutual embraces and many tears, they took their leaves one of another, which proved to be the last leave to many of them.

"But, before we pass on, let the reader with me make a pause, and seriously consider this poor people's present condition, the more to be raised up to admiration of God's goodness towards them in their preservation; for now being passed the vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before them in expectation, they had now no friends to welcome them, no inns to entertain or refresh them, no houses, or much less towns, to repair unto to seek for succour; and for the sea-

* This is the scene commemorated in the picture of the pilgrims at Washington, referred to in the account of the Capitol.

son, it was winter; and they that know the winters of the country, know them to be sharp and violent, subject to fierce and cruel storms, dangerous to travel to known places, much more to search unknown coasts. Besides, what could they see but a hideous and desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts, and wilder men? And what multitudes of them there were, they then knew not; for, which way soever they turned their eyes, (save upwards to heaven,) they could have but little solace or content in respect of any outward object; for, summer being ended, all things stared in appearance with a weather-beaten face; and the whole country, full of woods and thickets, represented a wild and savage line; if they looked behind them, there was the mighty ocean which they had passed, and was now as a main-bar or gulf to separate them from all the civil parts of the world."

The first public act of these men, on reaching their destination, is couched in the following terms:—

"In the name of God, Amen. We, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign lord King James, &c., &c., having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and for the honour of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern part of Virginia: do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof do enact, constitute, and frame, such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and officers, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony: unto which we promise all due submission and obedience," &c.*

Cotton Mather's account is in a similar spirit. In describing the motives which led the Puritans to seek an asylum beyond sea, he says,—

"The God of heaven served, as it were, a summons upon the spirits of his people in the English nation, stirring up the spirits of thousands which never saw the faces of each other, with a most unanimous inclination to leave all the pleasant accommodations of their native country, and go over a terrible ocean, into a more terrible desert, for the pure enjoyment of all his ordinances. It is now reasonable that, before we pass any further, the reasons of this undertaking should be most exactly made known to posterity, especially to the posterity of those that were the undertakers, lest they come at length to forget and neglect the true interest of New-England. Wherefore I shall now transcribe some of them from a manuscript, wherein they were then tendered unto consideration.†

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* "New-England's Memorial." † "To the People of England."

"'*General Considerations for the Plantation of New-England.*

"'First. It will be a service unto the church of great consequence, to carry the gospel unto those parts of the world, and raise a bulwark against the kingdom of Antichrist, which the Jesuits labour to rear up in all parts of the world.

"'Secondly. All other churches in Europe have been brought to desolations; and it may be feared that the like judgments are coming upon us; and who knows, but God hath provided this place to be a refuge for many whom he means to save out of the general destruction?

"'Thirdly. The land grows weary of her inhabitants, insomuch that man, which is the most precious of all creatures, is here more vile and base than the earth he treads upon; children, neighbours, and friends, especially the poor, are counted the greatest burdens; which, if things were right, would be the chiefest of earthly blessings.

"'Fourthly. We are grown to that intemperance in all excess of riot, as no mean estate almost will suffice a man to keep sail with his equals, and he that fails in it must live in scorn and contempt; hence it comes to pass, that all arts and trades are carried in that deceitful manner and unrighteous course, as it is almost impossible for a good upright man to maintain his constant charge, and live comfortably in them.

"'Fifthly. The schools of learning and religion are so corrupted, as (beside the unsupportable charge of education) most children, even the best, wittiest, and of the fairest hopes, are perverted, corrupted, and utterly overthrown by the multitude of evil examples and licentious behaviours in these seminaries.

"'Sixthly. The whole earth is the Lord's garden, and he hath given it to the sons of Adam, to be tilled and improved by them: why then should we stand starving here for places of habitation, and in the meantime suffer whole countries, as profitable for the use of man, to lie waste without improvement?

"'Seventhly. What can be a better or nobler work, and more worthy of a Christian, than to erect and support a reformed particular church in its infancy, and unite our forces with such a company of faithful people, as, by timely assistance, may grow stronger and prosper, but, for the want of it, may be put to great hazards, if not be wholly ruined?

"'Eighthly. If any such as are known to be godly, and live in great wealth and prosperity here, shall forsake all this to join with this reformed church, and with it run the hazard of an hard and mean condition, it will be an example of great use, both for the removing of scandal, and to give more life unto the faith of God's people in their prayers for the plantation, and also to encourage others to join the more willingly in it.'" *

The love of freedom of these heroic Christians lived through all their generations, down to the period of Independence. It is a strange coincidence, that the *animus*, the

* "Ecclesiastical History of New-England."

spirit, of real Americanism, should have its root and its final developement, its catastrophe, on the same spot. It was these very Bostonians, the descendants of the pilgrim fathers, and many of them bearing their names, who first resisted "taxation without representation;" who opposed the coercive power of the mother country, and threw *the tea into the sea;* it was these very people who raised the shout of liberty, proclaimed the claim of independence, marshalled themselves into military bands, and fought the first battle,—now commemorated by the "Bunker's-Hill" monument. They were what the Americans call "strong men," these. And let the pseudo-philosophers of the age know, that it was the religious sentiment which produced this power and led to these results. Let the Americans themselves remember the fact, keep it as a sacred truth, treasure it up as an heir-loom in their houses, and teach it to their children, that it was the Christian religion, embraced and held by men now deemed fanatics, which laid the foundations of their freedom, their social happiness, their political greatness, their advancement in all the blessings of civilization; and that the moment they either neglect or renounce this religion of the Bible, then, that moment, they lay sacrilegious hands on the foundation which supports the entire fabric of their power.

We see, from the above statement, that Methodism has taken considerable hold of this interesting population. It can, however, be a matter of no surprise that, at its commencement, it was looked upon with some amount of jealousy, and that the first evangelists met with much annoyance and opposition. The details are curious and interesting, especially so far as they relate to the labours of one man of eminent piety, originality, simple but effective eloquence, and glowing zeal. We refer again to Jesse Lee.* This eminent Christian minister seems to have been wonderfully fitted for the work assigned him by the great Head of the church, and he made full proof of his ministry. How changed is the scene now, as compared with the beginning of the work of evangelization by this zealous champion of the truth!

There is some resemblance betwixt the character and history of Jesse Lee and John Nelson. Soon after his

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* See his "Life" by his grandson, the Rev. Dr. LEE. See also BANGS'S "History," ASBURY'S "Journal," and STEVENS'S "Memorials of the Introduction of Methodism into the Eastern States."

conversion, and while his heart was glowing with love, the revolutionary war then raging, he was balloted for the militia. This is his account:—

"I weighed the matter over and over again; but my mind was settled: as a Christian and a preacher of the gospel I could not fight. I could not reconcile it to myself to bear arms, or kill one of my fellow-creatures. However, I determined to go, and to trust the Lord, and accordingly prepared for my journey.

"Monday, July 17th, 1780, I left home, set out for the army, and travelled about twenty-five miles to Mr. Green Hill's, where I was kindly used. I tarried there all night.

"Wednesday, 19th, I set off early in the morning, and travelled about sixteen miles, to Mr. Hine's. In the afternoon we had much conversation on spiritual matters; and in the evening I felt my heart more engaged with God in prayer than usual. I felt my dependence upon God; and though I believed great difficulties lay before me, yet I resigned myself into the hands of God, and felt assured that he would protect and take care of me.

"I did not join the army till the 29th. On the evening of that day, I came in sight of the camp, was soon called on parade, and orders were given for all the soldiers to be furnished with guns. I then lifted up my heart to God, and besought him to take my cause into his hands, and support me in the hour of trial.

"The sergeant soon came round with the guns, and offered one to me; but I would not take it. He said, I should go under guard. He then went to the colonel; and, coming back, brought a gun and set it down against me. I told him he had as well take it away, or it would fall. He then took me with him, and delivered me to the guard.

"After a while the colonel came, and, taking me out a little way from the guard, began to converse with me, and to assign many reasons why I should bear arms; but his reasons were not sufficiently cogent to make any alterations in my mind. He then told the guard to take care of me, and so left me.

"After dark, I told the guard we must pray before we slept; and having a Baptist under guard, I asked him to pray, which he did. I then told the people, if they would come out early in the morning, I would pray with them. I felt remarkably happy in God under all my troubles, and did not doubt but that I should be delivered in due time. Some of the soldiers brought me straw to lie upon, and offered me their blankets and great-coats for covering. I slept pretty well that night, which was the first and the last night I was ever under guard.

"Sunday, 30th. As soon as it was light I was up, and began to sing; some hundreds of people soon assembled and joined with me, and we made the plantation ring with the songs of Zion. We then knelt down, and prayed. While I was praying my soul was happy in God; I wept much and prayed loud, and many of the poor soldiers also wept. I do not think that I ever felt more willing to suffer for the sake of religion than I did at that time."

He went further.

"A neighbouring innkeeper, while yet in bed, heard his early prayer, was affected to tears, and came entreating him to preach. In a short time the man of God was standing on a bench, near the tent of his commanding-officer, proclaiming as his text, 'Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.' 'I was enabled,' says he, 'to speak plainly, and without fear; and I wept while endeavouring to declare my message. Many of the people, officers, as well as men, were bathed in tears before I was done. That meeting afforded me an ample reward for all my trouble. At the close of the meeting, some of the gentlemen went about with their hats, to make a collection of money for me, at which I was very uneasy, and ran in among the people and begged them to desist.'"

When the Colonel heard of his preaching,—

"It affected him very much; so he came and took me out to talk with me on the subject of bearing arms. I told him, I could not kill a man with a good conscience; but I was a friend of my country, and was willing to do any thing I could while I continued in the army, except that of fighting. He then asked me if I would be willing to drive their baggage-waggon. I told him I would, though I had never drove a waggon before. He said their main cook was a Methodist, and could drive the waggon when we were on a march, and I might lodge and eat with him; to which I agreed. He then released me from guard."

He continued four months in the army, bearing witness for his Divine Master.

"'Many of them,' he says, 'on one occasion were very solemn, and some of them wept freely under the preaching of the word. I was happy in God, and thankful to him for the privilege of warning the wicked once more. It was a great cross for me to go forward in matters of so much importance, where there were few to encourage, and many to oppose; but I knew that I had to give account to God for my conduct in the world. I felt the responsibility laid upon me, and was resolved to open my mouth for God. I often thought I had more cause to praise and adore him for his goodness than any other person. For some weeks I hardly ever prayed in public, or preached, or reproved a sinner, without seeing some good effects produced by my labours.'" *

Such, in part, was the training, and such the character, of Jesse Lee, the founder of Methodism in the New-England States.

It may be proper at this point to remark, that other moral agencies besides the existence of church organiza-

* STEVENS'S "Memorials of Methodism," pp. 22—25.

tions will often be found to exist within the limits of these local Conferences. We notice one or two in connexion with the New-England Conference.

Besides a Book-Depôt found at Boston, a branch of the general Book-Concern, we find, amongst other things, a local newspaper conducted at this place, called Zion's Herald, and possessing great influence. This paper has been established for a number of years; and, amongst other services for religion and humanity, it has been probably the most powerful instrument in the States, amongst the Methodists, in favour of the abolition of slavery. It opened its columns for the discussion of this great question some dozen or more years ago, and continues the discussion to the present time. It was this paper which first broke ground on this question amongst our people; thus commencing, in the old locality, a new movement in favour of freedom,—but on this occasion that of the African race. Boston in this stands out in honourable distinction, as true to her original spirit, her traditions, her love of liberty.

To us it seems a strange thing, that any difficulty should be connected with a question of this sort. But the matter of fact is, that the opening of this debate was like the fall of some mighty Alpine avalanche into the peaceful regions below. Without harshness, or any design to impute improper motives to any parties, it will be admitted by all who are tolerably acquainted with the facts of the case, that the Methodist church *feared* the agitation of the question of slavery; and endeavoured, as much and as long as possible, to stave off the subject for the sake of peace.

In consequence of this state of things, it became a sort of heroic, not to say desperate, adventure for the Herald to take up the cause. It did so, however, not in the one-sided manner of the public press in general, but admitted both sides of the argument, and left the public to judge. That the impression was deep, and the sentiment against slavery powerfully excited, we have sufficient proof in the fact, that this circumstance, this very discussion in the Herald, led to a painful secession, and the establishment of a new community of Methodists. These parties, thinking that the spirit and action of the Methodist Episcopal church were not sufficiently decided against slavery, after miserable altercations on both sides, and debates upon the subject, ultimately left the body, and formed themselves

into what they call the Wesleyan Methodist church; the main distinction of this new organization being the non-admission of slave-holders into the Christian fellowship.*

A history of this affair is not intended; and the subject is introduced merely to give some notion to the English reader of the nature and the power of these local papers. Society is greatly influenced, and it is to be hoped on the whole greatly enlightened and benefited, by this mode of producing an impression. It must be clear to every intelligent and thoughtful person, that in such a community as that of the New-England States, it is impossible for any body of Christians to hold up their heads, to make any progress, to possess any standing at all, unless they connect literature with religion. Every human creature above eight years of age, whether man, woman, or child, will be found reading some daily newspaper. Whether this is a good, a wholesome state of things, may be a question of difficult solution. But, right or wrong, it is a fact, a habit. With this condition of society to deal with, it became obvious to the leaders of the respective religious bodies, that they must accommodate themselves to the public taste, or otherwise abandon the ground altogether to a secular, political, and often infidel, press. Necessity originally led to this mode of influence; and certainly this Zion's Herald has done its work on the point in question with great ability and force; and in other labours has, no doubt, performed its share of duty in sustaining and carrying out the designs of the church.

IV. Immediately contiguous to New-England is the PROVIDENCE CONFERENCE. Providence being the capital of the State of Rhode Island, of course the territory within the limits of this Conference will include that locality. The religious history of this State is exceedingly interesting. It was settled very early, chiefly by the wisdom and perseverance of Roger Williams, about the most remarkable man of his age. Mr. Williams was a minister of religion, and first went to the Plantation of Massachusetts in that capacity; but embracing the notions of the Baptists, he was harshly banished from his adopted home, and, to hide himself from his persecutors, and perhaps to save his life, he was obliged to throw himself

* Those who wish to see a more detailed account of these matters, may find information in MATLOCK'S "Life of the Rev. Orange Scott."

amongst the Indians. These poor savages, more merciful than his countrymen and fellow-Christians, admitted him to their settlements, and protected him for a length of time. He became a great favourite, (as who does not who treats the sons of the forest with kindness?) and gained great ascendancy over them. This influence he was called upon to use on many occasions afterwards for the security of those very men who had driven him from their society. Whether from the effects of persecution, or from the strength of his own genius, does not appear; but Roger Williams attained to a just perception of the apparently difficult question of religious liberty. He is nearly the first, if not the very first, man in modern times who acquired this knowledge. He boldly taught, as well as firmly held, in all vicissitudes of fortune, the precious truth he had attained. But the notions of the times regarding the legitimate connexion betwixt spiritual and secular things—if the reader please, betwixt church and state—are shown in his case; for this Baptist pastor became one of the first Governors of the community he had been the instrument of establishing.*

In connexion with the PROVIDENCE CONFERENCE we find three districts; namely, *New-Bedford*, *New-London*, and *Sandwich:* one hundred and twelve stations and circuits; one hundred and twelve ministers, with seventy-two local preachers, and fourteen thousand four hundred and twenty-nine church-members.

Here we find the following extra appointment:—Samuel C. Brown, Teacher in Providence Conference Academy. So it seems this Conference also possesses the patronage of an academy, and is promoting the intellectual advancement of the people.

V. By reason of its extent, its population, and its wealth, NEW-YORK is called the "imperial State." It is worthy of this name. Besides all its other advantages already referred to,—its central position, and easy means of communication to every part of the continent, and the great extent of country lying in its rear, and to be reached chiefly through its port, for all commercial purposes, must unite to make this city the great emporium—in fact, the metropolis—of the United States.

These great centres of life, wherever found, have not

* See BANCROFT'S "History of the United States."

only an important local position, but an equally important relative destiny. They form the great moving power in the societies of men; they constitute the reservoirs whence the waters flow, to irrigate, with good or evil sentiments and influences, the whole surrounding country. This city must, in the nature of things, give a mighty impulse to all political, social, intellectual, and religious interests existing on the whole of the continent. This is the natural result of its population and wealth. Men of certain classes, either in pride or in ignorance, will discard every thing as alien not found in their own department; but all this is a vain imagination. Political speculators may repudiate the idea of religion having any thing to do with politics; and, *vice versâ*, religious men may repudiate the notion of what is purely spiritual being brought in any way into contact with the secular. All this is pure fiction. The world is made up of two great elements, the secular and the spiritual; they cannot be separated; they lie by the side of each other; it is impossible that either should exist in a healthy state in isolation; action and re-action must be constantly going on;—and, as in nature the only safety for society is found in the equitable balance of the two powers.

On this principle it follows, that the existence of large cities presents a favourable sphere for religion; inasmuch as they constitute an ample theatre for its developement, and also furnish the means of its extension. The state of Methodism in New-York must, on these grounds, not only be important in itself, but deeply affect its condition in other places.

For these reasons it will be interesting to give the best view in our power of the progress of the Methodist church in the city itself. It may be proper to say, that Brooklyn is to New-York what Southwark is to London; or, more properly, what Birkenhead is to Liverpool, because the channel is too broad to be crossed by a bridge. In the two places we find no fewer than thirty-six churches, thirty-seven ministers, and eleven thousand two hundred and seventy-four church-members. But if our former principle of calculation is adhered to, namely, that the congregations and children belonging to these several churches amount to something like four or five times the number of communicants; then it will appear, that fifty thousand of the population are under the influence of the Methodist Episcopal church.

Having given the statistics of the city separately, it is now proper to add the numbers furnished by the CONFERENCE. This will include the city.

We find eight districts; namely, *New-York*, *Long-Island*, *New-Haven*, *Hartford*, *Poughkeepsie*, *Rhinebeck*, *Delaware*, *Newbury:* two hundred and fifty-five stations and circuits; two hundred and fifty-four ministers, with two hundred and twenty local preachers; and forty-six thousand nine hundred and seven church-members, three hundred and seventy-nine being people of colour.

But, in addition to these general items, we find the following:—Editor of the Quarterly Review and Books of the General Catalogue, George Peck; Assistant-Editor of the Christian Advocate, George Coles.

These entries are connected with the literary labours of the body at New-York.

Another most interesting minute is found in connexion with this Conference. We find the Middleton Wesleyan University, with Stephen Olin, President; Joseph Holdich, Professor; John H. Lindsey, Tutor. The "Repository of Useful Knowledge" adds the following particulars respecting this collegiate institution:—Founded in 1831; instructers, 7; *alumni*, 283; ministers, 104; students, 125; volumes in the library, 12,000.

The estimable President of this University, Dr. Olin, is not unknown in this country, and, being known, is highly esteemed. Like many of his countrymen, he has been a great traveller, and given to the reading world the results of his investigations on the most interesting and historically sacred countries of our globe. And by general consent it is allowed, that his "Travels" rank amongst the most instructive and edifying books of the age; and that his biblical criticisms, derived from a careful examination of the topography of Jerusalem and the Holy Land, are invaluable to the student of the Bible. But as a theologian and preacher, Dr. Olin is equally esteemed; and must be classed not only amongst the brightest lights of his own body, but as one of the MEN of his country, and, indeed, of the age. Dr. Holdich is an Englishman; and is full of tender recollections of the scenes of his boyhood, and of his own and "his father's friends." His attainments, his urbanity, and, moreover, his business-capacity, unite to make him a most valuable man. It was my happiness to see a good deal of this gentleman; and every thing tended to produce in me a perfect admiration of his talents and

character. With such leaders as these, it is fair to suppose, that the youth educated at this University are fully fitted to take a useful and honourable post in society.

We have one other item in this New-York Conference worth noticing:—*State-prison at Wethersfield*, Nathaniel Kellogg, Chaplain.

So it seems the State is not indisposed to intrust the care and instruction of its prisoners to a Methodist minister. But it may be imagined by some, that prisoners do not excite much concern amongst the statesmen and citizens of the New World. This is a perfect mistake. If any one thing more than another engages the attention and interests the philanthropy of the Americans, it is the reformation of prisoners. They speculate on this point of progress and government with their accustomed fearlessness and energy. It is not our business to pass any opinion on their silent system, their solitary confinement, and other modes of reformation or punishment; with but this one exception,—namely, that there can be nothing on this side the bottomless pit more horrible, more repugnant to human nature, or more completely calculated to break the heart and crush the powers of the poor wretch, who unfortunately gets immured in one of these prison-houses, than these appliances. They are no half-measure men, these Americans. If they punish, they do punish with a vengeance; if they set about the task of reformation, they do not for a moment hesitate about the feelings, the tastes, the likings and dislikings of the miserable culprit, or the sentimentalism of the public. They strip him, flay him, place him on a Procrustes's bed, and crack every bone in his body. Lovers of liberty as they are, they reduce the souls of these poor prisoners to a state of perfect passive existence. The system is found effective enough; for many of the inmates are driven mad; and the most fortunate amongst them lose the proper, the manly tone of their faculties; and, crushed beneath the iron despotism of their discipline, they appear as mental automata, moving just as they are moved. Those who wish to gain an idea of the inexorable justice of Tartarus, where, it may be, the lost soul is left no choice, but bends to the ever-varying torments of his condition, in passive pain and hopeless misery;—those who desire to gain an idea of this, had better go to one of these State-prisons.

We cannot but think this mode of reformation is somewhat opposed to American ideas and opinions. As a

general principle and rule, they seem to seek the correction of the evils of human nature and of society by ameliorations, by developements, by advancement;—but here all this is reversed.

It is indeed a most effective way of dealing with a diseased man, at once to kill him. This is a certain remedy in his case. When buried, he can no longer need the nurse's assiduity, or be a medium of contagion. But this is not the American way in general. They set about the cure, not by annihilation, but by calling forth the remaining powers of life. They unfold, expand, invigo rate all the functions of humanity. They endeavour to improve and exalt every person, and, indeed, the whole of society, by calling forth the latent energies, the hidden virtues, the mental and moral power, of every living creature. Their prison-system is the contrast of all this. As far as the discipline goes, it is perfectly crushing; it is an attempt to *kill* the seeds of vice, to put the evil propensities to death. We have no faith in the scheme. It may be possible to change, to modify, to turn and twist the evil nature of man this way and that; but it is never changed but by divine truth and grace. Indeed, we generally find, as in the case of this Wethersfield, that some religious teacher is connected with these prisons; and a plentiful supply of Bibles is furnished. No doubt good is done; there is something alleviating in this arrangement. But it is to be feared, that, in most cases, the religion of the prison will, in the mind of the poor sufferer, be connected with the system itself. It does not come to him as daylight to his dungeon,—as a salvation,—a redemption, —an emancipation,—but as a branch of the discipline under which he groans. We cannot have much confidence in the efficacy of religious appliances, when attached to so horrible a scheme as the silent and solitary systems of the American prison-house.

VI. The New-Jersey State joins that of New-York, and we find a local Conference bearing this name. The New-Jersey Conference contains six districts; namely, *Newark*, *Paterson*, *Rahway*, *Trenton*, *Burlington*, and *Camden:* one hundred and fourteen stations and circuits; one hundred and fifty-five ministers, with one hundred and ninety-four local preachers; and twenty-nine thousand five hundred and ninety-two church-members.

VII. Our progress towards the South now leads us to PHILADELPHIA. This city and State are celebrated as having descended from the Quaker colony of William Penn. Its history is profoundly interesting. Like the establishments of the pilgrim fathers in the New-England States, this also originated in religion. But the type was very different, the Quaker *régime* being mild and liberal. William Penn himself was no doubt one of the most eminent Christians of his day, or, indeed, of any day; his companions and followers, many of them at least, partook of his own spirit; and, as a consequence, the Christian element became the predominant one in the settlement of the colony. But the religious power brought to bear on the interests of the settlement was only spiritual, and, consequently, perfectly mild and gentle. The law of love was that which was relied upon by this eminent man, both in the management of the affairs of the infant State, and in his dealings with the Indians.

The site of the settlement was a subject of treaty and purchase, not of robbery; the rights of the natives of the forest were recognised, as well as those of the white man; equity and truth towards the children of the soil were deemed as binding as the exercise of the same virtues in all other relations; and, moreover, the law of God, whether found in the written word or in the living soul, was fully believed in as obligatory in matters of social life. The purchase of the land, the treaty with the Indians, the recognition of the principle of religious liberty, government without coercion, and a perfect confraternity of rights and interests, were remarkable developements for the times. O happy world if Quaker sentiments could find a congenial existence! *

This happy beginning soon became beclouded. William Penn's own life was embittered, towards its close, with infinite trouble and vexation. His beautiful fabric broke down beneath the pressure of man's sins and follies; and the Quaker colony of Philadelphia stood in as much need of the awakening and revivifying influence of Methodism, in the early days of its enterprise in America, as other places.

Quaker neatness and love of order are, however, still impressed on what is visible in the city; and this is nearly all of Quakerism which remains.

It was at this place that Francis Asbury landed on the

* See CLARKSON'S "Life of William Penn," and BANCROFT'S "History."

27th day of October, 1771: a memorable day this both for himself and America. His words on the occasion are simple and touching:—"When I came near the American shore, my very heart melted within me, to think from whence I came, where I was going, and what I was going about. But I felt my mind open to the people, and my tongue loosed to speak. I feel that God is here; and find plenty of all we need." Poor missionary! he did not "need" much, if he possessed all he desired. He tells us just before, when relating his journey and voyage: "When I came to Bristol, I had not one penny of money; but the Lord soon opened the hearts of friends, who supplied me with clothes, and £10." Thus were our predecessors equipped for their work. We suppose his passage had been paid, or gratuitously furnished by some kind-hearted captain; but as to himself, we see that his wardrobe and pocket were both alike empty. It required some faith in those days to do the work of the Lord. This blessed man does not seem in the least to falter or shrink at the idea of landing in America without a penny in his pocket, without any treasury to draw upon at home; —or to have entertained the least conception how his supplies were to be furnished in a strange land, and amongst a strange people. But he drew on a Bank which never fails to honour those who rely upon its resources.

This has been a much-favoured city and State with respect to the progress of Methodism. We find in union with this Conference six districts; namely, *Philadelphia*, *South Philadelphia*, *Reading*, *Wilmington*, *Easton*, and *Snow-Hill:* one hundred and thirteen stations and circuits; one hundred and fifty-six ministers, together with one hundred and fifty-eight local preachers; and forty-thousand two hundred and eighty-nine church-members; ten thousand and forty-two of the above number are coloured people.

Pennsylvania is not now a slave-State. In 1840, only sixty-four remained in bondage; and it is to be presumed, that by this time the evil has become entirely extinct. From this it will follow, that the coloured people above mentioned are free.

It may be as well to explain here, that those States which have adopted the principle of abolition, have never done it as an instantaneous emancipation. The law has always made provision for a prospective and gradual extinction of slavery, by enacting that all children, born

after a certain date, should be free; and in some cases, also, in passing measures to enable masters to manumit their slaves by their own free choice; or to allow the poor creatures to work out or purchase their freedom. In consequence of these prospective enactments, it sometimes happens, as in the above instance, that a State will have a few old slaves within its bosom, for many years after the act of emancipation has been passed. We believe, in general, these poor relics of a discarded system are looked upon with great kindness, and are sufficiently provided for in their old age.

VIII. We now come to a real slave-holding State, Maryland, containing the BALTIMORE CONFERENCE. It is thought by some, having, by the by, good means of information, that Methodism has made greater progress, and holds a more commanding position, in the city of Baltimore, than in any part of the United States. Certainly, external appearances favour the opinion, that it has taken hold of large masses of the population, and occupies a very influential place in the midst of the religious denominations of the city. Whether it is the predominant interest, it is not for me to say; but this is the opinion of some of the estimable ministers and people of the place. If spacious and beautiful churches, large and most respectable congregations, Christian and kind-hearted families,—connected with all the marks and evidences of intelligent piety,—are to be taken as proofs of progress, then, most assuredly, Baltimore must be considered as ranking very high in a religious point of view.

The BALTIMORE CONFERENCE numbers eight districts; namely, *Baltimore*, *North Baltimore*, *Potomac*, *Rockingham*, *Winchester*, *Carlisle*, *Huntingdon*, *Northumberland:* one hundred and forty-three stations and circuits, two hundred and twenty-eight ministers, with two hundred and eighty local preachers; and fifty-two thousand three hundred and thirty-eight church-members: sixteen thousand three hundred and eighty-seven of these are people of colour, many of them, no doubt, slaves.

Dickenson College is located at Carlisle, within the limits of this Conference. Of this institution the Repository states that it was established in 1783: instructers, 10; *alumni*, 531; students, 108; volumes in the library, 12,000. The late amiable, pious, and talented Dr. Emory was, till the period of his death, in May, 1848, the presi-

dent of this college. Dr. Emory was the son of Bishop Emory, who is remembered in this country with admiration on account of his eminent character and talents. Dr. M'Clintock, professor up to the last General Conference, is a gentleman of high reputation as a scholar and minister, and was appointed by the above-mentioned body as the editor of the Quarterly Review. From the date of its institution, it will be perceived that this college was not originally founded by the Methodist church, but by some other parties; who, failing to realize the objects designed, turned it over to its present occupants. This has been the case with several others. We hope the fact does not indicate any decay of zeal in the case of other friends and patrons of education; but certainly it does indicate the growing power and influence of Methodism in this department.

But the metropolis of America, the city of Washington, is within the limits of this Conference. Under the head *Wesley chapel*, we have the following appointment: Henry Slicer. This is all which is said. Now, no one would know any thing remarkable about Henry Slicer by this simple insertion of his name, in connexion with Wesley chapel. The matter of fact is, that this gentleman is one of the chaplains of Congress, and is called, in the course of his duty, every Sunday to preach Christianity to the president of the United States, and to many of the senators and members of Congress.

In this country the idea of a court chaplain, or a preacher to the House of Lords or Commons, is connected instinctively with the notions of a great ecclesiastical dignitary, or a divine of the first pink of religious fashion. Probably some such notion may fill the reader's mind respecting this chaplain to the Congress. Nothing would be more fallacious or untrue than such a fancy. I found Mr. Slicer one of the plainest Methodist preachers I saw in America. I do not mean vulgar; but in his garb, manners, bearing, and entire demeanour, he retains all the characteristics of the simple, pious, unsophisticated Methodist minister. So, at any rate, I have seen one clergyman who has lived long in the precincts of a court, who has held constant intercourse with the chiefs and great men of the nation, and yet who still remains uncorrupt. By the kindness of our good friend, I enjoyed many advantages in my visit to Washington, which could not have been attained in so easy a manner without his intervention.

But my object in this part of our investigation being merely to trace out the position and influence of Methodism, I must refer the reader to another part of the narrative for information on these matters. I was informed that several Methodists were members of Congress; and, as we have seen, had the pleasure of hearing one, a local preacher, of the name of Hillyard, speak in the House of Representatives. He appeared a man of good talents, practical mind, an agreeable address, and possessing very respectable elocution. This good friend, I understood, often took the pulpit in one of the churches at Washington; so that he was not a preacher at home, and a silent Christian at the seat of government; but fearlessly maintained his religious character and vocation every where. The fact is, however, that he suffered nothing from this. A man is not sent to *Coventry* for being a Methodist, nor loses rank, or any thing else, by maintaining his principles. Freedom in religion is no fiction in the States. Men are estimated by their character, their talents, their capacity to serve the public; and not by their creed, or by denominational distinctions.

Two or three facts, having a religious bearing, connected with the State of Maryland, are worth mentioning. The first is, that Lord Baltimore, as we have seen, from whom the city is named, was a Roman Catholic, a convert from Protestantism, and an eminent statesman, of the age of Charles II. Romanist though he became, yet he retained his attachment to religious liberty; and notwithstanding many persons of his own creed constituted the first bodies of settlers, yet the stringent doctrines of Popish intolerance were never countenanced. In point of fact, Popish Maryland was the first colony in America where a system of practical toleration and religious freedom obtained a footing.* As might be expected, the Popish church is still in great power in Baltimore.

A second fact is, that though Maryland is a slave-State, yet slavery itself is decreasing. In 1790, the number of slaves amounted to 103,036; and in 1840, to only 89,737. The same dates give for the white population, in 1790, 319,728; and in 1840, 1,239,797. From some causes, of which I confess myself to be ignorant, it is very evident that slavery, in this State, is not favoured by the general population. A process of extinction is evidently going on.

* See BANCROFT.

The balance on the side of the white and free population is clearly increasing rapidly; whilst, instead of the slave portion augmenting in a proportionate ratio, we find that their numbers are rapidly decreasing. It is cheering to see that in a short period, by the natural process of things, the evil must end itself. I, indeed, found many estimable men, no friends to slavery, looking forward to this with some degree of confidence, as a good which they ardently anticipated. It was thought by these gentlemen, that such States as Maryland, having ceased to cherish and uphold slavery, in fact, would soon be led to renounce it by a legislative enactment. Well or ill founded, it is the opinion of these parties, that two or three of the other States would have done so before this, had it not been for abolitionist agitations. It is certain that, of all men in the world, Americans are the least likely to yield to an external pressure; and it is very possible that the majority, in particular States, may have been roused to a reaction by what they consider the unauthorized and impertinent interference of other people with their affairs. In this I am not delivering opinions of my own; I am merely stating an alleged fact, as it was often represented to me by thoughtful men, and friends of abolition. However this may be, it is delightful to have ocular demonstration, from the diminished and diminishing numbers of slaves in Maryland, that the free men of the State are not, in general, the patrons of slavery.

IX. In our descent along the Atlantic coast, we now enter the South division of the Methodist Episcopal church. The VIRGINIA CONFERENCE is the first on the line. We have, belonging to this Conference, six districts; namely, *Richmond*, *Charlotteville*, *Lynchburgh*, *Randolph Macon*, *Petersburgh*, and *Norfolk*: seventy-six stations and circuits; ninety-one ministers, with one hundred and sixty-five local preachers; and twenty-eight thousand four hundred and fifty-seven church-members; of these members five thousand six hundred and ninety-one are people of colour.

The slavery of this State has greatly increased; the numbers being, in 1790, 203,427; and, in 1840, 448,987. It is to be presumed from this, that the people are really in favour of the system. They would probably say, they are not so, in reality; in the abstract, that they consider liberty, freedom, human rights, as essential and

divine. But then, they think that the poor Blacks are better off as slaves than if free; and, moreover, that the system is so dovetailed into their social condition, that it is impossible, in the present state of things, to change it. These are the apologies I often heard. One thing surprises me on entering into a statistical examination of this first Southern Conference: it is the very limited number of coloured people belonging to the church, as compared with the slave population in the State. I am aware that the Virginia Conference may not, and indeed does not, include the whole of the State; but still, it is very evident that it embraces a considerable proportion; and if this proportion is no more than half its extent, it still leaves but a very small fraction of the slaves as members of the Methodist church. What are 5,600 slaves, compared with even half 448,987?

The most cogent reason, and, as it struck me at the time, the most legitimate, for the neutrality of the Methodist church in the South on the subject,—in fact, for its present separation from the North,—was, that the ministers might have permission to seek the salvation of these poor outcasts, lead them to Christ, ameliorate their condition, and thus prepare them for freedom. But really, is it worth while (I say nothing of the lawfulness of the thing) to sacrifice a principle, to lay aside a great truth, to bend before the great Moloch, for such a result as this? Virginia is one of the oldest fields of enterprise belonging to the Methodist church; on this ground it has been at work almost from the beginning; and see the issue, as regards the slave population. Why, if Christianity is to prepare these people for liberty, and Methodism is to be its agent, ages and ages must intervene betwixt these wretched people and the mighty boon. From this investigation one cannot help believing, that this accursed evil stands in the way of the religious good—the salvation—of the poor Africans to an extent but little apprehended.

The Book-Room belonging to the Southern church is established at Richmond, within the limits of this Conference. John Early, Book-Agent, and L. M. Lee, Agent and Editor of the Richmond Christian Advocate. Dr. Lee, the grandson of Jesse Lee, is, as we see, Editor of the Southern Christian Advocate. These Christian Advocates, in these times, are fearful things. One cannot help deploring, that talents, competent to the highest studies

and investigations of theological and sacred truth, should be devoted to partisan warfare. This is unhappily the case now. This fine young man, Dr. Lee, and another at New-York, not as young, but of equally excellent spirit, Dr. George Peck, must now be pitted against each other in deadly warfare, on the points at issue between the North and the South. It makes one's heart bleed to think of men like these spending their time and their talents in service so wretched.

We have another appointment to notice. It is William A. Smith, President of R. M. College; B. R. Duval, and Nathanael Thomas, Agents. Now, as R. M. College is placed under the Randolph Macon District, I suppose it must mean a college bearing that name. Our good brethren across the Atlantic are so fond of abbreviations, that it is really difficult for a stranger, not well acquainted with them, to make out their meaning. But the fact indicated is of importance, namely, that in this place a college is found for the purpose of advancing the interests of general and sacred knowledge. We may see, from the number of these institutions, and their frequent occurrence as we traverse the continent, that the attention of the church is intently fixed upon the subject of education. Results of great importance to religion and civilization must arise out of this potent agency.

X. The North Carolina Conference is the next in our line. This Conference has within its limits five districts; namely, *Raleigh*, *Salisbury*, *Danville*, *Washington*, *Newberne:* fifty-seven stations and circuits; seventy-five ministers, with one hundred and thirty-nine local preachers; and twenty thousand three hundred and eight members: out of this number, seven thousand seven hundred and fifty are people of colour.

This, as every one knows, is a slave State, and the evil is increasing. In 1790, we find 100,572 slaves; in 1840, 245,817. But the progress of Methodism amongst the African race is much more satisfactory than in Virginia. The total 7,751, in the midst of a population of 245,817, will give a proportion much more than double, or treble, that of the other State. This, however, is a very poor average on the whole population; and indicates that the progress made has not been very extraordinary.

We have the following appointment in the Conference: B. T. Blake and J. Jamieson, Professors in Greensborough Female College. We shall be under the necessity of

noticing these Female Colleges elsewhere; and may consequently omit any particular remarks here, further than to entreat the reader to notice the fact, that the planters of the South—a very different race—are no more negligent of this subject of education than the sturdy citizens of the North; being willing, it seems, to send their daughters for training to religious schools.

XI. We now come to the SOUTH CAROLINA CONFERENCE. On the territory of this ecclesiastical division, are found six districts; *Charleston*, *Cokesbury*, *Columbia*, *Wilmington*, *Fayetteville*, *Lincolnton*: seventy-four stations, circuits, and missions; one hundred and seven ministers; (no return of local preachers;) sixty-five thousand one hundred and sixty-seven church-members; in this aggregate, thirty-eight thousand and eighty-two are people of colour. This is a splendid result.

South Carolina is a plantation country, and consequently in favour of slavery. The numbers have increased in the following ratio:—In 1790, there were 107,094; and in 1840, no less than 327,038. But it is delightful to find so large a number of them as 38,082 members of the Methodist church. Religion is the only real mitigation of the miseries of this condition; and let us hope that it may please God to confer it upon an increased number, and thus prepare them, by its influence, for all the rights of the social state. But still we must keep in mind, that these ecclesiastical boundaries are not those of the State; and it is very likely, that this South Carolina Conference stretches into the Northern State of that name.

The religious history of the two Carolinas is very interesting, inasmuch as it is connected both with great principles and great men. The territory was granted to a proprietary by Charles II., the most distinguished of whom were the famous Ashley Cooper, earl of Shaftesbury, and John Locke. The constitution which these eminent men framed for the government of the Plantation,—but which, by the by, did not last long,—recognised the principle of religious toleration to the fullest extent; and, at the same time, conceded, that all free men had an absolute right of property in their slaves. Even Locke adopted this theory, made this a provision of the constitution which he drew up himself, and secured this as an indefeasible right to the emigrants. The one provision drew to these sunny shores unfortunate religionists from every country; and the other filled the settlements with enslaved Africans.

What a mystery is man! Here, on this very soil, refugees from England, driven by the persecutions of Charles and James; from Scotland, by that ruthless ruffian, the brutal Lauderdale; from Ireland, by its chronic miseries and woes; from France, expatriated by the rescinding of the Edict of Nantz, and the ferocious cruelties of Louis XIV., then in his dotage, and under the power of his mistress; from Holland, the Low Countries, and Germany:—all these people, from so many nations, came, smarting under the lash of tyranny, to seek a home in the wildernesses of America, for the sole purpose that they might enjoy personal and religious freedom. And yet, one of the first things they did in their new state, was to subject the Negro to the degradation, not of political, not of religious, bondage,—but of personal slavery; implying the absolute forfeiture of his manhood, and his reduction to the condition of goods and chattels,—the absolute property of his master.*

But interest may be pleaded in favour of these planters; it may be imagined that the want of labourers for the cultivation of the soil made it essential to employ the African race. But what are we to say of Locke? No such temptation could lie in his path. His speculations were those of the philosopher; the constitution he provided was the production of his studious reflections; he was, as is well known, profoundly acquainted with the laws of nature, the principles of jurisprudence, and with the word of God. This great man may be considered as one of the apostles of liberty, both political and religious; and yet he deliberately makes provision, in his constitution for Carolina,—the matter is not left to accident,—for the white population, the free men from Europe, to enslave the African. Could he believe these poor Negroes to be men? If so, on his own principles,—the principles of nature's laws, the principles of inalienable, immutable, eternal equity and justice,—these parties, being men, have as much right to liberty, personal and religious, as any other men. How little, according to the scriptures, "is man to be accounted of!" The only solution of this wonderful enigma is, that the philosopher, by some means, allowed himself to get under the influence of Shaftesbury, the wily politician. But then, what are eternal truths, principles, laws,—fixed as the universe,—worth, if they are to be sacrificed at the shrine of political

* See BANCROFT.

expediency? Even Locke, as we see, made truth partial, limited its range, confined it to classes. Liberty, even with its greatest champion, only meant liberty for men of a certain colour; whilst these sons of freedom themselves might be permitted to perpetrate the most cruel wrong within the power of man, by enslaving their fellow-creatures. Here, then, strange to say, we have religion and philosophy uniting to inflict this most execrable of all villanies,—religion in the persons of expatriated Puritans, Calvinists, Huguenots, and Quakers; and philosophy in the embodied sentiments of Shaftesbury and Locke. Truth comes slowly to man; and it should seem, that neither deep misfortunes on the one hand, nor profound knowledge on the other, can be a sufficient guarantee of its claims and rights.

XII. The next Annual Conference is that of GEORGIA. Within the boundaries of this Conference, we find eight districts: *Augusta*, *Athens*, *Gainsville*, *Mariatta*, *La Grange*, *Macon*, *Columbus*, *Jeffersonville:* one hundred and one stations, circuits, and missions; one hundred and twenty-six ministers; (local preachers not given;) fifty-seven thousand one hundred and sixty-seven church members. Amongst these church members we find sixteen thousand and sixty-two people of colour. This is gratifying.

The slavery of Georgia has been progressing. In 1790, the numbers are reported as 29,264; and in 1840, they are swollen up to 253,532. This is fearful; but the horror is mitigated by the fact of so many being, as we hope, freemen in Christ.

Georgia is interesting to all the followers of John Wesley, inasmuch as it is the place to which he went as a missionary to the Indians. Poor Indians! where are they now? No missionary is needed in Georgia for their benefit. He says in the first paragraph of his Journal:—

"Mr. Benjamin Ingham, of Queen's College, Oxford, Mr. Charles Delamotte, son of a merchant in London, who had offered himself some days before, my brother Charles Wesley, and myself, took boat for Gravesend, in order to embark for Georgia. Our end in leaving our native country, was not to avoid want, (God having given us plenty of temporal blessings,) nor to gain the dung or dross of riches or honour; but singly this, to save our souls, to live wholly to the glory of God." *

* WESLEY'S Works, vol. i. p. 17.

He tells us, under the date of February 6th, 1736 :—

"About eight in the morning, we first set foot on American ground. It was a small uninhabited island, over against Tyber. Mr. Oglethorpe led us to a rising ground, where we all kneeled down to give thanks." *

This act of religious worship consecrated the commencement of his interesting sojourn in this place. He remarks again, under date

"February 29th.—When I left England, I was chiefly afraid of two things; one, that I should never again have so many faithful friends as I left there; the other, that the spark of love which began to kindle in their hearts would cool and die away. But who knoweth the mercy and power of God? From ten friends I am awhile secluded, and he hath opened me a door into a whole church. And as to the very persons I left behind, his Spirit is gone forth so much the more, teaching them not to trust in man, but in Him that raiseth the dead, and calleth the 'things that are not, as though they were.'" †

There is much to interest, much to meditate upon, in these few words. This apparent accident mentioned, "He hath opened me a door into a whole church," is, in truth, the germinant fact of all Methodism. He refers to the Moravian church, with many of whose members he sailed from England, observed their spirit with more than admiration, conversed with them on matters of experimental religion, and engaged in some of their services. These were amongst the circumstances which led to his own conversion. And now, in the wilds of Georgia, he had the opportunity of seeing their church order, witnessing their religious exercises, and entering into a free conversation with many of their best and holiest ministers, on questions of doctrine,—and especially on the most vital of all,—that of justifying faith. This connexion of Mr. Wesley with the Moravian church constituted the providential instrumentality in leading him to adopt his most fondly cherished notions of personal piety, and the religious life; to see much of the most elevated and spiritual portions of religious practice, which he afterwards adopted as essential, and embodied in his various institutions; and to embrace from their model most of the disciplinary and organic portions of his own system. It led, no doubt, to the idea of the societies which he established, and which became so important an element in his work, and so mighty an in-

* Wesley's Works, vol. i. p. 23. † *Idem*, p. 26.

strumentality in the progress of religion, was received at this time;—all these things, so vital in Methodism, were evidently more or less connected with his partial union with the Moravian church in Georgia. He had, indeed, formed a small society, as he calls it, in Oxford, in 1729; but this consisted of members of the university only; and though religious exercises were connected with their meetings, yet they partook very much of a literary character. The first Methodist society ever formed amongst the *people*, and for their benefit, was in Georgia. On this subject, he says, under date

"Saturday, April 17th.—Not finding as yet any door open for the pursuing our main design, we considered in what manner we might be most useful to the little flock at Savannah. And we agreed, 1. To advise the more serious among them to form themselves into a sort of 'little society,' and to meet once or twice a week, in order to reprove, instruct, and exhort one another. 2. To select out of these a smaller number for a more intimate union with each other; which might be forwarded, partly by conversing singly with each, and partly by inviting them all together to our house, And this accordingly we determined to do every Sunday in the afternoon." *

Accordingly, in his "Short History of the People called Methodists," we find him saying,—

"On Monday, May 1st, 1738, our little society began in London. But it may be observed, the first rise of Methodism, so called, was in November, 1729, when four of us met together at Oxford; the second was at Savannah, in April, 1736, when twenty or thirty persons met at my house; the last was in London, on this day, when forty or fifty of us agreed to meet together every Wednesday evening, in order to [illegible] free conversation, begun and ended with singing and prayer. In all our steps" (he means in this last organization) "we were greatly assisted by the advice and exhortations of Peter Böhler, an excellent young man, belonging to the society commonly called Moravians."

It is evident from this that the first Methodist society, in the popular sense of the expression, that is, a society of the people themselves, was formed by John Wesley himself in America. The historical fact is interesting, though no doubt the "little society" soon became extinct on Mr. Wesley's departure. Whitefield, indeed, laboured in these parts afterwards, and founded his celebrated Orphan-House; but it was not the practice of this eminent preacher to institute or foster societies. Conceiving his mission to be rather prophetic than pastoral, he contented himself with the delivery of his message,

* WESLEY'S Works, vol. i. p. 30.

without attempting to constitute church organizations. The effect of this has been disastrous to the permanency of his work. The mighty impression made by his powerful ministry often evaporated, like "the dew of the morning," for the want of a conserving power in the form of religious societies. When this was not the case, as in individual awakenings and conversions, the parties were obliged to seek communion in other churches; so that their numbers were swelled, and their power greatly increased, by the itinerant labours of this eminent man.

We are naturally interested in the religious history of Savannah, where, as we see, the first popular Methodist society was formed. The traditions of the place respecting Mr. Wesley would be interesting, and probably not favourable either to his fair name or his cause. He had greatly offended the people by his rigorous conduct in relation to the rubrics, canons, and services of the church; insisting on baptizing their children by immersion, and compelling them to observe the very letter of the law on all points of ceremony. This would have been sufficiently burdensome in an old well-trained parish; but in a new place, made up of emigrants from every quarter, of every kind of sentiment, and it is to be supposed of somewhat lax habits, such sort of discipline became intolerable. He gives the following account himself:—

"Observing much coldness in Mr. C—'s" (probably Mr. Causton, the chief magistrate of Savannah) "behaviour, I asked the reason of it. He answered, 'I like nothing you do. All your sermons are satires upon particular persons, therefore I will never hear you more; and all the people are of my mind, for we won't hear ourselves abused. Besides, they say they are Protestants: but as for you, they cannot tell what religion you are of. They never heard of such a religion before. They do not know what to make of it. And then your private behaviour: all the quarrels that have been here since you came have been long of you. Indeed, there is neither man nor woman in the town who minds a word you say. And so you may preach long enough; but nobody will come to hear you."

There is no doubt much exaggeration and passion in this, but some truth. Mr. Wesley was now "under the law;" his preaching and entire conduct, public and private, was such as to produce exasperation. A conviction of sin, without any antidote, any remedy,—law without gospel,—can only irritate, produce wounds which it cannot heal.

It is possible that the traditions of the place may have something to do with the antipathy manifested against

Methodism, as related by its historian, Dr. Bangs. He says :—

"Notwithstanding Savannah, the chief city in the State of Georgia, was visited by that distinguished servant of God, the Rev. John Wesley, as early as 1736, in the very infancy of the colony, yet it seems that no effectual efforts had been made since his departure, amid the unmerited reproach heaped upon him by his enemies, to plant Methodism in that place until this year.

"Wesley left the town in 1737; and in 1740, Whitefield, who succeeded Wesley, founded his Orphan-House, which remains only to tell the benevolence of its founder in connexion with the failure of his project, for it has long since crumbled to ruins; but it appears that during the seventy years of interval, from the time that Wesley left these ungrateful people, no opening was presented for the establishment of Methodism until 1807.

"It is true that, as early as 1790, Hope Hull was sent to Savannah, and he preached a few times in a chair-maker's shop, belonging to a Mr. Lawry; but such was the opposition manifested towards him, that he was assailed with mob violence, and his success was small, and his prospects very discouraging. He was followed, in 1796, by Jonathan Jackson, and Josiah Randle; but they left the place without making any permanent impression. In 1800, John Garvin made an ineffectual attempt to collect a society in Savannah; and though he succeeded, with many difficulties, in inducing a few to attend his meetings for a season, yet he also abandoned the place in despair.

"At the South-Carolina Conference, held in Sparta, Georgia, December 29th, 1806, the subject of making another attempt to establish Methodism in Savannah was presented to the Conference by a forcible appeal from some warm friends of the cause. Bishop Asbury, whose heart burned with intense desire for the prosperity of religion, and who always had his eye fixed on all important posts, pressed the subject upon the Conference with great earnestness; and the Conference responded to the call with much cordiality and zeal. Commending the case to the church for special prayer, Samuel Dunwody, at that time young in the ministry, but humble, bold, and zealous in the cause of his Master, was selected by the bishop, and sent to Savannah. He at first procured a small room, where he taught some children; and his ministerial labours were, for a time, confined to the family where he resided, to his school-room, poor-house, and hospital. At the end of the year he returned twelve members, five whites, and seven coloured, as the reward of his labours.

"Though a small beginning was thus made, it was some time before Methodism was established in Savannah. The prejudices of the people rose high; and the cause was much impeded by the imprudent conduct of two of the preachers who succeeded Mr. Dunwody. But, after hard toiling, they finally succeeded, by soliciting aid from various parts of the country, in erecting a house of worship in 1812, which was dedicated to the service of Almighty God

by Bishop Asbury, and was called Wesley Chapel. This took place about seventy-five years after the town was visited by John Wesley; and the spirit which vented itself in opposition to him seems to have descended to their posterity, and shown itself in similar acts of hostility to his followers: yet, by patient perseverance in well-doing, this prejudice has been measurably overcome, and the cause of Methodism has taken firm stand in Savannah, and is exerting a salutary influence on its citizens."

Yet this "salutary influence" seems very limited to this day. Dr. Pierce, who is well acquainted with Savannah and the whole of Georgia, told me that the society and congregation still remained very meagre; that the opposition to Methodism is still most decided; that the people continued to worship in a small and poor place, the one probably above referred to; and that, altogether, the work continues in a depressed and languishing state.

But notwithstanding this hostility of Savannah, we find that Georgia, in general, has received the gospel at the hands of the followers of John Wesley on a pretty large scale.

We have the following in connexion with this Conference:—Emory College, Aug. B. Longstreet, Alexander Means, George W. Lane, O. L. Smith, William I. Parks, Agent for Emory College.

It is gratifying to find another of these institutions, and so well and efficiently manned with officers. But we have another minute: Thomas C. Stanley, Chaplain in the United States' navy. I heard that this is a sinecure. The gentleman occupying this post is required to make a *sham* voyage or two to qualify himself for the office of Chaplain of the United States' navy; but when the post is attained, very little duty is expected. As chaplain Mr. Stanley is not required to go to sea; his quarters are somewhere on shore; and if he performs any duty at all, it is in connexion with some dockyard or naval station.

The design in noticing this appointment is not, however, to point out these circumstances, but to show how Methodism stands with respect to the State. At Washington we found a minister of this church occupying the position of chaplain to the Congress, and now we find another chaplain to the United States' navy. The good people of England would be astonished if the Gazette should announce that some Methodist preacher was appointed chaplain in the royal navy, having his residence at Deptford, with pay, rations, and rank as an officer;

and, moreover, having the right to be saluted as such by every Jack-tar and sentinel on duty. This would look strange indeed. Such is the difference betwixt the position of Methodism in America and in England. We say nothing respecting which is right and which is wrong; but the difference is palpable enough.

XIII. The FLORIDA CONFERENCE follows that of Georgia. We find in this ecclesiastical boundary four districts; namely, *Quency*, *Tallahassee*, *Newmansville*, and *St. Mary:* thirty-three stations, circuits, and missions; thirty-two ministers, with seventy-four local preachers; and six thousand seven hundred and twenty-nine church-members, two thousand seven hundred and thirty-six of whom are people of colour.

It will be seen by these numbers, that no very great progress has been made in Florida. This will be accounted for by the fact, that this region was originally colonized by the Spaniards; and the bulk of the population must, to this day, be of that nation. These people are, wherever found, ignorant, besotted, superstitious Roman Catholics. Their superstition, indeed, seems to be a part of themselves. It is a question whether there exists a single church of real evangelical Spanish Christians in any part of the world. Whether they are paying the penalties due to infinite justice and outraged humanity, for the crimes of the Inquisition; whether Popery has so seized all the powers of their intellectual and moral nature by its traditions, dogmas, and confessional, as to render them incapable of receiving the truth of God; or whether the Spaniard is naturally and essentially a superstitious animal,—seems difficult to say. But in the whole world, wherever he is found, he is true to his idolatry. Had we the complete history of the case before us, no doubt it would be found that the Popery of Florida had, as in other places, proved impervious even to the energetic zeal of American Methodism.

Dr. Bangs, indeed, gives us some little degree of information on the subject. He says,—

"The territory of Florida had recently been added to the United States, as an indemnity for the spoliations committed upon our commerce by Spanish cruizers; and, as it is the policy of the Methodist Episcopal church to enter every open door for the spread of the gospel, a missionary, the Rev. Joshua N. Glenn, was sent this year (1823) to St. Augustine, the oldest town in North America, and

capital of East Florida. Most of the inhabitants of this place and the surrounding country are of Spanish descent, and members of the Roman Catholic church. There were, however, a few Anglo-Americans settled among the Creoles, to whom our missionary addressed himself in the name of the Lord, and he succeeded in raising a society of fifty-two members, forty of whom were people of colour. This, however, has been a barren place for the growth of Methodism; for even now, after continued efforts for seven years, St. Augustine is scarcely represented among our stations."

We present the result of our inquiries with respect to the several Conferences on this line of coast, in a tabular view.

All the following tables contain, in the different columns, an enumeration of the *Conferences*, *districts*, *circuits*, (including *stations* and *missions*,) *ministers*, *supernumeraries*, *local preachers*, and *members*.

Conferences.	Dist.	Circuits.	Ministers.	Local Pr.	Members.
Maine	6	162	161	167	20,448
New-Hampshire	3	78	81	64	10,448
New-England	3	117	108	76	13,381
Providence	3	112	112	72	14,429
New-York	8	216	254	220	46,748
New-Jersey	6	112	152	194	29,590
Philadelphia	6	112	156	208	40,289
Baltimore	8	140	229	280	68,725
Virginia	6	77	96	165	28,457
North Carolina	5	58	75	139	20,308
South Carolina	6	75	108	Not given	65,160
Georgia	8	102	126	Not given	57,161
Florida	4	33	32	74	6,729
	72	1,394	1,690	1,659	405,541

Two facts appear on the face of this tabular view: the first is, that the number of local preachers in these Conferences, as compared with the same class of agents in this country, is very small. How this is to be accounted for, I do not exactly know; but believe that the American Methodists support a regular ministry on a much larger scale than is done in this country. For instance: in the English Minutes for 1848, we have reported, as the aggregate number of members in England, 338,861; short of the numbers on the Atlantic seaboard Conferences, by 66,680. In connexion with these 338,861 members in England, we have 886 ministers engaged; whilst the pastoral oversight of 405,541 members in these American Conferences

engages 1,687 ministers, which is nearly double the ratio amongst ourselves.

The second fact is, that two or three of the Conferences in the slave States present a much greater number of members, taking population as the rule, white and coloured, than any other. This throws some gleams of light upon the state of things, and holds out the promise that at some period or another, if the gospel itself does not become enslaved, a change will take place, and Christianity will enfranchise this class of our fellow-believers in the rights of freedom.

This territorial extension, we must recollect, is not an ideal thing, a scheme to be accomplished, a project existing in the brain, or in the books and calculations of some theorist; a platform or basis on which to erect a building. It is a reality, a positive occupancy of four hundred thousand square miles of country by the institutions of a living church. But how occupied? By men holding this particular faith in the numbers specified. Men constitute the power of the church, as they do that of the state. In case these persons are really imbued with the spirit of true religion; with the great conceptions of the gospel; with a strong and vivid faith in the divinity of Christianity, and its high and glorious destiny;—if they are so actuated, can they live in the midst of the general population without producing a mighty impression? But are these individuals so influenced, so actuated? If activity in religion, devotedness to its interests, self-denying exertions and sacrifices, costly contributions and zealous support, are evidence of a profound conviction, then they certainly present this proof of sincerity and sound faith.

But we have not only men devoted to God and his cause, but institutions calculated in every way to consolidate this living thought, this active piety. Institutions are essential to the stability and permanency of any interest; and without them the work of the mind, and even the feelings and sentiments of religion, must soon evaporate. There have been, at different times and places, noble fruits of religious feeling; blessed visitations from God; profound movements on the minds and hearts of large masses of men: but, for the want of suitable institutions, all this has passed away, sometimes in one generation.

We may judge pretty accurately of the probable destinies and progress of a people by their organizations. Every thing which has obtained any footing or strength in the

world, has gained these advantages by these means. That which has distinguished Methodism in all places is, amongst other things, its uniform and universal attempt to institute means for the consolidation and progress of its work. It never reckons on any thing permanently useful, except with the preaching of the gospel it can establish its polity.

This, it must be confessed, is wise, and in perfect agreement with the primitive practice of the church, as well as with the analogies furnished from other quarters. But it is one of the conditions of our state that things in themselves good, proper, and even divine, by excess become mischievous. The church has invariably, in all ages, ruined itself: and the ruin has generally approached through an excess of tinkering at its polity. Institutions, in the beginning both Christian and necessary, have become, in the hands of thoughtless, often of designing, occupants, snug, tight, circumscribed things; the centres of power, instead of light; the means of oppression, instead of blessing; the machinery of *depression*, of *suppression*, and of *immoderate* and *universal control*, instead of expansion and progress. Whilst institutions are retained in their freshness, purity, and vigour, they are of infinite service; but when they lose these qualities, and become the instruments of selfishness and ambition, they not only lose their power for good, but they become absolutely ruinous.

In passing, it may be as well to say, that in a system of religion such as ours, in which Societies, Committees, Conferences, and all manner of institutions are so much in use, a danger will arise, perhaps has arisen. There is the danger of trusting in them. This cannot be done without such an affront being offered to God as must cause him to frown, to perplex, to chasten, and, if persisted in, to forsake. There is the danger of destroying individual power, intelligence, and activity. The tendency of government by institutions is to cut all men down to one common level, to make them work within the limits of some miserable line of circumvallation, and to press them within the dimensions of the canons and laws of the institute. Hence, in this state of things, there is no scope for faith, for any teaching of God, for any inspirations of love, any bursts of ardent zeal. The best men are those who creep along the line, who serve God and their generation by the human canons thus prepared, who study their duties, not in the light of scripture, the visions

of eternity, the great designs of the gospel, or the miseries, groans, and dangers of a suffering world; but in that of the code, the *pandects* of a society. All this is mischievous, is absolutely destructive. Institutions ought to be a focus of diffusive light and intelligence, not of darkness and death; they ought to contain in them the pulse, not of stagnation, but of life, beating constantly, and sending out its vitality to every part of the body; they ought to encourage and foster every thing spiritual, pious, holy, designed for the spread of truth, and the evangelization of the world, and not discourage and quench the zeal of good men. By some means, a church ought to possess two great elements at the same time,—*order* and *liberty*. Institutions which secure order without giving liberty, gain their point, so far as this one thing is considered; but it is the order of death. Thought, genius, principle, faith, love;—all, in fact, which makes the man, or constitutes the Christian, is buried in one grave; and then the inactivity is called "order." It is, indeed, order with a witness! So is the silence of the churchyard. The dead trouble nobody, except the affrighted woman, or the timid boy, who, as he trips along in the dusk of the evening, imagining the appearance of a ghost, "whistles to keep his courage up."

These sons of order and men of business in Christianity are always a second-rate set. They are never found guilty of a noble conception, a fine flow of feeling, a generous sympathy, an heroic act. Whether their one idea has originated in themselves, or whether it is the offspring of another brain, (which is generally the case,) they are a perfect unity. The idea is the man, find him where you may, and the man is the idea. Let this man of business be followed any where, and he is still at his task. He gives his jaded soul no respite. He is poring at his accounts, mending his machinery, examining how his appliances will answer, trying whether he can fit-in some new stave to the wheel; and, with all his dexterity, is ever endeavouring to make his grappling-irons sharp and long enough to reach and torment every body. "What, then," it is exclaimed, "are we to have no order?" Yes; such order as comports with the developement of the faculties, the exercise of all the graces of religion, the supremacy of the word of God. The laws of God are all true and exact; but they are so made to operate as to give expansion to every created thing, up to the full elevation of its na-

ture. The institutions of the church ought to embrace this principle. It is infinitely better to have some disorder with piety and life, than to have the most perfect order without progress.

Every one of the things above-mentioned may be considered in the light of an institution. Each building, called a church in America, is secured to the people by law; whilst these people themselves will be found to exist as a little community, with their rights, duties, and interests all defined and represented, and, moreover, managed by competent officers. A station, a circuit, or a mission, is not a place of resort for a migratory tribe of rambling religionists, who just assemble now and then, as inclination or caprice may dictate. One of these ecclesiastical departments—parishes they would be called in ancient times—is, in fact, an organization for promoting the service of God on the one part, and the spiritual happiness of the people on the other. We see that there are thirteen hundred of these institutions scattered up and down in this portion of the American population. These centres of living Christians, of gospel light, of intelligent piety, of active zeal, and aggressive energy, cannot be without power. In fact, it is at this point that we must look for the real, the living, influence of the system. Other arrangements may blend the masses, link the separate societies together, lock the arms of the trees into one immense and widely-extended forest; but the real life and force of the organization will be found to exist in the several stations and circuits. Whilst these belong to the whole church, to the great aggregation, they are free in their individual action. From their union with the body, they derive encouragement and moral support, as is always the case when societies feeble in themselves inhere in some large and vigorous confederation; but then they possess a capacity for much separate usefulness from their individual freedom.

We have only to look at this question by the light of other interests. In case some general theory or doctrine of political or any other science, had succeeded in organizing for its support and propagation some thirteen hundred separate institutions, with three parts of a million of the people; whilst these people devoted their intelligence, their labour, and a good portion of their wealth, for the support and extension of this cause, should we not imagine it to possess great advantages, and the prospect of

permanent success? So it is, as we think, with these churches. They rest on a solid basis, they have become a part of the spiritual and moral life of society, they are dovetailed into its other arrangements, they belong to the soil itself, they communicate and receive nutriment from all things around them, and they are rendered vital by the truth which is in them.

We generally speak of the institutions of a church as something distinct from the church itself; whereas, the view just given supposes any local church to be a religious institution. And yet it must be conceded, that some things connected with the church look like institutions growing out of its organization. What is either the District or the Conference but an offshoot of this sort? Of course, we speak of the Conference proper, the assembly of ministers, and not of the topical use of the term as applied to territory. This Conference is an institution of the church, contrived as an organ of its action, under certain conditions. But the church might exist without it, just as an empire might exist under one chief, instead of being organized under King, Lords, and Commons.

The tendency, nay, the very genius, of Methodism, is to build institutions upon the truth it holds. In some sort, it is a religion of institutions: it finds an organization for every purpose: it deposits every thing in an institution. Its doctrines, so far as man is concerned in their conservation, are intrusted to the care of institutions; its church-membership is an incorporation founded on rules and laws; its ministers constitute a common brotherhood resting on reciprocal rights, all defined and understood; its government is in the hands of various bodies, either bearing the name or analogous to Committees or Conferences. The world is not more fully and completely parcelled out into governmental departments, whether named counties, parishes, hundreds, tithings; and these, again, are not more perfectly pervaded with various centres of authority and power, for purposes of administration and government, than is Methodism. It is not a religious opinion loosely floating on the breeze; it is not a random and eccentric flow of feeling and zeal; it is not a wide-spread moral wave, ebbing and flowing with the seasons; it is not the casual and disconnected existence of many thousands of enthusiastic people, flying here and there through society, like George Fox and the old Friends, delivering their testimony, and then departing. No; it

is not this. In its best state it is full of feeling, of energy, of faith, of holiness, of good works. It is soul as well as body. It is animated by a living, thrilling, beating pulsation of piety. Its love is of the most ethereal as well as practical kind; embracing the Saviour and the souls of men. But then, while Methodism is spirit and life, it has shown itself to be wise and judicious; inasmuch as it has every where done its best to render its truths, its spirit, and its work permanent, by connecting the whole with appropriate institutions.

Then, in looking at the territorial position and power of Methodism in the States we have had under review, a most inadequate conception on the subject would be attained, if the mere numbers of the people were alone regarded. This would be to consider them an unarmed and helpless set of savages; like the Indian tribes, to be driven from their territorial possessions by the force and influence of some future aggressive movement of Christianity. Their connexion with the country is of a very different nature to this. They have taken root in the soil, in the social state. Men die off, human life is a fleeting vapour, generations pass away; but institutions outlive these ravages of time.

But they not only continue, they collect around them,—they rather embrace within their enclosure new generations as they come into being. Individual man, in his isolation, solitude, and sorrows, looks abroad for some resting-place, and is glad to connect himself with a church which promises him permanent help and guidance in his passage to eternity. In some sense truth, knowledge, religious ideas and sentiments,—which are embedded in permanent institutions,—may be said to be fastened to society, as the trees of the forest to their earthy home. It is true, all this may exist in a very inert and lifeless state, as has often been the case; and yet, when the seed is found in the earth, there is some chance that the genial rains and sunshine of heaven may reach and bring it to maturity; whereas, if not there at all, these powers of nature could not draw forth the ear or ripen the harvest. Where institutions are not established, every thing depends on individual character and exertions; and when living men are not found to maintain and propagate the truth, it must be altogether banished; but when they exist, though in themselves insufficient, yet still a basis is found, a testimony is borne, a standard

continues unfurled; and, although the depression may remain through a long and dreary winter, yet still, in time, a season of "refreshing will come from the presence of the Lord."

The point of interest, then, is, that, besides the thousands of living men professing the Methodist faith on the Atlantic seaboard, these people have adopted means to conserve and propagate their doctrines; to carry on a constant aggressive evangelization amongst the unconverted and thoughtless; to promote and extend, by the vigorous use of the press, their sentiments and views on religious questions; and to raise the standard of intelligence and knowledge by a collegiate course of education; and then to govern and direct the whole to a good and useful practical result, by a minute and local or a general system of government, as the case may be. This form of Methodism shows that it has taken root in the country, and is not likely soon to be destroyed. For good or for evil, this form of the Christian faith is likely to remain an element of American society in all time to come. Its principles, its men, its organization, and its institutions, must have their share in fashioning the destinies of the American people. A wild outburst of religious effervescence will soon be over; and, like the course of the vessel on the sea, no trace be left behind in a very short period. This has been considered the character and the destiny of Methodism by many erroneous or bigoted observers. Its history has not shown it to be of this ephemeral nature any where; and whatever may be its destiny in the Old World, most assuredly it is not likely to have this fate in the New.

In the aspect in which we are considering it, the Methodist church is now favoured beyond any thing we can conceive by the conditions of the country. In establishing territorial institutions, it will be seen at once, that the success must depend very much upon the occupancy or the non-occupancy of the soil. Where a territorial church is found with prescriptive rights, ecclesiastical arrangements, embracing the whole country, a numerous clergy, strong public prejudices in its favour, and a long traditional celebrity;—where all this is found, it is evident that a new territorial organization must meet with great obstructions in its progress. Nothing of this sort existed, in the commencement of Methodism, at all in some parts of America, and in the old States only to a very limited degree.

What, then, in this state of things, should prevent

Methodist institutions from obtaining a permanent footing in a country so circumstanced? In themselves they possess a conservative principle, which tends to consolidation; so that the only question is, as to whether they are adapted to the civil state, the genius of the people, the spirit of the age, and the wants of the country. Religion, it is true, as a divine and spiritual dispensation, will continue in all its freshness and glory for ever, in despite of any thing external and human. But it is different with organizations. These must be adapted to the circumstances adverted to, or otherwise they will be abandoned by the people, and, as a consequence, decay. For the want of this principle of adaptation, many great combinations of social, political, and religious power have fallen beneath the pressure of changes and revolutionary tendencies, which the progress of time and events has rendered inevitable. As this has been the fate of so many massive edifices, it is but too possible that, at some time or another, it will be the case with the polity of this church. But this day has not yet arrived, and is not likely soon to appear.

One of the main features of our system hitherto has been its power of adaptation, its elastic spring. This, again, arises from keeping clear of *divine-right* theories and maxims in matters which have been left as indifferent. Methodism holds nothing but the truth, the gospel itself, as properly divine. Having never considered one of its conclaves, like a Popish council, as in possession of inspired wisdom, it has never held that the decrees of these bodies are infallible, and consequently divine. Popery has split on this rock. Its infallibility, it is true, has been a great power in its hands: it has done prodigious service in its time. But it entirely annihilates the principle of adaptation, except by evasions. The Papacy is fastened to this dogma; it cannot alter, and must, sooner or later, be destroyed. This freedom is one of the safeguards, as well as one of the mightiest instruments, of Christianity itself. Holding the doctrines of the gospel firmly, tenaciously, faithfully; yet still we consider ourselves at perfect liberty respecting the mode and means of making them known. The conduits, the pipes by which the waters of life are conveyed to an arid world, have never been confounded with the waters themselves. By just adhering to this simple maxim, a freedom of action is secured, that enables the church to do the work of the

Lord in any place, and in the midst of every variety of condition in which a people may be found.

But the aggressive spirit of the system is admirably fitted to meet the wants of a new country. This one characteristic has carried it to its present point of progress, and must carry it much further. Besides, a body which is always in motion must possess the habit of activity. Nothing can be well stagnant in a church which is constantly ebbing and flowing, like the tides of the ocean, by reason of its itinerancy. But this wonderfully agrees with the American spirit. To aim at progress, onward adventure, new acquisitions, greater scope, unexplored territory,—are the very elements of American character. These passions and tastes seem almost to belong to his being, to be a part of himself. What kind of church-order or ministry can be so perfectly fitted to meet all this as an itinerant system? The two things might have been made for each other, they so admirably fit. Even the episcopacy of the church is conceived in the same spirit. The Methodist bishop is, of all men, full of enterprise, and is constantly in motion. He is a bishop that he may oversee. Instead of being confined to any particular locality, he is found every where, to the very extremities of the country, seeking the scattered flock of Christ, and looking diligently after those who are within the fold. The distant prairies and settlements of the "far west," the wigwams of the Indians in their far-off territories, the huts and plantations occupied by the Negro race,—all witness the presence and labours of the bishop. His business is to lead on the militant host of God's elect to new enterprises and labours. His prerogatives are not designed to exact obedience, to subdue and intimidate, but to inspirit to fresh zeal, and devotion to the cause of God. It is not his calling to "eat the flesh and warm himself in the wool of the flock," but to go before them in the wilderness, allure them to green pastures, and "feed them with the finest of the wheat." Thus, as far as can be perceived, the institutions of this church, and the wants and spirit of the country, are in perfect harmony. Only let the truth and Spirit of God imbue and live in these institutions, and then they are not only safe from decay, but they must accomplish their purpose in diffusing true religion and virtue through the entire country for ages and generations to come.

II.—THE HUDSON AND LAKE LINE.

In prosecuting our territorial survey of the Methodist church, we now enter upon the line of the Hudson and the Lakes. By an examination of the map, it will be seen that this marks out a distinct portion of the States, and furnishes a convenient division for our purpose.

In passing from the sea-coast into the interior by this route, the results will be found much the same as on the Atlantic line. The country itself is amongst the most beautiful and fertile portions of the States. Many parts of it are highly cultivated; fine arable and meadow land, watered, as is usual in America, by innumerable rivers and streams, every where meets the eye; hills of every elevation, covered with trees and foliage, rich with various hues and fragrance, rise to adorn the landscape; and, as far as such a fact can be attested by appearances, a thriving and happy population is rapidly filling the country.

All this territory is occupied by the Methodist church. Its enterprising evangelists have entered every open door. A little time ago the whole presented the aspect of a mission, an enterprise, a trial for occupancy; but now the church presents the appearance of a quiet, peaceful, and settled power. Along this line, and the country adjacent, it will be found, on examination, that a complete ecclesiastical organization has been formed, and that the ministry and religious ordinances of the body pervade the entire country; and, moreover, as the system is every where voluntary, it follows that great numbers of the people belong to the community, else its institutions could not exist.

I. About six miles north of Albany stands the city of Troy, which gives its name to a Conference. Why Troy, instead of Albany, should have been fixed upon, when the latter is the metropolitan city of the State of New-York, and much larger than Troy, it is difficult to say.

Connected with the Troy Conference we find seven districts,—*Troy*, *Albany*, *Saratoga*, *Poultney*, *Burlington*, *Plattsburg*, *St. Alban's*: one hundred and thirty-eight stations, circuits, and missions; one hundred and ninety ministers, with one hundred and thirty-eight local preachers; twenty-five thousand three hundred and twenty-seven church members, ninety-seven only of whom are people of colour.

We find the following stations:—Troy Conference Academy, J. T. Peck, Principal; R. Q. Mason, Teacher. The above Dr. Jesse Peck is brother of Dr. George Peck, now editor of the Christian Advocate, and is a gentleman of fine talents and much energy. He was chosen one of the secretaries of the last General Conference at Pittsburgh, and discharged its duties with excellent tact and ability.

The work in this locality commenced in 1788. Dr. Bangs narrates its commencement in the following terms:—

"The Lord had raised up a number of zealous young men, who had entered the field of itinerancy with hearts fired and filled with love to God and the souls of men. Several of these were placed under the charge of Mr. Garrettson, who was requested by Bishop Asbury to penetrate the country north of the city of New-York, and form as many circuits as he could.

"A great portion of this country was entirely destitute of religious instruction, more especially the northern and western parts of New-York State, and the State of Vermont. There were, to be sure, some small scattered congregations of Lutherans and Dutch Reformed along the banks of the Hudson River, and some Congregationalists and Baptists in Vermont. It is manifest, however, that experimental and practical religion was at a very low ebb; and in most of the places, particularly in new settlements, on the west side of the Hudson River, not even the forms of it were to be found.

"Many houses and hearts were opened to these men of God; and, although they suffered some persecutions from those who understood not their character and motives, God wrought by their hands in a wonderful manner; so that at the Conference, in the Minutes of the next year, upward of six hundred were returned as members of the church on those circuits."

In the midst of these successes, it seems, a gentleman from Vermont spread an alarm, "that the king of England had sent them to disaffect the people toward their own government; and he doubted not but they would be instrumental of producing another war." Others, however, not quite so sagacious in political science, but better versed, as they thought, in theology, gave it as their opinion, "that these itinerants were a flying army of the false prophets spoken of by our Saviour, who should come in the last days, and deceive, if it were possible, the very elect!"

I find a Conference was held in Albany in 1791; but the term "Conference," at that time, does not seem to

indicate a territorial division,—a diocess,—but simply a meeting of preachers, for the transaction of business.

II. The VERMONT CONFERENCE is the next in topographical order in our line. This is a small ecclesiastical section, and only embraces a few places. We have three districts; namely, *Montpelier*, *Danville*, *Springfield*: sixty-four stations, circuits, and missions; seventy-one ministers, with forty-six local preachers; and seven thousand nine hundred and fifty-three church-members.

We have the following appointment noted: H. C. Wood, Principal of the Springfield Wesleyan Seminary.

Methodism was introduced into this State in 1794.

"It was not until this year that any of our preachers obtained a permanent foothold there; but this year, Joshua Hull was sent to Vermont; and his labours were made a blessing to many. Since that time the cause of Methodism has advanced rapidly among the people in almost every part of the State, to the reformation and salvation of thousands."*

It seems that some sort of clerical and denominational difficulties stood in the way in respect to this State. We find Bishop Asbury, who, by the bye, was evidently a decided voluntary, at the time exclaiming, in one of his journals,—

"Ah! here are walls of prejudice; but God can break them down. Out of fifteen United States, thirteen are free; but two are fettered with ecclesiastical chains,—taxed to support ministers, who are chosen by a small committee, and settled for life. My simple prophecy is, that this must come to an end with the present century. The Rhode Islanders began in time, and are free. Hail, sons of liberty! Who first began the war? Was it not Connecticut and Massachusetts? And priests are now saddled upon them. O what a happy people would these be, if they were not thus priest-ridden!.....I heard read a most severe letter from a citizen of Vermont to the clergy and Christians of Connecticut, striking at the foundation and principle of the hierarchy, and the policy of Yale College, and the Independent order. It was expressive of the determination of the Vermonters to continue free from ecclesiastical fetters, to follow the Bible, equal liberty to all denominations of Christians. If so, why may not the Methodists, who have been repeatedly solicited, visit this people also?"

This sounds oddly in all its statements to us; to speak of "the Independent order," and "Yale College," as constituting a hierarchy, is to us very perplexing. And then to have "Independent ministers" appointed by "a

* BANGS'S "History of Methodism in America," vol. ii. p. 16.

small committee for life," and for the people to be "taxed" to "support" them, all seems at first sight very strange.

The matter of fact, however, is, that the New-England Independent ministers constituted a regular hierarchy; were appointed to their charge by a small committee; the church was incorporated by law, with the power to levy taxes for its own support; and the whole had all the aspects of a regular state-establishment. This is done away in most of the States, and, amongst the rest, in Vermont; but in some others the thing continues, with some modifications, to this very day.

My intelligent companion on board ship, before referred to, Mr. Weston, drew my attention to this case. At first I was startled, felt incredulous, and knew not how to reconcile it with what I had understood to be American principles. However, on examination, I found his account to be perfectly accurate. In substance, it is as follows:—A distinction is made, amongst the old Independents of Massachusetts, betwixt the church,—the Christian society,—and the congregation; but the congregation, as well as the church, is considered as constituting the "parish." This "parish" is favoured with facilities for obtaining a deed of incorporation from the States; and they often, indeed pretty generally, do so; and become, consequently, corporate bodies. This deed of incorporation gives to the "parish," namely, the congregation, the right to tax itself; that is, all the people attending the church, at their discretion. Provision is also made, by this legal instrument, in the matter of appointing the minister; the congregation and the church having, in some way and manner, a concurrent voice. These corporate churches are independent in the sense of isolation; they are not controlled by foreign and distant bodies; and yet, in our English sense of the term, they can hardly be said to symbolize with this scheme of polity. They are, in point of fact, state churches; inasmuch as their deed of incorporation is a legal instrument, obtained from the State; just as one of our towns or cities, by its municipal incorporation, becomes united to the State, and is governed by laws, which, if not created by an act of parliament, are sanctioned and made valid and binding by the legislature.

It is this state of things to which Bishop Asbury is referring. These organized bodies, with their regular clergy, supported by prescriptive usage and a long and interesting line of traditionary honour, stood in the way,

and often opposed obstacles to the exertions and aggressive system, of the Methodist evangelists. We are not surprised at this. It is just what the Methodists themselves will do at some future time; probably they are doing it now in some instances. No doubt, in the employment of his very strong expressions on this subject, good Bishop Asbury was perfectly sincere. He was too good, too honest a man, not to utter the decided convictions of his own mind; and yet one cannot help thinking of the difference betwixt "in and out." When they began their labours, the Methodist body in America had no other ground to rest upon but voluntaryism. They could not, if they would, have worked upon any other. There is no very great merit in men being devoted to a principle, when that principle is a necessity,—"a fate," as the ancients would call it. And then, again, there is nothing so very strange or unusual in the men who are devoted to the system marked out for them by this necessity, extolling its excellences, and vituperating an antagonistic power. For myself, I must confess, that I am weary of the infinite and endless jangling of Christians on these subjects; and am come very much to think that one mode, which provides for the preaching of the real gospel of God our Saviour, is just as good as another.

It may be retorted, that some of the arrangements in question have proved injurious. What has not, it may be asked, been soiled and polluted which has passed through the hands of man? If the Presbyterian shall reproach the English Episcopalian, may not the Episcopalian refer to Geneva, to France, to Holland, to Scotland, in the last century? If the Independent shall point to the decay of the Presbyterian churches, cannot he again point to the churches of New-England,—the churches of the pilgrim fathers, of Cotton, of Mather, and of many other noble and glorious spirits; now overrun with the errors, and blighted by the moral pestilence, of Socinianism? Alas! alas! if the glories of the Christian religion had to be judged by the history of the visible church, it must altogether sink in the estimation of all candid persons.

It is painful for sincere, honest, and spiritual men to feel that the system to which they themselves are attached may share the common fate. Yet what has occurred in so many cases, and, indeed, in all cases, may certainly occur again How many are the motives and calls to humility and to charity! calls, not only from the teach-

ing of the Bible, but from the history of the church. Every true Methodist will pray, that his system may be preserved from the common lot; and if thoughtful, when he rejoices over her progress, her triumphs, her strength, he will "rejoice with trembling."

III. We now come to the BLACK-RIVER CONFERENCE. In connexion with this Conference we have six districts; namely, *Rome*, *Syracuse*, *Oswego*, *Adams*, *Watertown*, and *Pottsdam:* ninety-three stations, circuits, and missions; one hundred and thirteen ministers, with one hundred and forty-five local preachers; and fifteen thousand nine hundred and seventeen church-members; twenty only being people of colour.

It will be seen that this Conference, like that of Troy, does not take its name from any State; and, to a stranger, there is some difficulty in fixing its exact locality. The names of the stations are so curious, and so few of them can be found on the best maps, that were it not just for the discovery of one or two of the most prominent, one might be left in the dark altogether respecting this Black-River Conference.

Black-River empties itself into Lake Ontario, and flows in a somewhat northerly direction from the interior of the State of New-York. Sackett's Harbour, one of the stations of this Conference, is nearly opposite Kingston, on the Canadian side of Lake Ontario, as are Mexico and Oswego, two other stations. This ecclesiastical division of the territory of the State of New-York skirts the above beautiful Lake at a point which brings the American and Canadian bodies into pretty close contiguity to each other. We know of no bitterness or strife; all is harmony and concord betwixt the two churches.

The numbers found on this Conference division,—fifteen thousand nine hundred and seventeen,—just at a point where the northern extremity of the State of New-York abuts upon the Ontario Lake, and exactly opposite to the Canadian shore, indicate a fact which has been before referred to, and may be worth looking at again. It relates to the contrast in population and progress in the two countries. It will be found, on examination, that, in the same space in Canada which is occupied by this Black-River Conference, there are scarcely as many hundreds of members as there are thousands on the American side. How is this? Certainly not because the Canadian preachers

are less laborious, or that there is a less disposition in the people to embrace their doctrines and fellowship. The case is to be accounted for on a perfectly different principle; namely, the wonderful difference betwixt the population, the activity, and the progress of the American State, as contrasted with the British colony. The soil, the climate,—indeed, all the elements of social improvement, are as great on the Canadian side as on that of America; but the difference, in point of fact, is prodigious.

It is not for us to speculate on the causes of this difference. They are, however, easily seen and understood on the spot. We perceive, in this case, that population and Methodism in the States go on concurrently: considering the comparatively recent ingress of any large amount of people towards this frontier of the Union, it is amazing how great and mighty the amount of advancement they have made. The harbours and shores of these Lakes,—these inland seas,—are being filled up by an energetic race, who are laying the foundations of an extended trade and commerce, only second to that which is seen on the Atlantic seaboard, or that which is carried on on the waters of the Mississippi. It is cheering to the philanthropist and the Christian to perceive, that this new population does not settle down in a state of Heathenism. The preaching of the gospel, the ordinances of the church, and the appliances of education and knowledge, are all finding their way, and becoming living elements of the growing and expanding civilization.

We have no fewer than three notices of educational institutions in this Conference:—Mexico Academy, to be supplied; Governor of the Wesleyan Seminary, J. W. Armstrong; John Dempster, Professor of Theology in the Methodist Biblical Institute, Concord, New-Hampshire.

It was the writer's happiness to meet with Dr. Dempster at Pittsburgh. The Biblical Institute, of which he is the professor, in point of fact, is a theological college. It is the only institution of the kind in the United States in any way connected with the Methodist church; for, though at the colleges and universities many of the professors have theological classes, they have not yet thought it advisable to establish separate and exclusive theological schools. This is a subject which the American Methodist church has not decided. It seems to be an open question amongst them, and not likely soon to be settled. It must not be inferred from this that they are indifferent

to theological learning. Their energetic support of educational institutions, and their practice of connecting theological classes and lectures with their college and university courses, most clearly show the contrary of this. The matter of fact is, that a very deep, indeed, enthusiastic, conviction of the advantages of instruction, and, moreover, of a well-trained ministry, exists almost universally amongst them.

The only point on which there is any demur is, as to whether it is better, or the contrary, that the youth destined to the ministry should be educated in common with the rest of the Methodist community, availing themselves of the theological instruction provided, as above mentioned; or, whether they should be separated altogether from the young community about them, and placed by themselves in a sort of monastic establishment. Much, it is clear, may be said on both sides of the question. The practice of separate theological institutions is that which, in this country, has prevailed amongst the Dissenting and Nonconformist bodies; but it is not the practice of the national universities, whether in England, Scotland, or Ireland. In these great seminaries of learning the lay youth, and those who are designed for the ministry, are educated in common. There are no theological institutions having a national character: these all belong to the separate Christian sects. Which is the better system, it may be difficult to say; and which turns out the greater men, it might be considered invidious to pronounce. There are obviously benefits peculiar to both modes; but they must be different in their kind. To young men shut up from all contact with others, there is the advantage of preservation from the evils of bad example; and then the discipline brought to bear upon them, can be much more stringent than if they lived in common with others. But, on the other side, an educational course in union with the lay youth of the community, and, for this reason, a much more numerous body, must tend to produce a more generous, manly, catholic, and national character than the other. Better denominational divines will be made, so far as sectarian theology is concerned, by a merely isolated education. When this is the main object, it is evident enough that separate schools, placed under strict surveillance, will be the best. But if the design is to expand the faculties, to produce generous and catholic feelings, to attach the soul to truth

on a universal scale, to make the youth a citizen of the nation, to strengthen his sympathies with all God's universe,—then an open education seems the thing.

Whether a sound knowledge of theology can be attained in connexion with this general system, must be judged of by facts. Are old Thomas Jackson, Barrow, Pearson, Butler, divines of any learning and religious acquirements? because they were educated and trained in the national universities, in common with the lay youth of their age. Are Rutherford, Gillies, Chalmers, of the Scotch nation, theologians of any distinction? for they were brought up in the open schools of their country. Are Usher, Skelton, Magee, of the Irish nation, names of any consideration? these also were educated in common with the laity. These are amongst the great Teachers of the Christian church. They belong to all parties, to all ages, to all nations. They are the instructors of all communities, and will be so to the end of time. But it would be unjust to the other side not to say, that the theological college system has produced great names: Drs. Watts, Doddridge, and Pye Smith, will live as divines, and diffuse the fragrance of their pious and eminently useful labours through the church, in all time to come.

How the American Methodist church may settle this question, and whether they will ever be led to adopt the plan of a separate theological training for their young ministers, it is difficult to say. Besides the usual prejudices against an isolated and separate education, on the grounds of spoiling the students for enterprise, and the endurance of toil and hardship,—it strikes me that the nationalism of the American preachers will be found to stand in the way of the adoption of this system. These ministers are thorough citizens; they feel themselves of the people; they identify themselves fully and entirely with the nation; and though they possess the ministerial office and function, yet there is little affectation of the clerical caste. I should say, that, next to piety to God, a full belief in Christianity, and the love of the gospel; the leading characteristic of the American minister is, a full and perfect identification of feeling and principle with his country: it will be difficult to bring about any plans of instruction, in case they should be attempted, the tendency of which is in any way to alienate the minister from the citizen, the priest from the American. It is clearly seen by these sagacious men that the institution of exclusively theologi-

cal colleges, which should detach the youth of the church from the body of the people, is, in spirit, directly opposed to the genius of general citizenship, and must tend to create a class whose feelings, tastes, and habits will necessarily be, in some sort, sectarian. At any rate, at present, the idea has very little favour and countenance amongst either ministers or people.

This was felt by Dr. Dempster. He naturally desires the success of his own enterprise. As far as I could learn from himself, his undertaking originated very much in his own convictions, and has never yet been recognised by the General Conference. He was extremely anxious to bring about this, to himself, desirable result; but, as I believe, he met with so little encouragement, that he did not make the attempt. The recognition of his college is limited to his own Conference, and the undertaking does not meet with much pecuniary support.

IV. The ONEIDA CONFERENCE joins that of Black-River. It includes eight districts,—*Cazenovia*, *Oneida*, *Chenango*, *Otsego*, *Newark*, *Cayuga*, *Susquehanna*, and *Wyoming:* one hundred and twenty-seven stations, circuits, and missions; one hundred and sixty ministers, with two hundred and two local preachers; and twenty-five thousand seven hundred and seventy-six church members, eighty-six of whom are coloured people, and ninety Indians.

We have the following appointments in this Conference:—Henry Bannister, Principal of the Oneida-Conference Seminary; Edward Bannister. Professor; Nelson Rounds, Editor of the Northern Christian Advocate; Alonzo Wood, Chaplain of State prison at Aubun; R. Nelson, Principal of Wyoming Seminary.

Here, then, we find the usual agencies at work. Two seminaries, one Christian Advocate, and one chaplain to a state prison. This does not look like an inefficient church system.

V. The GENESEE CONFERENCE abuts upon Oneida. We have nine districts belonging to this division of the country; namely, *Ontario*, *East-Rochester*, *Genesee*, *Buffalo*, *Niagara*, *Rushford*, *Dansville*, *Willsborough*, and *Seneca-Lake:* one hundred and fifty-nine stations, circuits, and missions; one hundred and eighty-seven ministers, with two hundred and fifty-three local preachers; and twenty-six

thousand six hundred and twenty-four church members, fifty-eight of whom are coloured people.

The manner of the commencement of the work in this part of the country, is given by the historian of Methodism :—

"As early as 1792, Mr. Garrettson had travelled through various parts of this new country, preaching to the people in their log-houses, in barns, and often holding his quarterly-meetings under the foliage of trees. Aided as he was by those zealous young preachers, who entered this field of labour, he was instrumental in extending the gospel and its attendant blessings into these destitute places. By these means those societies were established which have continued to flourish and increase to the present time. Along the Mohawk River, as far as Utica, as well as the Chenago and Susquehanna Rivers, those pioneers of Methodism penetrated, and laid the foundation for those extensive revivals of religion which have blessed that region of the country. We may form some judgment of the good effects of these labours and sacrifices from the fact, that there were returned in the Minutes for this year, including Tioga, Wyoming, Saratoga, and Simco circuits, eight hundred and ninety-two members of the church. Had equal zeal been manifested at this early period in building suitable houses of worship as the work enlarged with the progress of the settlements, Methodism would have taken a stand here more firmly, and have exerted a much more hallowed and extensive influence over the population."*

Nothing can well be finer than the work above described. For the evangelist to place himself by the side of the advancing population, to make himself one of them, to share their privations,—to enter their log-huts with messages of mercy,—to hold his meetings for preaching and prayer under the spreading foliage of the trees of the wilderness ;—to encourage the woodman in his aggressions upon the forest, and the farmer in his efforts to turn up the virgin soil, for a first crop ;—then to see these primitive families erecting their altar, like Abraham in the desert, to the God of the lonely waste, as well as of the crowded city ;—to listen to the echoes of praise and prayer reverberating in the midst of solitudes, made vocal for the first time since time began ;—all this is infinitely beautiful. This was the work of that glorious evangelist Freeborn Garrettson, and his young men. The seed they sowed has indeed sprung up, and produced a plentiful harvest, notwithstanding the somewhat mournful tone of our

* Bangs's "History of Methodism in America," vol. ii. pp. 66, 67. See Asbury, vol. iii. p. 293.

good friend Bangs about the "preaching-houses." How every thing could have been done at once, it is difficult to divine. How great "preaching-houses" are to be built, whether in America or any where else, before there is a people to build them, or money to pay for them, one cannot well imagine. But it is always the fashion for the present to find fault with the past. Why were our forefathers so very foolish as to build such little paltry chapels,—"houses of worship,"—as they did? How much more rational and religious it would have been, if they had erected edifices which would have held, say, a couple of thousands! Besides, these miserable little *shabby* temples only stand in the place of great ones; just as a rotten tree, till it is blown down, fills the space which might be occupied by a graceful, majestic, blooming, young son of the forest.

This is the way people talk on this subject. But how the "preaching-houses" in the American wilderness were to be built almost before the timber was felled,—certainly before the soil was cultivated,—is puzzling to know; and how, nearer home, the spacious, elegant, costly edifice is to rise, except from a previous beginning, perhaps of a very humble and homely description, is equally difficult to comprehend. Let not the great despise the little; they would never have held their own elevated position, had not somebody laid the foundation. And let not the *citizen* gentleman despise the woodman; his city had never risen, had not the pioneer cleared the ground.

VI. The ERIE CONFERENCE. A narrow strip of country belonging to the State of Pennsylvania, stretches to Lake Erie; and a town, named after the Lake, stands on this narrow neck of land. This ecclesiastical division contains six districts; namely, *Ravenna*, *Warren*, *Meadville*, *Erie*, *Jamestown*, and *Franklin*: eighty-five stations, circuits, and missions; one hundred and twenty-eight ministers, with one hundred and ninety-three local preachers; twenty thousand one hundred and forty-three church members, fifty-eight of whom are people of colour.

We have the usual appointments and agencies in this Conference:—Asbury Seminary, G. B. Hawkins, Principal; Alleghany College, G. W. Clark, Calvin Kingsby, Professors; M. G. Briggs, Agent.

"The Alleghany College is located in Meadville, Crawford county, a very thriving village on French Creek, three hundred and thirty-four miles north-west of Philadelphia. This institution received

its first charter from the State in 1815; but, for want of adequate support, it was suffered to languish and die in the hands of its former patrons and supporters. With a view to its resuscitation, the entire premises were given to the Methodist Episcopal church, and the Pittsburgh and Erie Conferences took it under their patronage. The Rev. Dr. Ruter, who had retired from the presidency of Augusta College, in Kentucky, was appointed the first president of this institution; and it went into operation this year (1833) under his direction, with promising hopes of success. It has continued, though sometimes embarrassed for the want of more ample funds, to bless the youth intrusted to its care with its wholesome instructions; and many of them have dated their conversion to God in this seat of learning and religion. It is said that its library is by far the largest and best of any in the western country, and its buildings are ample and in excellent order. Though Dr. Ruter retired from its presidency in 1836, it has gone on prosperously under his successor, the Rev. G. W. Clark."*

Besides the north-western point of the State of Pennsylvania above referred to, this Conference embraces portions of the New-York and Ohio States bordering on Pennsylvania. But the greatest point of interest is its connexion with Lake Erie. It was the author's privilege to touch at one of the most important stations, Cleveland, in this Conference, and to witness, as in many other cases, the rapid developement of the resources of the country. The harbour is both spacious and safe; and the city presents a beautiful appearance from the water. The Cayuga river empties itself into the Lake at this point; and the Ohio canal terminates here. This city is destined to hold a high position amongst the cities of the Lakes.

VII. The North Ohio Conference joins that of Erie. This Conference contains seven districts,—*Delaware*, *Mount-Vernon*, *Worcester*, *Norwalk*, *Tiffin*, *Maumee*, *Sidney*: eighty stations, circuits, and missions; one hundred and thirty-three ministers, with forty-two local preachers, and twenty-six thousand and forty-three church-members, fifty-six of whom are coloured people.

We find the following special appointments:—Ohio Wesleyan University, Edward Thompson, President; H. M. Johnson, Professor; E. B. Gurly, Agent. Baldwin Institute, Lorenzo Warner, Principal. Chaplain to Western Seamen's Friend Society for the port of Toledo, Thomas Cooper.

* Bangs's "History of Methodism in America," vol. iv. p. 145.

The above university, which is located at Delaware, was founded so recently as 1844. Dr. Thompson, like some other eminent men in the ministry, is a M.D., and has been selected for his present onerous post on account of his abilities and learning. The State of Ohio stretches from the river of that name to Lake Erie; and this North Ohio Conference touches its beautiful waters. There remains much land still to "possess;" but the country is rapidly filling up with a thriving and prosperous population.

VIII. The MICHIGAN CONFERENCE is the next in our present line. This name, it is to be presumed, is taken from the State, and this latter from Lake Michigan. This Conference gives us seven districts; namely, *Detroit*, *Ann-Arbor*, *Marshall*, *Monroe*, *Kalmazoo*, *Grand-River*, and *Indian Mission:* seventy-nine stations, circuits, and missions; one hundred and eighteen ministers, with one hundred and ninety-one local preachers; sixteen thousand and seventy-one church-members, eight of whom are coloured people.

The special appointments are as follows:—John A. Baughman, Agent of the American Bible Society; D. D. Whedon, Professor in the Michigan University; F. C. Kinnear, Principal of the Wesleyan Seminary at Albion.

Michigan University, of which Mr. Whedon is president, is not a Methodist institution. It is located at Ann-Arbor, and was founded so lately as 1837. But the fact that this gentleman is appointed to his present office by the authorities of the university, shows that neither Methodism nor its ministers occupy a low position in public estimation.

The following historical notices may be interesting:—

"This country was originally settled by the French, who sent Catholic missionaries there as early as 1648; and the city of Detroit was founded in 1670, by a few French families. Its growth was slow; but the people gradually enlarged their borders on each side of the Detroit river, a strait about twenty-four miles in length, which connects lakes St. Clair and Erie. In 1763, this country, together with Upper Canada, passed, by the right of conquest, from the French into the hands of the British, and so remained, until the war of the revolution separated it from the British empire, and connected it with the United States. After this, emigrants from different parts of the Union began to mingle with the original settlers.

"When this country was first visited by a Methodist missionary, in 1804, it was in a deplorable state as to religion and morals. In Detroit there was no preaching, except by the French Catholics; and

their influence in favour of the pure morality of the gospel was extremely feeble. The few Protestant emigrants who had settled in Detroit, and some of the adjoining places, were entirely destitute of a ministry of their own order, and were fast assimilating into the customs and habits of those with whom they associated. And though repeated efforts had been made, from time to time, to establish Methodism in Detroit, they must have been attended with little success; for we find no members returned on the Minutes of Conference for that place, until the year 1822, and then the number was only twenty.

"This year, 1823, the Rev. Alfred Brunson was stationed on the Detroit circuit, which stretched through the country for four hundred miles. This he and his colleague, the Rev. Samuel Baker, *surrounded* (!) each once in four weeks, giving the people a sermon every two weeks; and their labours were so far blessed, that, in 1824, the number of church-members amounted to one hundred and sixty-one.

"This year a small society was formed at St. Mary's. This was a military post belonging to the United States, situated on the strait of that name, about eighty miles in length, and which connects Lakes Superior and Huron, and is about four hundred miles in a northerly direction from Detroit. The most of this distance, at the time, was a wilderness, infested with beasts of prey, and dotted here and there with an Indian village. It was to this place that a few pious soldiers, who had been converted at Sackett's Harbour, were removed; and, being almost destitute of every religious privilege, formed themselves into a class, chose a leader, and met together for mutual edification and comfort; holding their meetings in the woods, until the barracks were erected, when they were allowed the use of the hospital. They were much assisted by the good countenance of Lieutenant Becker, a pious member of the Presbyterian church, to whom they were attracted by congeniality of feeling; and they were mutually refreshed and strengthened in their social meetings. In the course of the winter, their numbers increased to about fourteen, which much encouraged them to persevere in their work of faith and labour of love."*

But it must be remarked, that our author himself was the missionary who visited this country in 1804. At Detroit, he tells us, "sure enough, only a few children came to the place of worship;" that "our missionary" (meaning himself) "shook off the dust of his feet as a testimony against them, and took his departure from them. In about four weeks after this, the town was consumed by fire."†

Looking at these circumstances,—that is, to the character of the original population, French Roman Catholics,

* Bangs's "History of Methodism in America," vol. iii. pp. 225, 226.
† *Idem*, vol. iv. pp. 170.

the difficulties attendant on their first efforts, and the shortness of the time since they were successfully made,—the progress must be considered very great. But the number of members of the church in this Conference (sixteen thousand and seventy-one) shows very clearly that, though the original occupants of the soil were French, they no longer continue so. We should have had no such result as this, unless the English race had pushed their way into the country. The progress of population in this State may be judged of, when it is known, that in 1810 it just amounted to 4,762, and in 1845, to 304,278. Lying, as it does, in peninsular form, surrounded on three sides by the waters of Lakes Erie, Michigan, and Huron, it is easy to see that its advantages, in the hands of an enterprising people, are such as to lead to increased prosperity; and it is cheering to perceive that the religious element is, as we hope, largely and permanently infused.

IX. The NORTH INDIANA CONFERENCE unites with the Michigan. This division contains nine districts,—*Greencastle*, *Crawfordsville*, *Lafayette*, *Indianopolis*, *Centreville*, *Peru*, *Logansport*, *Laporte*, *Fort-Wayne*: eighty-six stations, circuits, and missions; one hundred and thirteen ministers, with two hundred and fifty-seven local preachers; and twenty-six thousand three hundred and two church-members: of this number there are fifty coloured people.

We find the following extra appointments:—Indiana Asbury University, William C. Larabee, Cyrus Nutt, Professors; G. M. Beswick, W. H. Huffman, Agents; B. F. Tefft, Editor of Ladies' Repository; Aaron Wood, Agent of the American Bible Society.

But though the Minutes report the above-named gentlemen as officers of Asbury University, by turning to the Indiana Conference we shall find four more appointments. The usage seems to be to place every minister in connexion with his own Conference, let his official post be what it may. Hence a person may belong to a Conference at any distance, and yet have an appointment in one of the public institutions in another place. The four additional appointments referred to are,—Matthew Simpson, President of the Indiana Asbury University; Isaac Owen, Agent for the Indiana Asbury University; Greenlee H. M'Laughlin, Agent for the current expenses of the Indiana Asbury University; and William M. Daily, Agent for the Agricultural Professorship of the Indiana Asbury University.

It seems that agricultural science is connected with this school. Looking at the business of farming as one of the permanent callings of a vast population, this will appear a suitable subject of study. Who can say that farming ought not to have the advantages of learning as well as other departments? Why should not the exterior world engage the recondite investigations of gifted men? Surely there is enough in the business of agriculture to make it most desirable that all the productions of mother earth should be scientifically examined, classified, and used.

Be this as it may, the functions of Dr. Simpson are of a different order; and no doubt he ably discharges his duty. Dr. Simpson is a man of mark. I had the privilege of much friendly intercourse with this gentleman, and witnessed with great admiration the discharge of his public duties at the Conference. He is a very able man in every way, and, being young, is likely, it is hoped, long to bless the church and the world with the benefits of his valuable labours.

X. We now come to the ROCK-RIVER CONFERENCE, the last on this Lake line. The district of country designated by this term, seems to lie betwixt the western shores of Lake Michigan and the Mississippi River. It contains ten districts; namely, *Chicago*, *Ottawa*, *Washington*, *Peoria*, *Rock-Island*, *Mount-Morris*, *Platteville*, *Fondulac Mission*, *Milwaukie*, and *Racine:* one hundred and seven stations, circuits, and missions; one hundred and forty-one ministers, with three hundred and nineteen local preachers; and eighteen thousand nine hundred and thirteen church-members, twenty-seven of whom are people of colour, and one hundred and sixty-one Indians.

It cheers one at length to meet with some Indians. We have traversed a prodigious extent of country before overtaking any of them, except once. Here some of them are, it seems, driven to the extremity of the States, in this direction; for this Rock-River Conference joins the Wisconsin Territory; indeed, embraces some of it: and, as the term indicates, it is a newly-settled country, not yet formed into a State. When these Wisconsin people have filled the country, will any of the Indians remain? It is certain they will not. What will be their fate, when the tide of population has reached the utmost limits of the country in the direction of the west; when the inhabitants of the Atlantic shore, and those of the Pacific, are linked together in one un-

broken chain; it is fearful to think. They will not be pushed into the waters of the mighty deep; but the pressure, like that of disease and age, will crush the last of their noble race to the earth.

We find the name of a station in this Conference, somewhat familiar to the ears of English people; but in a very different connexion: it is Nauvoo. Nauvoo, it will be remembered, is, or was, the head-quarters of the Mormonites; who, on account of their fantastic and impious doctrines, have met, we are told, with no great favour from the American people. They have been driven from this place, and are wandering in various directions; and amongst other locations which they have selected, the parliamentary debates lately taught us, that numbers of them were *squatting* in Vancouver's Island. We know not whether the good and zealous Methodist preachers occupied this post of duty before or after this dispersion of these poor, deluded Mormonites. It is likely they rushed in amongst them for the purpose of seeking their conversion; but, failing to accomplish this, they now occupy the quarters from whence these obstinate blockheads have been driven. Would it not be as well, if a name can be found, to change the old one?

Having now passed through this interesting portion of territory, it may be proper, as in the case of the Atlantic seaboard, to give a tabular summary.

Conferences.	Dist.	Circuits.	Minist.	Supernum.	Local Pr.	Members.
Troy.....	7	138	174	16	133	25,327
Vermont.....	3	64	71	14	46	7,953
Black-River...	6	93	113	11	145	15,917
Oneida.....	8	127	160	27	202	25,776
Genesee.....	9	159	187	32	253	26,682
Erie.....	6	85	128	13	193	20,143
North Ohio...	7	80	133	8	242	26,043
Michigan.....	7	79	118	10	193	16,544
North Indiana.	9	86	113	7	258	26,302
Rock-River...	10	107	141	20	319	20,143
	72	1,065	1,343	153	1,984	210,790

It is extremely difficult to say which portion of the United States is the more important, or promises to excel in permanent prosperity, when, in fact, the whole is so rich in promise. But there are two things which appear very favourable in the regions now under review; namely, the climate and the Lakes. It is in vain to deny that climate has any thing to do with the characteristics

of our race. Northern latitudes have always produced the most muscular, hardy, and masculine races. That some kind of intelligence, such as developes itself in delicate, poetic, and refined sentiments, may be found in the more genial and luxuriant portions of the earth, will be allowed; but the working and the governing races have always been found located in the midst of Borean tempests. The voluptuous south may cradle its generations of impassioned sons; but the north will always produce the ruling class. This will probably be the course of things with the people we have been contemplating. They are, at present, but in their infancy of social life. Not more than something like one-third of the land belonging to the State of New-York is cleared, and even that not perfectly. Vast forests still await the woodman's stroke, and prodigious tracts of fruitful soil must some day reward the labours of the husbandman. This State is remarkably formed, probably at first without design, but in its effects very much for its own advantage. Let the reader take a fan in his hand, just open it, and he has presented to him the form of the State of New-York. The narrow point which he holds in his hand, is the city itself, and the spreading silk is the country stretching away to the Lakes. The shores of these waters constitute the wide-spread circumference of the State. This is a great territorial and commercial advantage; inasmuch as the Atlantic and the Lakes are linked together. New-York harbour is now one of the great commercial emporiums of the world, and it is destined to be the greatest. Its rivers, canals, and railroads connect it with Lakes Ontario and Erie; and these again with the St. Lawrence on the one side, and through that noble river with all the British dominions and the Atlantic; and then in the other direction with Lakes Michigan, Huron, Superior, and the Mississippi. All we have mentioned, and much more, makes it absolutely certain that, as time advances, this State will grow into a great kingdom. The contiguous countries through which we have been passing, partake of the same features of prosperity and progress; but we mark this one in particular, that we may have something definite before us.

Now, how stands the question with respect to Methodism in this State? We have already remarked on the subject with respect to the city: what is its progress in the country? We answer, that four of the Conferences we have been examining lie in the State of New-York; namely,

TROY, BLACK RIVER, ONEIDA, GENESEE, and a part of ERIE. In these Conferences we find 93,702 church-members; which, with 45,907 for New-York itself, gives a total of 140,609. If we suppose—which is a low estimate—that there will be four other persons, for every one of these, belonging to congregations, families, and schools, who are not members of the church, but who are attached to Methodism as their religious system, then we shall have 562,436 persons under its influence in this one State.

How long has this work been in progress? When did it begin? Philip Embury preached his first sermon in New-York in 1766. Captain Webb followed in a year or two, and in 1769 Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor were appointed by the British Conference. This is no very remote date. There must have been some life and energy in a church which can present such a result in so short a time.

But the nature of the power whence all this has sprung, is a matter of serious importance. Suspicions are entertained as to organizations of this sort. It is often imagined that self-interest, ambition, or enthusiasm leads men to unite in these masses. In the early times of Methodism, as well as in the primitive ages of the church, these confraternities were suspected of perpetrating, in their private assemblies, gross and revolting immoralities. All this has passed away long ago. But still the problem remains unsolved,—What has led to this result?

We can entertain no doubt but that this church-organization originated in real religious faith, convictions, and power. It was not in the beginning, any more than it is at present, produced by any mysterious gravitating instincts, leading men to unite together they know not why. And, moreover, it never imbibed the spirit, acted upon the principles, or proposed the ends, of communism,—in any form or shape. The men who formed these first societies did so under the teaching and influence of religion alone. There is something very much akin to the progress of the first churches of Christ, in this great developement of religious power, from so small a beginning. With some persons, the insignificance of the instruments, and the absence of all the supposed fitness for so great a work, will form a difficulty. Let it be remembered, however, that this objection lies as much against the apostles and first evangelists, as against these men. But when this class of difficulties is felt and objections raised, they always rest upon the implied principle,—not seen, not understood,

perhaps, but certainly in the mind,—that the conversion of men and the spread of religion is a human thing. If divine, if of God, then, for aught which can be imagined, Peter and Paul,—Bunyan and Baxter,—Asbury and Lee, —might be very fit and suitable instruments. It is not learning without God,—not philosophy without the Holy Spirit,—not a polished exterior and worldly distinctions without faith,—which can save the souls of men, or lay the foundation of churches. Then, if this work is begun in the grace and power of the Divinity, acting through the labours of men; it is easy to see that in innumerable cases the fittest instruments will be persons of plain, but pure and elevated, minds.

Judging of the nature of the work to be done in America, one cannot but admire the wisdom of God, in the selection of His instruments. Would delicate and fastidious *gentlemen* have gone into the American wildernesses to preach the gospel,—to converse in familiar phrase with the peasant emigrant, in order to seek his salvation? Would this class have submitted to the privations of a new country? have cheerfully taken their place in the log-hut, and been content with its fare and its lodging? Nay, had this class of persons been disposed to enter the field, could they have done the work required? The tone, dignity, and superiority produced by a high style of education and knowledge, are very beautiful and excellent, but rather belong to society when formed and polished than to its wilderness state. We may safely say that they could not, if they would, have accomplished the work assigned to our pioneer evangelists.

But let it not be supposed that the plain Christian preacher is incapable of great service for religion because he is destitute of the ability to descant on its philosophy. Those who *make* history seldom write it. Those who perform noble deeds are never the men to emblazon them. These classes are too busy with their enterprise to turn aside to talk about its progress. Their work, the temple raised, is their monument. Judging by this rule, we shall be led to see that the workmen selected by God were fitting instruments for His purpose.

Their very plainness, their paucity of polish, might operate in their circumstances most beneficially. They would, as one consequence, be kept from theorizing, from plunging into the abstract, from soaring into the ideal. But, better still, they would be kept to their work, and find

their happiness in its success. They were eminently men of one business; and their calling swallowed up their whole soul. This principle is found to succeed in other things: why should it not in this? Their oneness of purpose will account for their success, as far as instrumentality is concerned. But it will account for much more:—What led to this entire separation of themselves from the world, and devotedness to such a cause as this? Certainly, religious faith. They had a firm and vivid belief in the Christianity which they went about to establish; they had confidence and certainty in their own vocation and calling; they had no doubt as to the particular dispensation in which they were called to be workmen; they entertained a full persuasion in their inmost soul in the principle that God could "raise up children to Abraham" from amongst the scattered tribes around them; and they saw, in the promised perspective, that the American "*wilderness and solitary place should be glad and blossom as the rose:*" "*be glad*" in the privileges, blessings, and joys of God's salvation; and "*blossom*" in all the beautiful fertility of Christian holiness and love. Yes, these men knew what they were doing; they lived, and laboured, and suffered, under the full and plenary conviction that God had sent them, and they were accomplishing His will.

But this of itself is not sufficient to account for the wonderful moral phenomena on which we look. There must have been something more than man's labours, to bring about these results, though performed in honest simplicity, and under the impressions of a strong belief in the "things of God." We refer to the direct influence of God the Holy Ghost. Nothing short of His influence and effusions could possibly produce this spiritual and moral creation. The beginning, the original impulse, the life, must have sprung from this source. How could human nature, or the political and social movements going on in this new country, produce this spiritual life? Its first seed must have come from above. This being the case, all the rest would follow. The unsightly root, which out of the soil is lifeless and barren, no sooner finds a congenial element therein, than it bursts through the incrustations in which it is embedded, and, appropriating to itself the nourishing influences of nature, soon appears a perfect tree clothed with foliage and laden with fruit. So it must have been with this "seed of the kingdom." How could the "word of the gospel" sown by these good but powerless men,

have produced so rich a harvest, had it not been a divine seed, and been blessed by the fructifying rains and dews of God's Holy Spirit?

We are chiefly contemplating this work in its organized form. But let us endeavour to understand it. We shall be in great error, if we imagine that the organization created the people. The people formed the system, and not the system the people. Nothing could be more simple than this process. The men who entered the wilderness in order to cultivate it took no theory, no plan, no platform. All they did was to preach the truth; to deposit it in the soul; and then leave it to its own developement. They won the people to Christ, and then trusted them to his care and love, to be dealt with and to be employed as he chose. The rest followed. They obeyed the instincts of their new nature; and, as in social life, sought union with each other. They felt the impulse of holy and divine affections; and, as in the closest and most endearing friendships and relations, they delighted to commingle with kindred hearts. Here is the origin, the plastic power of this fellowship, this brotherhood. Rules followed the life; they did not create it. The whole framework and machinery of the church sprang from this antecedent power and holiness. Wants grew up with existence, as they do in all analogous cases. The most complex constitutional system is only the expansion of society in a state of high civilization. This is the case also, if we understand the question, of the American Methodist church.

But every religious organization must cherish and keep the spiritual alive, or otherwise the framework will soon break down. The same reviving "showers of blessing" from above, the same effusions of the Holy Ghost, the same presence of Christ, the same fulness of divine love,—which were sought and enjoyed by the first converts, must be constantly sought and received, or wintry barrenness must succeed the beauty and fertility of spring and summer. The walls of a palace may remain after its lord is dead.

This is the danger of complicated, perfected organization. Through all nature we see, that as soon as the fruit is ripe, it falls; and as soon as physical life is perfect, it begins to exhibit signs of decay. How different, now, at this moment, is the political and economical state of America, as compared with some of the old, worn-out nations of Europe!—just upon this principle: the one is like a fine athletic youth, full of health, bloom, vigour, activity; the

other, like a decrepit old man, worn down by years, and equally full of miseries; not knowing which way to turn, or what expedient to adopt, to keep himself alive. Something like this comes to be the condition of churches. Perhaps there is no great danger of formality, languor, or decay at present in American Methodism,—of the external, parasite-like growths, first embracing and then crushing the spiritual; the organization, with its complexities, superseding and pushing aside the vital and divine. But this danger must come.

Every thing, indeed, at present, favours the idea of progress. The church cannot well stand still while all things else are in motion. She must move on with the perpetually-advancing tide, or be left, like a gallant ship, stranded on the shore. Nothing can continue stationary in the States. They are obliged to go on. The wilderness cannot remain as it is; the gloomy solitudes must be peopled; the dark forests, now that the Indian no longer prowls through their thickets in quest of game, must give place to the civilized man; and innumerable, untold, indeed, unimagined, multitudes of cities, with their teeming and busy populations, will, of necessity, occupy these silent and melancholy regions. The church is obliged to advance with these ever-progressing multitudes. At present, the Methodist body most certainly truly apprehends its duties and its destiny, and is nobly pressing on in the career of usefulness. We hope—we pray—that it may never lose its spirit; never sink into inertness; never be paralysed by its own ponderous bulk; and never forget or forsake the principles and the elevated faith of its founders.

III.—THE OHIO LINE.

By following another of the great lines of communication into "the far west," we shall meet with the same thing as we have done in the other routes. Pass the Alleghany Mountains, either from Philadelphia or Baltimore, to Pittsburgh; from thence to Cincinnati, and from the latter place to St. Lewes; and a distance something like from fifteen hundred to two thousand miles will be laid out to traverse. This is the journey we now propose. In all these States of the west, with their cities and towns constantly increasing in population, the Methodist church has planted her institutions. Besides the chief places already mentioned, which contain very large bodies of people belonging to our faith, the noble-minded servants of God have entered

the wilderness wherever man is found to have pitched his tent, and have introduced the ever-blessed gospel.

It was the writer's good fortune to meet with many of the humble, but courageous and enterprising, "back-wood" missionaries, who had spent their lives in following their countrymen into the forests and prairies of these distant regions, for the purpose of winning them to Christ. A finer race of men it was never his happiness to see; athletic, robust, muscular; of noble and independent mien, open countenance, lofty and expanded brow, brave and resolute bearing; and withal full of fine common sense, intelligence, benevolence, and zeal. These men had, many of them, followed the Indians to their hunting-ground, and lived with them in their wigwams; had borne with their childish weaknesses, and the storm of their fierce and furious passions;—and all for the sake of their spiritual and eternal good. They had, as well, accompanied the white race in their endless peregrinations. They had lived, moreover, to witness the magnificent result. Many a race of "squatters" they had seen become a race of freeholders, substantial farmers, happy and prosperous in their circumstances. Many a group of log-huts, letting in wind and weather, they had beheld changed into beautiful villages or substantial towns, the residence of civilization, opulence, and religion. Many a league of gloomy, almost impervious, forest they had witnessed yield to the woodman's axe, to the ploughman's industry; and, in the place of this, had beheld rich and abundant harvests waving beneath the breezes of heaven. Many haggard, care-worn, afflicted, and anxious matrons, dragged into the wilderness by their lords, surrounded by a wretched, squalid, fretful family,—they had lived to see rise above their difficulties, and become the centres of domestic order and peace, and cheered by beholding their sons and daughters pass into a happy and hopeful maturity. Yes, these "back-wood" preachers have seen something of life! They have done some work worth mentioning, for God and for man; and they now reap their reward in the fruits of their toil.

Nothing can well exceed in importance the results of this success. What would these vast regions have become, had they been peopled by our profligate race, without the corrective power and influence of the gospel? It is easy to anticipate. The people must have sunk into a state of perfect barbarism, as well as unmitigated vice. To have prevented this, is a great work. But the prevention

of a present catastrophe of this kind is not the whole; it is not half the case. These men have laid a foundation for the permanent Christian and social progress of these new aggregations of people. They have succeeded in planting the ordinances of the gospel, in what may be fitly considered the rudimental state of society. They have gone to the bottom; they have begun at the beginning; throwing the salt into the very fountain, they have purified the stream.

I. After passing the Alleghanies, and descending into the valley of the Mississippi, the first Conference boundary we enter is that of PITTSBURGH. In this division we have nine districts; namely, *Pittsburgh*, *Uniontown*, *Clarksbury*, *Morgantown*, *Wheeling*, *Barnsville*, *Cambridge*, *Beaver*: one hundred and eleven stations, circuits, and missions; one hundred and eighty-four ministers, with two hundred and sixty-five local preachers; and forty-two thousand three hundred and seventy-eight church-members; three hundred and forty-five of these being people of colour.

We find the following appointments:—Editor of Pittsburgh "Christian Advocate," William Hunter. North-Western Virginia Academy, Gordon Battell, Principal; Alexander Martin, Teacher. Alleghany College, H. J Clark, President; F. S. De Hass, Agent.

There is also something here which is not noticed; namely, a very large and spacious Book-Concern, with a most excellent Agent at its head; and inasmuch as his name is not inserted for Pittsburgh, he, of course, belongs to another Conference.

The progress of religion in Pittsburgh may be imagined from the state of things, as described by Bishop Asbury, in 1809:—

"We reached John Wrenshall's," he remarks, "in Pittsburgh, on Friday evening. The Rev. Mr. Steel offered, unsolicited, in the name of the Presbyterian eldership, their large, elegant house for Sunday's exercises. I preached at Thomas Cooper's on Saturday.

"Sabbath, 20th. I accepted the offer made, and preached at three o'clock. It was an *open* time. Could we unite nations and languages, as well as spirits and tempers, we might do great things here. A Baptist family of the name of Plummer receives us on Tuesday. Young Plummer is sick, a child is sick, and the whole family feel awful. Who will pray with young Plummer when we are gone? The young man is certainly under convictions."

Here we have dates and facts. In 1809, Bishop Asbury

had no place of worship to perform divine service in; he preached in Thomas Cooper's cottage on Saturday, and the Presbyterian church on Sunday. He had no Methodist family to entertain him, it seems; and he was invited to a Baptist's of the name of Plummer; and, when he was gone, he knew of no one who would pray with "young Plummer," who was "certainly under convictions." How amazing the progress of forty years! We now find about ten large Methodist churches, and a corresponding number of people.

In crossing the Alleghany Mountains to visit a place now belonging to this Conference, we have the following picture of scenery, life, morals, and manners. The date is 1788:—

"Thursday, July 10th. We had to cross the Alleghany Mountains again at a bad passage. Our course lay over mountains, and through valleys; and the mud and mire was such as might scarcely be expected in December. We came to an old, forsaken habitation in Tyger's-Valley. Here our horses grazed about, while we boiled our meat. Midnight brought us up at Jones's, after riding forty, perhaps fifty, miles. The old man, our host, was kind enough to wake us up at four o'clock in the morning. We journeyed on through devious, lonely wilds, where no food might be found, except what grew in the woods, or was carried with us. We met with two women who were going to see their friends, and to attend the quarterly meeting at Clarksbury. Near midnight we stopped at A——'s, who hissed his dogs at us; but the women were determined to get to quarterly meeting, so we went in. Our supper was tea. Brothers Phœbus and Cook took to the woods; old —— gave up his bed to the women. I lay along the floor on a few deer-skins, with the fleas. That night our poor horses got no corn; and next morning they had to swim across the Monongahela. After a twenty miles' ride, we came to Clarksbury; and man and beast were so outdone, that it took us ten hours to accomplish it. I lodged with Colonel Johnson. Our meeting was held in a long, close room belonging to the Baptists. Our use of the house, it seems, gave offence. There attended about seven hundred people, to whom I preached with freedom; and I believe the Lord's power reached the hearts of some. After administering the sacrament, I was well satisfied to take my leave. We rode thirty miles to father Haymond's, after three o'clock, Sunday afternoon, and made it nearly eleven before we came in; about midnight we went to rest, and rose about five o'clock next morning. My mind has been keenly tried under the great fatigue endured, both by myself and my horse. O, how glad should I be of a plain, clean plank to lie on, as preferable to most of the beds! and where the beds are in a bad state, the floors are worse. The gnats are almost as troublesome here as the moschetoes in the low-lands of the sea-board. This country will require much work to make it tolerable. The people are, many of them, of the boldest cast of adventurers; and, with some,

the decencies of civilized society are scarcely regarded: two instances of which I myself witnessed. The great landowners, who are industrious, will soon show the effects of the aristocracy of wealth, by lording it over their poorer neighbours, and by securing to themselves all the offices of profit or honour. On the one hand, savage warfare teaches them to be cruel; and, on the other, the preaching of antinomians poisons them with error in doctrine: good moralists they are not; and Christians they cannot be, unless they are better taught." *

After this scene of real life as encountered by a bishop, we may give an adventure of another sort, connected with this place and locality.

"Richard Williams, on the north branch of the Potomac, was taken prisoner by the Indians: it may be satisfactory to many, to record in this Journal his own account of the wonderful deliverances he experienced, and the extraordinary combinations of providences by which he was restored to his family.

"A few days before Braddock's defeat, nineteen Indians beset the house, killed his father, his mother, and one of his brother's sons. Williams and his child they secured as prisoners, and took them away to Fort-Pitt, (now Pittsburgh,) tying his hands to a tree every night to prevent his escape; the child he fed with wild cherries, or sauvice-berries; but it was taken from him at the fort. On the day of Braddock's defeat, he was taken across the Ohio River, and guarded to Detroit, where he found the garrison reduced to the extremity of eating horseflesh. After staying some time at Detroit, he made his escape, taking with him a Frenchman's gun and ammunition; and pushed homeward, first by curve lines, and then in a more straight direction.

"The Indians pursued and headed him, which obliged him to alter his course: wading through a deep stream, the water went over his head, and wet his powder. For three days he travelled on, until, being pressed by hunger, he stopped to dry his wet powder, but on examination he found it all dissolved away; his next shift was to dig sarsaparilla for sustenance. He went on, and by good fortune found a fish which a bird had dropped, and ate that. Continuing on, he came to a large river, where he saw two canoe-loads of Indians pass; from these he hid himself: the Indians being out of sight, he made a raft of two logs, and by this contrivance gained the opposite shore. After this, he was three days without eating or drinking, and reduced to extreme suffering: he saw an Indian, and escaped him, and came to a stream of water, of which he drunk, and soon after a plum-tree, some of the fruit of which he took along with him. The day following he fared something better, having found part of a fawn, which he roasted, picked the bones and the marrow, and carefully preserved the meat for future need. After the venison was all eaten, on each succeeding day, for three days, he found a squirrel. He afterwards

* "Journal," vol. ii. pp. 35, 36.

caught and ate a pole-cat: at another time he saw a hawk fly up, and going to the spot he found a wild turkey. Travelling on, he came to the Ohio, and waded it: near this place an Indian threw his tomahawk at him; he tried to escape by climbing a wild cherry-tree, but found himself too weak, and he fell into the hands of two Frenchmen and five Indians, and thus found himself once more in the power of his enemies. With these he feigned derangement; they, however, took him along with them to Fort-Pitt (Pittsburgh). On the way he tired, and they threatened to kill him; he told them he was willing to die. Arriving at the fort, an Indian charged him with being a prisoner from Detroit: he was forthwith put under a guard, and a council held, in the French language, to determine on what was to be done with him. The sentence of the general was, that he should be shot: to this some objected, saying that his *spirit* would haunt them if he was killed there, and advised his being taken to the island and buried in the sand. He was told that he should eat no more meat there, that the crickets should eat him. He behaved himself as though he understood nothing they said, yet he knew the general purport of their conversation, though they spoke in French. He relates, that one morning before day, while in the fort, he fell into a trance: he beheld spirits for his conductors, and lightning also: the guards being both asleep, he climbed up the high wall, and, clambering over the spike palisades, got out safe. Having still to pass the sentinels, and not knowing where they were placed, he was discovered just as the cock crew for day: the sentinels mistook him for a comrade, and let him pass. At this time he felt a conviction that his wife prayed for him, and this was communicated in an unusual manner: and she, during his absence, had great comfort, and an assurance that she should see her husband again. Escaping thus, he made the best of his way without interruption until the evening, when he heard a gun fired at some distance behind him: presently another;—these were his pursuers, who had found his track in the woods: he strove to run, but he was too weak. Another gun yet nigher to him went off; he made what way his strength would allow, and, when he came to places where he left no track, he made zig-zag courses to deceive them, and give him time to get a-head: but there were so many of them, they would still discover his track again. Thus he struggled on, until seven guns were fired, the last of which he supposes to have been within two or three hundred yards from him: now his heart began to fail, and he thought he was gone, yet he resolved to labour onwards as long as he had life. At the firing of the last gun, his pursuers crossed his track, and got a-head of him: taking advantage of this circumstance, he turned out of the path, letting the Indians who were behind tread in the footsteps of those before. Following the direction now taken, he had not gone far until he came to a path which led to a settlement of the whites; this he did not long keep, but, going round the head of the ravine, laid himself down, concluding that if his track was again discovered, he would be favoured by the darkness. The Indians did get his track twice, but never overtook him. He went on in the dark as

well as he could, sometimes feeling the bushes with his hands: among the rocks he often fell down from weakness: having gained smoother ground, he stopped and lay down until day.

"His enemies, it seems, had not given up the pursuit. He had not long left his hard lodging when he heard the report of two guns; but coming to a hill where no mark of footsteps could be traced, he steered his course for Bedford, and came on a trading path, in which he kept. Five days he lived on acorns; afterwards he found some wild cherries; but, lo! while he was eating, up comes an Indian. The Indian asked him where he was going; he said, To the Delaware; the Indian then took him by the hand and gave—*whoop*, when presently others joined him. By these he was kept a prisoner for some time: he appeared bold; was active in cooking, and by his cleverness got the favour of the captain, who praised him, and said he could do every thing like an Indian. He had more than he needed to eat; the captain, however, was very careful to secure him every night, by making him lie down in one corner; here he drew a cord over some loop-poles, and tied deer's hoofs to the end, so that if Williams pulled open the poles they would rattle, and the deer's hoofs would strike the captain's face. With these Indians Williams stayed a long time: they went to war, and left him to provide deer for the squaws. At last he found an opportunity of escaping, which he improved, and arrived safe at his own house. He is now a *faithful man*, his wife a pious woman; and they have preaching at the house." *

The facts of this narrative are deeply interesting. They are, besides, only indicative of a class of events and adventures, which, in those times, were constantly going on. The white population were night and day exposed to the aggressions of the red men of the wood. Their border habitations were fired, their women and children often destroyed, or led into captivity,—a fate more terrible than death itself,—whilst the men had constantly to perform the duties of sentinels over their property and families. How great the change! No Indian is now found in these quarters. Hundreds and hundreds of miles intervene betwixt the outcast race and their conquerors.

The moral aspect is as much altered as the quiet and security of the population are advanced by the expulsion of the Indians. From Pittsburgh, as from a centre, stations, missions, churches, radiate in every direction. The Alleghany Mountains are crossed in different style from that described by Mr. Asbury, with his jaded horse; the habitations of the people and the amount of their comforts are now very different from that in which a "*clean plank*" would have been a luxury beyond that of a bed; and a

* "Journal," vol. i. pp. 370—373.

different amount of civilization from that which the good bishop describes when the gruff inmate of some miserable hut "*hissed*" his dogs at the "*women*" as well as the men; and, best of all, the "*morals*" of the people have been infinitely elevated since our evangelist drew his picture.

II. The OHIO CONFERENCE joins that of Pittsburgh. We have in this division fifteen districts; namely, *East Cincinnati, West Cincinnati, Dayton, Urbana, Hillsborough, Chillicothe, Columbus, Zanesville, Marietta, Portsmouth, Kanawha, Cincinnati German, Pittsburgh German, Indiana German, North Ohio German:* one hundred and sixty-one stations, circuits, and missions; two hundred and eight ministers, with five hundred and twenty-eight local preachers; and sixty-two thousand one hundred and ninety-eight church-members, five hundred and fourteen of whom are people of colour.

The number of special appointments for this Conference will be found very great. We have the following:—Western Book-Concern, Leroy Swormstedt, Agent; Western Christian Advocate, Charles Elliott; Christian Apologist, William Nast; Agent to the American Bible Society, William P. Strickland; Wesleyan Female College, P. B. Wilber, President; M. P. Gaddis, Agent; Ohio Conference High School, Solomon Howard, Principal: Augusta College, Joseph S. Tomlinson, President; Oakland Female Seminary, Joseph McD. Mathews, Principal; Greenfield Seminary, James G. Blair; Frederick Merrick, and L. D. Mac Cabe, Professors in the Ohio Western University; Worthington Female Seminary, Ezra M. Boring, Principal; Uriah Heath, Agent; James B. Finley, Moral and Religious Instructor to the Ohio Penitentiary.

The above Charles Elliott is Dr. Elliott, the author of "Romanism Delineated,"—republished in this country. Dr. Elliott is an Irishman; and is possessed of the vivacity, acumen, logical power, and withal hatred of Popery, which unite to distinguish the natives of the north of Ireland. In his editorial labours, as well as in his Delineation, he has done good service in the support of Protestantism. He is, besides, a perfect abolitionist. Slavery can have no favour in the sight of Dr. Elliott. It is an abhorred and detested evil; an unmitigated injury to the slaves themselves; a crime in the slaveholder to exact this oppressive wrong; and, moreover, an outrage against Christianity, and a sin against Almighty God, in the esti-

mation of Dr. Elliott. These, if I understood him aright, are the sentiments he entertains on this subject. He is now removed from his office of editor of the Western Christian Advocate, and placed in another very responsible literary post; namely, to write the history of the great division which has taken place in the Methodist Episcopal church; and in the prosecution of this task, of course, the question of slavery must, in some of its phases, if not in all of them, come before his attention. From the character of Dr. Elliott, his habits of research, his thorough acquaintance with his subject, and the deep interest he feels in the points at issue; it is not too much to expect a very able work on the subject.

Dr. Tomlinson, the President of Augusta College, located at a place of that name in Kentucky, is equally adverse to slavery,—takes decided views, and does not hesitate to announce them. He is, also, in other respects, a man of talent, of energy, and of learning. Dr. Tomlinson appeared to great advantage in the Pittsburgh Conference, in every question in which he took a part.

But the establishment which will excite the most earnest curiosity in this long list of learned institutions, is the Female College of Cincinnati. By the following extracts from the reports and other documents, the system may be pretty well understood. And as this establishment must appear a novelty in this country, it is deemed right to insert a somewhat full account of its rise and principles. To give an idea of the manner of doing business in America, it may be proper to present an account of the origin of this school:—

Origin and Organization, &c.

"At a special meeting of the preachers of Cincinnati, held in the Editor's office of the Western Christian Advocate, May 4th, 1842, the following persons were present:—Rev. Bishop L. L. Hamline, Rev. C. Elliott, D.D., Rev. James L. Grover, Rev. George C. Crum, Rev. William H. Lawder, Rev. Adam Miller, Rev. William Nast, Rev. Thomas H. Harrison, Rev. L. Swormstedt, Rev. James P. Killbreath, and Rev. William Herr.

"The meeting was organized by calling Rev. L. L. Hamline to the chair, and appointing Rev. William Herr secretary. At the request of the chair, the object of the meeting was explained by Rev. Dr. Elliott; namely, to consult on the expediency of taking measures to establish in this city a Female Institute of the highest possible grade. The following Resolutions were presented and adopted.

"*Resolved*, 1*st*. That in the opinion of this meeting, it is deemed

advisable to call a public meeting to consider the practicability of establishing, in Cincinnati, a Female Collegiate Institute.

"*Resolved*, 2*d*. That a committee consisting of Rev. Charles Elliott, D.D., Rev. Bishop L. L. Hamline, Rev. William Herr, Rev. James Killbreath, Rev. John F. Wright, Rev. James L. Grover, Rev. William Nast, Rev. George C. Crum, Rev. William H. Lawder, Rev. Adam Miller, and Messrs. Samuel Williams, Esq., William Neff, and Harvey Decamp, report a plan of the Institute to be laid before the general meeting.

"On motion it was agreed that the committee on the plan meet on next Wednesday, at four o'clock, P.M., in the office of C. Elliott, D.D.

"On motion, the meeting adjourned.

"L. L. HAMLINE, *Chairman*.
"WM. HERR, *Secretary*.

May 11th, 1842.

"The committee on the plan met pursuant to adjournment. Present, Samuel Williams, Esq., Rev. C. Elliott, Rev. J. L. Grover, Rev. Thomas Harrison, and Rev. William Herr. S. Williams, Esq., was called to the chair. The report of the committee was called for, which being read by C. Elliott, D.D., was unanimously adopted. The following resolution was also adopted:

"*Resolved*, That Rev. William Herr, and Rev. James L. Grover, be a committee to fix on the time and place of the public meeting in order to submit the plan of a Female Collegiate Institute, and give notice of the same. There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

"S. WILLIAMS, *Chairman*.
"WM. HERR, *Secretary*.

"Pursuant to public notice given, a meeting was held in Wesley Chapel on Fifth-street, between Broadway and Sycamore, May 20th, 1842, in order to consult on the practicability of establishing, in Cincinnati, a Female Collegiate Institute; at which time and place the plan adopted by the committee at the prior meeting, detailing the general principles of the Institute, was read and unanimously adopted. A Board of Trustees were immediately organized, and arrangements for the employment of teachers, and to procure suitable college buildings, &c.

"At a subsequent meeting, the Rev. P. B. Wilber and lady were employed to take the supervision of the Institute. The first session of the Female Collegiate Institute commenced on the first Monday of September in 1842.

"Not long after the commencement of the school an act of incorporation was procured from the Legislature of Ohio, under the title of 'the Methodist Female Collegiate Institute.' But in the year 18— it was determined to establish the Institute on a firm basis, procure a more eligible site, and erect new and more commodious buildings. Accordingly, a new act of incorporation was obtained, and the name

changed to 'Wesleyan Female College.' The college has annually increased in patronage, and numbers at the present time about three hundred pupils, many of whom are from a distance. The course of instruction is ample and appropriate to the female sex; and by the advantages of the college much more can be accomplished in less time than is usually spent at female academies, where only a superficial and limited course is pursued.

"*Course of Study, Classification, and Miscellaneous Information.*

"In adopting a course of study, it has been the object to embrace not only those studies of practical importance, but also as many as possible of those of an educational character. The belief is entertained, that these studies are so arranged as to form a regular and systematic course, and to present to the student an easy gradation from the simplest subject to the most abstruse; so that those young ladies who may take the entire course, or much of it, may not be forced into the consideration of subjects above their comprehension, for want of previous mental discipline. In the recitation-room, it will be the object of the Board of Instruction to see that the pupil not only knows her lesson, but thoroughly understands it; and, by familiar conversations suggested at the time, so to educate the heart and moral feelings, as well as the intellect, as to prepare young ladies not only for the drawing-room and parlour, but more especially for that highly responsible position designed for them by their Creator, in a free, intelligent, and Christian nation.

"The studies pursued are divided into three departments, namely, the primary, the preparatory, and the collegiate. The primary department is divided into two classes; the preparatory, into four; and the collegiate, into three. Each class in the primary and preparatory departments will occupy a separate room, and pursue its studies under the immediate supervision of its appropriate teacher, who is the preceptress of that class. These classes will be subdivided into sections, if the number should require, so that the classes in recitation may not be too large for the good of the students, and so that no teacher may have more than thirty or thirty-five under her supervision, at the same time. Thus, each class will be, in fact, a small, independent, select school, systematically pursuing its studies under its appropriate preceptress.

"The Principal will have the especial care of but few classes; but will devote most of his time to passing from room to room, hearing or witnessing the recitations, order, application, &c., in all the several classes, from the lowest to the highest; thus securing, as far as practicable, a unity of mode and aim in all the classes, and reducing all to one harmonious whole. Nor need those who can advance less rapidly, be urged forward faster than they are prepared to advance; nor need the more highly favoured be unnecessarily detained by this method of classification. The former may delay, if need be, three years on the studies of two; and the latter may accomplish, in two years, perhaps, the studies of three.

"At the opening of school in the morning, all the pupils will

assemble in the chapel for religious devotions, after which the several classes will retire to their respective rooms. The principal advantages of this system of arrangement, besides bringing all the operations of the entire school under the constant and immediate supervision of the Principal, are,—it combines all the advantages of extensive division of labour, which cannot be secured in small private schools, with all the vigilance, energy, and constant supervision of a small select school, and brings to the aid of all, the educational appliances and facilities of a chartered and liberally endowed college.

"Regular and punctual attendance is indispensable to thorough advancement. Those who are irregular soon fall behind their class, lose their interest and emulation, and at best can acquire but shreds and patches of knowledge. Independent thought, which should be the object of education, must be based upon a knowledge—not of words, but of facts and actual relations. To secure this, requires constant and persevering labour,—a labour which must be borne by the student as well as the teacher, and encouraged by the attention, interest, and co-operation of the parent. No 'royal road,' or railway, or telegraphic despatch, to scholarship, has yet been discovered.

"The religious instruction of the institution is based upon the broad principles of Christianity, as held by all evangelical denominations; and no sectarian or sectional prejudices are allowed to disturb the peace and harmony of those who seek instruction within its walls.

"In assigning pupils their duties, it is the design to give each, if known circumstances do not forbid, as many studies as she can thoroughly learn—by diligently employing all the hours in school, not devoted to recitation or other duties, and at least two hours each day at home in study. But, inasmuch as different pupils are endowed with different degrees of aptitude for learning, this point cannot, in every instance, be attained without the co-operation of parents or guardians.

"If the student have no studies to prosecute at home, the parents or guardians may always be assured that either the Principal or they themselves are deceived.

"In the government of the school-room and boarding-house, no more rules are enjoined than are indispensably and obviously necessary; but with these a strict and uniform compliance is required. In procuring obedience and application, resort is had only to reason, and to such means as appeal to the better principles of our nature.

"The Principal and Governess wish to assure the public, that it will be their effort to make their house the home of those young ladies who may be intrusted to their care, and to exercise a parental solicitude for their comfort, health, habits, manners, and morals; and that all guards necessary for physical and moral security, will be constantly thrown around them.

"The Trustees have been induced, by the solicitations of many patrons, as well as by the difficulty of procuring regular attendance during the afternoon exercises, to adopt the one daily session system. —Therefore, the hours of school will hereafter be from nine a.m. to

three p.m. in the winter, and from eight a.m. to two p.m. in the summer.

Examinations.

"There will be a rigid and impartial examination of all the classes in the primary and preparatory departments at the close of each session; and of the collegiate department at the close of each term—and the members of the classes will be advanced, or not, according to their proficiency.

"The young ladies who shall have completed the entire course of study, and sustained satisfactory examinations, may receive a classical diploma; and those who shall have completed the English studies in the course, and sustained a satisfactory examination upon them, may receive an English diploma."

These examinations terminated last year, (1848,) in conferring five diplomas on young ladies, for their attainments in classical learning; and eight in English.

It is easy to anticipate many scruples as to this institution. To give diplomas to young ladies may excite surprise in the grave dames of this country, and cause the gentlemen to shrug their shoulders in consternation, exclaiming, "What next?" But really, after all, why should not learning and good conduct be encouraged and stimulated in the female sex as well as in the other? Do they occupy an unimportant position in communities? Are their sons and daughters less likely to become respectable, pious, and useful members of society for the good training, attainments, and honourable distinctions of their mothers? Is a well-disciplined mind, a cultivated intellect, a soul inspired with the noble sentiments which a knowledge of truth must give, less likely than others to govern a household with wisdom and discretion? Have not mothers much more to do with the formation of the character of their sons than the father? and, as a consequence, much more concern in laying the foundations of communities in all which concerns their manners and morals? Are not families the light, the salt, the ornament, the salvation of states? And are not women all this to the family? And, moreover, cannot the vulgarity, the rudeness, the asperities of the world be moderated and polished by the more delicate and milder nature of the softer sex? This being so, how can it be improper to adopt means effectually to educate the young girls as well as the young boys of any generation?

But there are other reasons for these female colleges in America. The disciples of the church of Rome, in all these

matters, exhibit more practical sense than Protestants. In every part of the world, they have always striven to obtain the education of youth. This has been, amongst other things, one of the most remarkable vocations of the Jesuits. They are now at work in every quarter of the globe; and, as might be expected, with indefatigable industry and perseverance in the United States. Hence these institutions are partly framed in self-defence. The very intelligent Principal of the college informed me, that the Methodist body found it absolutely necessary to establish these schools, in order to prevent the children of their own people from being alienated from them by being educated at either a Popish or else some other school, alien in sentiment to their own church. Moreover, he gave me to understand that their establishment had commended itself very much to the public; it was well supported, always being full; and had answered the purpose of preserving the children of their flocks from going astray.

We may be pretty certain that there is something valuable and vital in this novel establishment. Of all men, the Americans will be found to possess a clear perception of what is practically important and useful. Without examination, if it is found that these people have established something new, it may be assumed at once, that some useful element may be discovered somewhere, that a valuable end is proposed. Being free from prepossessions and prejudices, as well as free in other things, they do not scruple to adopt modes of action, which in this and the other old European societies would be laughed at. Many of their projects have been so treated by other people. This matters little to the Yankee. You may laugh as long as you please; but, generally speaking, he is sure of his game. This very institution will, undoubtedly, prove a most interesting auxiliary to the church, and an element of great power for the conservation of the Protestant youth of the country. The "women"* are always the objects of attention with the Popish church; and the Americans have no objection, in this affair, even to take a lesson out of their book. The moral force of Popery, so long exercised in the world, has been accomplished very much through the societies formed in various ways to influence, to educate, and then to employ, "women" for

* See MICHELET'S remarkable pamphlet, entitled, "Priests, Women, and Families."

the furtherance of its objects. With us, generally, it is sufficient to know that the Popish church adopts a certain line of policy at once to discard it. If it is Popish, that is quite enough; we instinctively resolve that it must be wrong, and adopt a course as opposite as we can. This has been the case regarding female education. The church of Rome has every where maintained an ascendancy. Many of the nunneries have always been set apart for educational purposes; and now, the highest and the best female education which can be obtained, is to be found in these establishments. We have nothing of this kind in Protestantism in this country, or, as far as I know, elsewhere in Europe. The education of females is left to accident, to chance. The Americans have in this, as in other things, taken the initiative; and, when we have done laughing and wondering at the notion of female colleges and diplomas, we shall imitate them.

The sooner the better; at any rate in spirit, in principle. Our opposition to Popery by declamatory harangues is just beating the air. The papacy is not an abstraction; it is an organization of living souls: and it will employ any kind of industry to train a child, to gain a proselyte, to attract another atom to the church. Like the coral insect, they are busy in building their island in the ocean; and, being constant in their labour, they consequently progress in every place. The priests of this sect care no more about the declamations of Protestants than the insect tribe—secure below the surface of the sea—care for the rumbling of the tempest on the surface. The only possible way of keeping out Popery is to occupy the soil. Let the world be filled with institutions, educational and religious, which shall embody and set forth truth, —the truth of the Bible, and truth on all other subjects; and then the falsehoods of this system will find no room.

With much less of asperity, as it struck me, than is found amongst ourselves, the American people have a full perception as to the evils of Popery. Their system of government, however, never allows them to think of opposing it by any legislative enactment. The only means they ever imagine or think of adopting, are moral. This very female college, so far as it is designed to be protective, is a measure of this sort. It occupies the space, it fills the vacuum; and in this way it bars out the Popish nunnery. The American Methodist church will, no doubt, aim at giving as good, and, if possible, a better, education, than the nunnery, and beat Popery even in its own favourite vocation. Certainly

they will entertain no doubt on the practicability of this, or any thing else, which they see to be desirable. There is a spirit in them to cope with any difficulty, and to win any prize which may be within the reach of man. They indulge no doubt as to the excellency of their system; and, this being the case, they set themselves manfully to carry its embodied truths into living efficiency. Whilst we are bandying about our dogmas in fierce debate, and appealing to the legislature, the American is doing his own work; he is putting his principles into practical operation, by forming institutions to give them developement, and to bring them to bear upon society.

I remember seeing in some Romish periodical, in a letter from a missionary-priest, employed in—I think—Oregon, that they met with more obstruction from the ignorant and fanatical Methodists than from any other people. If I am not mistaken, in future years, as the struggle thickens, and the belligerents come face to face on this continent, the Methodist body will present a noble front, to obstruct the progress of this ambitious and intrusive church,—more resolute and potent, perhaps, than any other power, not even excepting the civil government.

There is another interesting incident connected with the Methodism of Cincinnati. It is, that four of the districts enumerated are German. These four German districts, indeed, embrace much more territory than is included in this Conference. It will be seen that they extend to Pittsburgh, Indiana, and North Ohio, as well as to Cincinnati. The number of missions is thirty-four; with forty-two missionaries. Great numbers of Germans have located in these quarters; and religion has spread amongst them in a most encouraging manner. This work began, in its present, its modern form, in the conversion of a learned native of Germany; who, when he left Europe, and for some time afterwards, cherished sceptical notions. Being himself savingly converted to God, he instantly began to recommend the Saviour to his countrymen; and, from this beginning, one of the noblest works of religion in modern times has sprung up and spread its hallowing leaven. It was my happiness to listen to the account of these things from this minister's own lips; who, in company with two or three more German missionaries, detailed the interesting narrative. This gentleman having been trained at one of the universities of Germany, (as was the case with several others,) he enjoys the advantages of

learning in connexion with piety. Dr. Nast sustains a literary as well as a ministerial relation to his countrymen, and is well able either to exhibit or defend the doctrines he has happily embraced. In fact, both these functions are well sustained by him. But the greatest ornament and beauty of these German Christians is their piety. They are eminently devout and holy men. It is impossible to hold intercourse with them without being impressed with the purity and affection of their spirit. They are, indeed, in happy circumstances. Religion with them is emphatically a new creation. They were all either Papists, or, what is quite as deadening to the soul, Rationalists. Their escape is like getting out of hell into heaven. They feel all this. It impresses them deeply; so that, in truth, religion with them is enjoyed in all its virgin sweetness. They are in their "first love;" and the ardour and simplicity of their souls is perfectly refreshing to see—rather to feel. These Germans must live in the affections of all who come in contact with them.

III. On the Ohio, in the State of Kentucky, below Cincinnati, stands the city of Louisville, which gives its name to a Conference. The LOUISVILLE CONFERENCE contains five districts, namely, *Louisville*, *Hardingsburg*, *Smithland*, *Hopkinsville*, and *Bowling-Green:* fifty-four stations, circuits, and missions; sixty-six ministers, with one hundred and ninety-nine local preachers; twenty thousand four hundred and seventy-two church-members, three thousand seven hundred and forty-two of whom are people of colour.

We have one extra appointment:—Funk Seminary, J. Randolph Finley.

Louisville, as the name imports, was originally settled by the French. It is no great distance below Cincinnati, on the Ohio, and is a place of great commercial importance. It belongs to the Southern church, and slavery obtains through the country around. It is clear, however, that great religious progress has been made. Louisville was visited by Bishop Asbury, when in a very infantine state, who, in 1811, says he preached "in great affliction of body; but it was a liberal season." From that period it has risen, as we see, to great consideration.

IV. Kentucky is skirted, through a part of its frontier, by the Ohio River; and, consequently, the Conference

bearing that name joins the Ohio Conference. The KENTUCKY CONFERENCE belongs to the Methodist Episcopal church, South. We find eight districts; namely, *Parkersburg, Gugandotte, Maysville, Covington, Lexington, Shelbyville, Harrodsburg, Barboursville:* seventy-five stations, circuits, and missions; ninety-three ministers; with two hundred and forty local preachers; and twenty-eight thousand six hundred and twenty-four church-members; five thousand one hundred and eighty-three of these are people of colour.

We are now, as will be seen by the number of people of colour belonging to this Conference, in a slave-holding State. The progress of the slave population is great. In 1790, it only amounted to 11,830; and in 1840, it had increased to 182,258.

We find the following appointments connected with this Conference:—Transylvania University, H. B. Bascom, Josiah L. Kemp. This institution is located at Lexington, and is, for America, an old establishment; having been founded in 1798. It is reported in the Repository as having seven instructors; six hundred and ten is given as the number of its *alumni;* three ministers; one hundred and twelve students; and four thousand five hundred volumes in its library.

Bishop Asbury seems to have entered Kentucky for the first time in 1790. He says, under the date of May 11th:

"Crossed Kentucky River. Our way is over mountains, steep hills, deep rivers, and muddy creeks: a thick growth of reeds for miles together; and no inhabitants but wild beasts and savage men. I saw the graves of the slain,—twenty-four in one camp. They had set no guard; were late up playing at cards. A poor woman dreamed three times that the Indians had surprised and killed them all. She urged her husband to entreat the people to set a guard; but they only abused and cursed him for his pains. As the poor woman was relating her last dream, the Indians came upon the camp; she and her husband sprang away, the one east and the other west, and escaped. She afterwards came back, and witnessed the carnage. These poor sinners appeared ripe for destruction." *

The following is, I suppose, an account of the first Conference held in Kentucky:—

"Thursday, 13th. Being court-time, (this prevented the use of the court-house,) I preached in a dwelling-house at Lexington, and not without some feeling. The Methodists do but little here: others lead the way.....Our Conference was held at brother Masterson's,

* "Journal," vol. ii. pp. 73, 74.

a very comfortable house, and kind people. We went through our business in great love and harmony. I ordained Wilson Lee, Thomas Williamson, and Barnabas M'Henry, elders. We had preaching noon and night; and souls were converted, and the fallen restored. I would not, for the worth of all the place, have been prevented in this visit; having no doubt but that it will be for the good of the present and rising generation. It is true, such exertions of mind and body are trying; but I am supported under it: if souls are saved, it is enough."

Here is the account of the return :—

"Monday, 24th. We set out on our return through the wilderness with a large and helpless company. We had about fifty people, twenty of whom were armed, and five of whom might have stood fire. To preserve order and harmony, we had articles drawn up for, and signed by, our company; and I arranged the people for travelling according to the regulations agreed upon. Some disaffected gentlemen, who would neither sign nor come under discipline, had yet the impudence to murmur when left behind. The first night, we lodged some miles beyond the Hazel-patch. The next day we discovered signs of Indians; and some thought they heard voices. We therefore thought it best to travel on, and did not encamp until three o'clock, halting on the east side of Cumberland River. *We had gnats enough.* We had an alarm; but it turned out to be a false alarm. A young gentleman, a Mr. Alexander, behaved exceedingly well; but his tender frame was not adequate to the fatigue to be endured, and he had well-nigh fainted on the road to Cumberland-Gap. Brother Massie was captain; and finding I had gained authority among the people, I acted somewhat in the capacity of an adjutant and quarter-master amongst them. At the foot of the mountain the company separated: the greater part went on with me to Powell's River. Here we slept on the earth: and next day made the Grassy Valley. Several of the company, who were not Methodists, expressed their high approbation of our conduct, and most affectionately invited us to their houses. The journeys of each day were as follows :—Monday, forty-five miles; Tuesday, fifty miles; Wednesday, sixty miles."*

"Camp meetings" seem once to have been attended by great results in Kentucky. These meetings, like many other usages which ultimately exercise great influence in religion, apparently originated in accident. Two brothers of the name of M'Gee, one a Methodist, and the other a Presbyterian minister, were the instruments employed in establishing these meetings. Whilst a preacher of the name of Hoge, in connexion with these two brothers on a preaching excursion, was delivering his message, a woman was "so powerfully wrought upon, that she broke through all restraint, and shouted forth the praises of God aloud."

* Asbury's "Journal," vol. ii. p. 75.

All the ministers, amongst whom was Hoge, who had called forth this burst, precipitately fled, except the two M'Gees, who continued in their places, watching "the movement of the waters."

"William M'Gee soon felt such a power come over him, that he, not seeming to know what he did, left his seat, and sat down on the floor; while John sat trembling under a consciousness of the power of God. In the mean time, there were great solemnity and weeping all over the house. He was expected to preach; but, instead of that, he arose, and told the people that the overpowering nature of his feelings would not allow of his preaching; but as the Lord was evidently among them, he earnestly exhorted the people to surrender their hearts to Him. Sobs and cries bespoke the deep feeling which pervaded the hearts of the people.

"This great and unusual work so excited the attention of the people, that they came in crowds from the surrounding country, to inquire what these things meant; and this was the beginning of that great revival of religion in the western country which introduced 'camp meetings.' The people came with horses and waggons, bringing provision and bedding; and others built temporary huts or tents; while all—Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists—united together in prayer, exhortation, and preaching; exerting all their energies to forward this good work." *

Let us listen to a description of a "camp-meeting:"—

"Here a vast concourse of people assembled under the foliage of the trees, and continued their religious exercises day and night. This novel way of worshipping God excited great attention. In the night, the grove was illuminated with lighted candles, lamps, or torches. This, together with the stillness of the night, the solemnity which rested on every countenance, the pointed and earnest manner with which the preachers exhorted the people to repentance, prayer, and faith, produced the most awful sensations in the minds of all present. While some were exhorting, others crying for mercy, and some shouting the praises of God in the assembly, numbers were retired in secluded places in the grove, pouring out the desire of their wounded spirits in earnest prayer. It often happened that these were liberated from their sins, and their hearts filled with joy and gladness, while thus engaged in their solitary devotions; and then they would come into the encampment, and declare what God had done for their souls. This information, communicated to their brethren in the artless simplicity of 'new-born souls,' would produce a thrill of joy which could hardly be suppressed: and thus they reciprocated with each other in their sorrows and joys, and excited one another to the exercise of faith in the promises of God, and perseverance in the 'good work.'"

At a great movement at Desha's Creek, an eye-witness states that "at these meetings the people fell under the

* Bangs's "History of Methodism in America," vol. ii. pp. 102—107.

power of the word like corn before a storm of wind," and then "arose from the dust with divine glory beaming upon their countenances."

"Among others who were brought to the knowledge of the truth at this meeting, was John Alexander Granade, who, after an exercise of mind for a considerable time bordering on despair, came forth 'a burning and a shining light,' as a public advocate for the cause of Christ. He soon became distinguished among his brethren as the 'Western Poet;' and the 'Pilgrim's Songs' were amongst the most popular hymns which were sung at these camp-meetings; and perhaps became the fruitful source whence sprung the numerous ditties with which the church was for some time almost deluged. These songs, though they possessed but little of the spirit of poetry, and therefore added nothing to true intellectual taste, served to excite the feelings of devotion, and keep alive that spirit of excitement which characterized the worshippers in these assemblies.

"The numbers which attended those meetings, which were held in Kentucky in 1801, were immense. At one held in Cabbin Creek, a Presbyterian minister, who was present, and zealously engaged in promoting its objects, estimated the number at not less than twenty thousand."

Here is another description:—

"Few, if any, escaped without being affected. Such as tried to run from it were frequently struck on the way, or impelled by some alarming signal to return. No circumstance at this meeting appeared more striking than the great numbers that fell on the third night; and to prevent their being trodden under foot by the multitudes, they were collected together, and laid out in order, or on two squares of the meeting-house, till a considerable part of the floor was covered. But the great meeting at Caneridge exceeded all. The number that fell at this meeting was reckoned at about three thousand; amongst whom were several Presbyterian ministers, who, according to their own confession, had hitherto possessed only a speculative knowledge of religion. Here the formal professor, the deist, and the intemperate, met with one common lot, and confessed, with equal candour, that they were destitute of the true knowledge of God, and strangers to the religion of Jesus Christ."

Here we have an individual case:—

"A gentleman and a lady, of some standing in the gay circles of life, attended the above meeting with a view to divert and amuse themselves at the expense of those whom they considered as deluded with a strange infatuation. With these thoughts, they agreed, that if one of them should fall, the other should not desert him or her. They had not been long on the ground before the woman fell. The merry gentleman, instead of keeping his promise, frightened at the sight of his female friend on the ground, fled with great precipitancy. He did not, however, proceed more than two hundred yards, before he also was prostrate upon the ground, and was soon surrounded by a praying multitude."

Nothing lasts,—nothing keeps its simplicity and purity.

"These (meetings) in Kentucky ran into such wild excesses in some instances, as to bring them into disrepute in the estimation of the more sober part of the community. The Presbyterian ministers were among the foremost in promoting these meetings, and in favouring the revivals which resulted in them."

The old and sober part quarrelled with these "revivalist" Presbyterian ministers; and they formed themselves into what was called the "Springfield Presbytery," in 1803; but in the year following, this Presbytery was broken up, and

"Some turned Shakers, and others ran into the wildest freaks of fanaticism. Hence originated those unseemly exercises, so humiliating to recount, of jumping, dancing, jerking, barking, and rolling on the ground, by which these schismatics were at last distinguished and disgraced. And, to finish the climax of absurdities, in the midst of this 'confusion worse confounded,' a company of Shaking-Quaker preachers from the State of New-York came among them with their new-fangled doctrines, and 'drew away disciples after them.' Several of these dissentient ministers, and quite a number of members, were, by these means, drawn into this vortex of error and confusion." *

When they had got by themselves, the Methodist body is described as managing these meetings much better; and, by the force of their discipline, bringing them into good order. Under this guidance, they are represented as being of eminent use.

V. Adjoining Kentucky, to the south-east, in the State of Tennessee, the Holston River is seen emptying itself, after a pretty long course, into the Tennessee. This river and district of country gives its name to a Conference. The Holston Conference contains seven districts; namely, *Wytheville*, *Abingdon*, *Rogersville*, *Knoxville*, *Cumberland*, *Athens*, *Ashville*: sixty-four stations, circuits, and missions; eighty-four ministers, with three hundred and thirty-four local preachers; and thirty-eight thousand three hundred and one church-members, three thousand nine hundred and fifty-seven of whom are people of colour.

We find the following extra appointments:—Emory and Henry College, C. Collins, President; E. C. Wiley, Professor; Holston College, C. Fulton, President and Agent; Knoxville Female Institute, D. R. M'Anally; M.

* Bangs's "History of Methodism in America," vol. ii. pp. 159, 160.

Episcopalian, L. Patton, Editor; Thomas Stringfield, Agent to the American Bible Society; William H. Rogers, Agent to Sabbath-schools.

Emory and Henry College is located at Glade-Spring, in Virginia, and was established in 1839.

This division of territory lies a little out of our line. It does not touch the Ohio at any point; neither does it belong to the Atlantic or the Mississippi lines. The Holston Conference embraces some small portions of North Carolina, Georgia, and Virginia; but it cannot be classed with those Conferences. We place it on the Ohio line, because it is nearer to it than any other. It belongs to the Methodist church, South, and is a slave-holding territory.

Good Bishop Asbury seems to have met with some cross providences in these quarters, in the early history of Methodism. He says:—

"We crossed Holston to Smith's-Ferry, and rode thirty miles to Ami's, where we were entertained for our money.....We turned out our horses to graze, and they strayed off: so here we are anchored indeed.....We are now in a house in which a man was killed by the savages; and O, poor creatures, they are but one remove from savages themselves. I consider myself in danger; but my God will keep me whilst thousands pray for me. My soul is humbled before God, waiting to see the solution of this dark providence (the loss of the horses). The man of the house is gone after some horses supposed to be stolen by Indians. I have been near fainting; but my soul is revived again, and my bodily strength is somewhat recovered. .....We loaded brother Anderson's little horse with my great bags, and two smaller; four saddles; with blankets and provender. We then set out, and walked ten miles, and our horses were brought to us; and those who brought them were pleased to take what we pleased to give. Brother A—— sought the Lord by fasting and prayer, and had a strong impression that it was not the will of God that I should go with that company.....From December 14th, 1789, to April 20th, 1790, we compute to have travelled two thousand five hundred and seventy-eight miles. Hitherto hath the Lord helped. Glory, glory to our God!" *

This is itinerancy in the wilderness. The following is an account of one of the first Conferences, if not the very first, in this district:—

"Our Conference (April, 1793) began at Nelson's, near Jonesborough, in the new territory. We have only four or five families of Methodists here. We had sweet peace in our Conference. There are appearances of danger on the road to Kentucky;

* "Journal," vol. ii. pp. 70, 71.

but the Lord is with us. We have formed a company of nine men, (five of whom are preachers,) who are well armed and mounted. .....If report be true, there is danger in journeying through the wilderness; but I do not fear: we go armed. If God suffer Satan to drive the Indians on us; if it be his will, he will teach our 'hands to war, and' our 'fingers to fight' and conquer. Our guard appeared fixed and armed for the wilderness. We came down to E——'s, and were well entertained. Thence we proceeded to the main branch of Holston, which, being swelled, we crossed in a flat; thence to R——'s, where I found the reports relative to the Indians were true; they had killed the post, and one or two more, and taken four prisoners. I had not much thought or fear about them." *

Thirteen years after, in 1806, he says:—

"We crossed Holston at the mouth of Watanga. I lodged at William Nelson's, (where the above Conference was held,) an ancient house and stand for Methodists and Methodist preaching. Saturday the Western Conference commenced its sittings, and ended on Monday. We had great peace. There are fourteen hundred added within the bounds of this Conference. Of the fifty-five preachers stationed, all were pleased. *The brethren were in want, and could not suit themselves; so I parted with my watch, my coat, and my shirt.*" †

These passages are given as specimens of the life of an American bishop in the early period of the work; of the nature of wilderness itinerancy; of the smallness of the commencement of this great church-organization; of the precautions and heroic spirit of these early missionaries; and of the dangers arising from the hostility of the Indians.

This latter feature is distressing. Poor Indians! they felt the power which was pressing upon them, and took their revenge. They could not see their lands invaded and occupied by the stranger,—his villages rising, and harvests waving, on territory which used to furnish them with game,—without evincing the passionate instincts of a savage nature; and sought, as we see, for every opportunity of aiming a deadly blow at their oppressors. The gospel which Bishop Asbury and his associates preached, seems not to have reached these poor outcasts. Whether any attempt was made to save them, does not appear: they were left in their Paganism. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine that any effort, in their state of exasperation, would have proved successful. We must confess, however, that, in former times, the proselyting efforts of the popish missionaries in these wild regions far exceeded the attempts of the

* "Journal," vol. ii. pp. 161, 162. † *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 206.

Protestants. These self-denying men followed the Indians in their wanderings with untiring zeal, and sought to bring them over to the profession of their faith. Finer examples of devotedness are seldom to be found; and in many instances they won the confidence and affections of the savage tribes.

VI. We now come to the INDIANA CONFERENCE, on the right bank of the Ohio, and belonging to the northern division of the Methodist church. We find in connexion with this Conference eight districts; namely, *Brookville, Lawrenceburg, Madison, New-Albany, Evansville, Vincennes, Indianopolis, Bloomington:* eighty-seven stations, circuits, and missions; one hundred and fourteen ministers, with three hundred and nine local preachers; and thirty thousand seven hundred and forty-five church-members, of whom one hundred and seventy-four are people of colour.

Vincennes, above referred to as the head of a district, is one of the oldest and most interesting places,—historically considered,—in the whole of this part of America. It was settled by French emigrants from Canada, near the beginning of the last century, and long remained a solitary village. But few settlements were made in the country till the commencement of the present century; since which time its increase in population has been very rapid. This, in the whole State, is given as, in 1800, 4,875; in 1810, 24,520; in 1820, 147,178; in 1830, 343,031; in 1840, 685,800. Methodism, we see, has progressed with the general population, and constitutes, no doubt, one of its most potent moral elements. This continued, the State must become one of the most prosperous and well-ordered in the Union. Its situation is, in every sense, most favourable for progress; commanding the navigation of the Lakes on the one hand, and the Ohio on the other.

VII. The TENNESSEE CONFERENCE is closely connected with the Holston. This ecclesiastical division of country comprises nine districts; namely, *Nashville, Lebanon, Cumberland, Murfreesborough, Winchester, Huntsville, Florence, Dover, Clarksville:* seventy-eight stations, circuits, and missions; one hundred and forty-seven ministers, with three hundred and seventy-eight local preachers; and forty thousand one hundred and forty-eight church-members, seven thousand two hundred and forty-nine of whom are people of colour.

We have the following extra appointments:—John B. M'Ferrin and Moses H. Henkle, Editors, Nashville Christian Advocate; Columbia Female Institute, Jared O. Church; Tennessee Conference Female Institute, R. H. Rivers, B. H. Hubbard; La Grange College, Edward Wadsworth; Clarksville Female Academy, Joseph E. Douglass; Philip P. Nutty, Agent for Transylvania University; William G. Gould, Agent for La Grange College; Ethelbert H. Hatcher, Agent for American Bible Society.

Bishop Asbury remarks, on October 18th, 1800:—

"I rode to Nashville, long heard of, but never seen by me till now. Not less than one thousand people were in and out of the stone church; which, if floored, ceiled, and glazed, would be a grand house. We had three hours' public exercises.....We came by Manslick to Drake's-Creek meeting-house, at the close of a sacramental solemnity, that had been held four days by Craghead, Hodge, Rankin, M'Gee, and Mr. Adair, Presbyterian officiating ministers.....Yesterday, and especially during the night, were witnessed scenes of deep interest. In the intervals between preaching, the people refreshed themselves and horses, and returned upon the ground. The stand was in the open air, embosomed in a wood of lofty beech-trees. The ministers of God, Methodists and Presbyterians, united their labours, and mingled with the child-like simplicity of primitive times. Fires blazing here and there, dispelled the darkness; and the shouts of the redeemed captives, and the cries of precious souls struggling into life, broke the silence of midnight. The weather was delightful, as if heaven smiled, whilst mercy flowed in abundant streams of salvation to perishing sinners.....We crossed Cumberland River at Bishop's-Ferry. What a long, solitary river this is! It is probably seven hundred miles upon a line, and near one thousand in its meanderings, before it empties its waters into the Ohio, twelve miles above the mouth of the Tennessee." *

Here is a description of a caravan of emigrants in this country in 1803:—

"What a road have we passed! Certainly the worst in the whole continent, even in the best weather. Yet, bad as it was, there were four or five hundred crossing the rude hills whilst we were.....A man who is well mounted will scorn to complain of the roads, when he sees men, women, and children, almost naked, paddling, bare-foot and bare-legged, along, or labouring up the rocky hills, whilst those who are best off have only a place for two or three children to ride at once. If these adventurers have little or nothing to eat, it is no extraordinary circumstance, and not uncommon to encamp in the wet woods after night; in the mountains, it does not rain, but pours.

* "Journal," vol. ii. pp. 396, 397.

I too have my sufferings, perhaps, peculiar to myself; pain and temptation; the one of the body, and the other of the spirit: no room to retire to; that in which you sit common to all; crowded with women and children; the fire occupied by cooking;—much and long-loved solitude not to be found, unless you choose to run out into the rain, in the woods. Six months in the year I have had, for thirty-two years, occasionally to submit to what will never be agreeable to me; but the people, it must be confessed, are among the kindest souls in the world. But kindness will not make a crowded log-cabin, twelve feet by ten, agreeable: without are cold and rain; and within, six adults, and as many children, one of which is all motion: the dogs, too, must be sometimes admitted. On Saturday, at Felix Earnest's. I found that, amongst my other trials, I had taken the *itch;* and, considering the filthy houses and filthy beds I have met with in coming from Kentucky Conference, it is, perhaps, strange that I have not caught it twenty times. I do not see that there is any security against it but sleeping in a brimstone shirt. Poor bishop! But we must bear it for the elect's sake." *

And no doubt the above ministerial staff,—the establishment of the numerous churches and places of worship,—the colleges, female academies and institutions,—and the potent Christian Advocate;—with the advanced civilization which has taken place in this country, originated in these privations and sufferings.

Tennessee, as will be seen from the number of coloured people belonging to the church, is a slave-holding State. And we are sorry to perceive that the slave population is constantly increasing. In 1790, the numbers were 3,417, in 1840 they had swelled up to 183,059. It is hardly necessary to say that this Conference belongs to the Methodist Episcopal church, South.

Having now travelled from the Alleghany Mountains by the course of the Ohio, to the Mississippi, in the "far west," we shall, according to our practice, give a tabular view of the result of this territorial progress of the Methodist church in these regions.

Conferences.	Dist.	Circuits.	Minist.	Supernum.	Local Pr.	Members.
Pittsburgh....	8	111	184	12	265	42,378
Ohio	15	161	288	13	528	62,188
Louisville	5	54	66	2	199	20,472
Kentucky	8	75	93	9	240	28,624
Indiana	8	87	114	8	309	30,745
Holston	7	64	84	8	334	38,301
Tennessee	9	78	147	4	378	40,148
	60	630	876	56	2,253	262,858

* "Journal," vol. iii. pp. 118, 119.

As the country which we have now traversed is new territory, and is a part of the valley of the Mississippi, it may be proper to give some notices of its settlement, in order that an idea may be formed of American progress. The earliest settlements in Tennessee were made between the years 1765 and 1770; in 1790 it was placed under a separate Territorial Government, under the name of the "Territory South of the Ohio;" and in 1796, the inhabitants formed a constitution, and Tennessee was admitted into the Union, as an independent State. The permanent settlement in Kentucky began in 1775; and in 1792 it was admitted into the Union as an independent State. The first settlements in Ohio were commenced at Marietta, in 1788. In the following year the country was put under a Territorial Government, and called the "Western Territory;" and in 1802, it was erected into an independent State. In 1800, Indiana was erected into a Territorial Government; and in 1816, it was admitted into the Union as an independent State. The mean length of Tennessee is said to be 400 miles, and its breadth 114, containing 45,600 square miles. Kentucky is about 400 miles in length, and its breadth is 170 miles, containing 40,500 square miles. Ohio is 200 miles long, and 200 broad, containing 40,000 square miles. The length of Indiana is 260 miles, and its breadth 140, containing 36,000 square miles. The aggregate of this territory is thus seen to contain 162,000 square miles.

This western country consists of the finest land in the United States, and, perhaps, the most productive in the world. It is capable of the highest possible cultivation,—of producing all kinds of grain and fruits, and, consequently, of feeding an indefinite number of inhabitants. Its population at present, considering the length of time it has been occupied by a civilized race, is very great, and must soon become prodigious. The influx of emigrants from Europe, and the older States, is constantly going on; and their occupancy of the country is accompanied by a clearance of the soil, the erection of new villages, towns, and cities, and all the appliances and means of civilized life. There is amazing grandeur in this process. It is like a creation. A world of civilized men throwing around them all the garniture, the ornaments, and the blandishments of existence. Cities beautifully laid out on their rivers are springing up, almost as in a day; finely situated for commercial purposes, and, as time progresses, evidently destined

to become great and interesting centres of life. New villages, as the wilderness is passed through, appear at short distances from each other, embosomed in the forest, and surrounded by land only partially cleared; but sufficiently so to provide richly for the wants of the new comers. Railroads are made to pass along in the midst of both the occupied territory and the gloomy forest; whilst they connect, by perfectly easy means, the people of remote regions, and unite their rivers and lakes as one great thoroughfare.

It is easy to see that this portion of America must ultimately, and at no remote period, become equal, if not superior, to any part of the Union. It is, in one sense, far from the sea-coast, and in this respect must lie under disadvantages. The means of transport, however, are perfectly easy, and the cost cannot be great. Such places as Pittsburgh, Wheeling, and, especially, Cincinnati, though the buildings are new, yet have the appearance of great manufacturing and commercial towns. They have the air of communities full of life and activity, of comfort and affluence, and of perfectly established business habits. Their transactions cannot be less regular and orderly than those of long-established *entrepôts* of trade. There must be master minds at work in every department; these things cannot be the growth of chance. And, from the peculiarities of the country, and the great influx of people from Europe, we see the result is, that a great city springs up in a short period; whereas, in old countries, many years have been necessary to their growth. We have no such places exactly as Pittsburgh and Cincinnati, inasmuch as those cities lie on the banks of a river, forming an inland navigation,—and not on the sea-coast. On this ground we cannot compare the latter with such a place as Liverpool; one of the most remarkable marts of commerce in the United Kingdom. But Cincinnati has progressed much more rapidly than Liverpool could have done at any period of its history. Less than fifty years ago it was a mere village, containing a few scattered huts, and its population only amounted to a few hundred souls; whilst, at present, as we have seen, it is not less than something like one hundred thousand. But it is not so much the social life of this country, as matters connected with the church, which most demand our attention. The progress of religion has been as remarkable as that of society in general.

The privations and sufferings of the first pioneers of

these deserts, in introducing the gospel, must have struck every one.—If Bishop Asbury, the chief and leader of this noble band of heroic men, endured the difficulties which we have recorded, what must have been the condition of the humble missionaries, who were daily devoted to this enterprise? It is impossible to imagine the amount of mental, as well as physical, suffering, through which they were called to pass. But they have reaped a glorious reward in their work. Its massive grandeur stands out as the best monument of their wisdom and piety. Generations unborn —indeed, through all time—will be influenced in their present and eternal destinies by what they have achieved.

Much more than zeal has been exhibited in building up this great church. There must have been connected with it from the beginning men of great practical wisdom; of high talent in the management of business; and also of enlarged Christian views as to the wants of their countrymen, as well as devoted zeal. God must either have directly given the pattern of this church, as he did that of the old dispensation to Moses, or otherwise the men must have possessed great talents. The most rational solution will be found in the belief, that the Deity directed the movement by his own good Spirit; but, at the same time, that the grace was developed in the high judgment as well as faith of the agency employed.

The first office and duty of these early evangelists would, of necessity, be, the preaching of the gospel; the awakening of the people to a sense of religion, and leading them to Christ; thus gathering the flock in the wilderness. Hence their "*Camp*" and "*Revivalist*" meetings. What could be more appropriate to the condition of a people living in scattered hamlets, and remote from each other; having no "*houses of worship*," and sometimes none even for themselves, except the log-hut;—what, we say, could be more suited to their state and wants than the erection of the "*stand*," under the umbrageous shade of the trees of the forest, and, having crowds of people present, to seek their conversion to God? But these services must have exercised other useful influences over a people so circumstanced. Isolation is found to be favourable to the growth of the worst passions of our nature. Barbarism and brutality connect themselves with the life of men and families, living remotely from their fellow-men. Hence, social ties, friendly feelings, virtuous friendships, brotherhood and kindness,—indeed, all the ameliorating characteristics of religion,—must have been

promoted by these assemblies in the wilderness. Those who can see nothing but rant and fanaticism in these "*camp-meetings*," are shallow observers of the tendencies of human associations. For a great length of time, the evangelists of these western wilds could have no choice between the private dwelling, as a place of worship, and the forest. How few must have attended the log-hut service! whereas, by calling the people to the worship of God under His own bright skies, making the wilderness His temple, they found space for the people, whilst their increased numbers would produce a wholesome excitement on the mind of the preacher, and call forth his utmost energies.

There is something vastly fascinating and beautiful in these primitive, patriarchal modes of worshipping God. True, this is not religion. It is not the spirit,—the essence,—the hidden mystery,—the abstract,—belonging to the Christian system. But is there any harm in enlisting the sentiment, the sympathies, the poetry, in man's soul on the side of the spiritual? Why has God made silence impressive, if we are not to be impressed? Why has he put beauty in ten thousand forms, and hues, and tints, if we are not to taste the beautiful? Why has he caused the grove, the forest, the wilderness, to speak in accents of awe or of joy, if we are not to indulge in corresponding feelings? Why has he impressed the glorious sun, the blue sky, the retiring day, the rising morning, the dark night, with the grand and sublime, if we are to entertain no suitable apprehension of all this? Why has he made it a law of nature that the winds as they rustle through the leaves; the sweet warbling of the birds, as they pour their carols through the thickets; and, in truth, all things vocal; why has God made it a law that all this should soothe, soften, and elevate the soul:—why, if we are not to listen to this music, and enjoy the concert? It has been objected against these "*camp-meetings*," that they are got up for effect. Why ought they not to be got up for effect, if the "*effect*" is in harmony with religious sentiment and feeling? God's beautiful world will remain hanging out its lamps of glory, speaking in its divine harmony, inviting all created intelligences to behold their Author in His works, in despite of this prudish cant. And, moreover, human nature will strike in with the design; it will gaze and admire; it will listen and send forth its echoes; it will feel the attraction of the divinely delicate touch of the ten thousand influences around, in happy sympathies:—it will do all this, despite

of any code of crabbed and mistaken godliness. God lives in the temple of the universe. Christianity teaches no lesson the contrary of this; it is one of its great and fundamental truths. Why, then, attempt to obscure or obliterate what is immutable, whether in nature or in man?

Probably, without knowing it, these forest preachers obeyed a law of our being, and the voice of nature herself, when they took their stand in the woods for the purpose of preaching Christ crucified. We dare say the scenery, the occasion, the solemnity, aided the message—why not? What are forms of speech, modes of address,—tropes, figures, poetry, logic,—every thing belonging to the preacher's or the orator's art,—but so many means to produce effect? The essence of the greatest truth lies in the shortest and most simple proposition. What is amplification, illustration, argument, ornament, but means employed to render this truth impressive,—in a word, to produce effect?

Man is made for this. He is not a piece of cold mechanism, neither is he a mental abstraction. The affections, the imagination, the taste, the sympathies,—the deep-toned emotions of man's soul, as much belong to the domain of religion as what are called his mental faculties, and his conscience. In point of fact, the whole man belongs to this kingdom of God;—all his mind, all his nature. If, in the case we are considering, the truth should find its way to the depths of the soul through the feelings, where is the harm? These avenues are much more accessible than any thing else in man. It is infinitely more difficult to reach the heart through the understanding, the logic, the judgment of nature,—than through the passions. Every human being comprehends the language of love,—it meets with an instant response. And it may be fairly questioned, whether any progress can be made in the spread of the gospel, the triumphs of the cross, and the conversion of men, unless, in the first place, the human rebel is disarmed of his enmity against God, by a direct appeal to his feelings. It is by his passions, much more than by his understanding and his conscience, that he stands out against the truth. These passions are the barriers in the way of the admission of the gospel message. Then where can be the wrong in endeavouring to melt and subdue, to produce an impression, to elicit the feelings, on the side of the man's own happiness? It may, indeed, be granted that in case the matter was left here, it would be wrong, it would be useless. But then, if, with the impression pro-

duced, the softening of the feelings, the emotions of the heart, by God's blessing on the scenery of a "camp-meeting," you declare the truth, and press it upon the understanding and the conscience, then, instead of the practice being an evil, it must be considered a good. No doubt can be entertained but that this was the case with these forest preachers.

Out of these first efforts, these small beginnings, these rude labours, the Methodist Episcopal church, in these western wilds, has sprung; and the real question for consideration is, How have the architects performed their task? What sort of building have they erected? One thing must strike every one in surveying its territorial position, namely, that there is a desire and purpose that the whole should rest upon truth; should be cemented by the means of knowledge and education; that, in a word, the community should understand its own duties, and be prepared to bless the world by a course of enlightened conduct.

Hence, in agreement with this, we find their educational institutions growing up concurrently with church organizations. This course of conduct not only indicates sound policy, but, in the circumstances of the country, it has the appearance of real patriotism. The number of colleges, academies, and schools of every kind, is, considering the shortness of the period in which they have existed as a people, quite astonishing. It is true, that some of these may be feeble establishments, only in their commencement, and having, as yet, no great claim to distinction for learning and scholarship. But even these circumstances are very encouraging. There must be a beginning to every thing; and this commencement, in a career of great usefulness, is not only valuable as a present provision, but it has also a prospective importance. It will be found, on examination, that these collegiate institutions amount to sixteen in these several Conferences; and, considering the date of the work, and the difficulties to be encountered in a new country, this is very extraordinary progress. Some of these colleges, indeed, were not founded by the Methodist body, but have fallen into their hands from the want of patronage on the part of those who originated them; but most of them have been reared by the fostering care and benevolence of our people themselves.

It is evident that the church rightly judges, that, in these times, it is hopeless to expect either permanency or advancement, otherwise than by connecting education and

knowledge with religion. The day is certainly past for churches to build up their influence and power exclusively on the exercise of the priestly function. The instrumentality must be very different to the old craft of Rome, employed, it is true, with great success for many ages, but now grown obsolete. There is too much scepticism,—philosophy,—speculation,—literature,—in the world now-a-days to admit of any thing of this kind. And even amongst classes who cannot, with any truth, be ranked amongst the enemies of the gospel, there is such a spirit of inquiry and independence of thought, that any attempt at imposition upon them is at once detected. This spirit of free inquiry may be an advantage or a disadvantage, just as it is improved or neglected by the ministers of religion, and those who are intent on the promotion of its interests. Let priesthoods of all sorts and names scowl and complain at the "spirit of the age," as unbelieving, instead of buckling on the harness, and coming forth to discharge their duties; and then, as a consequence, the world is inevitably filled with real infidelity. But if this tendency for progress, philosophy, and knowledge operate, as it ought, on the minds and habits of priesthoods; if it make them studious, lovers of knowledge, "apt to teach," and lead them to a comprehensive view of the glorious truth put into their hands; then, instead of an evil, "free inquiry" will be a good.

Religion is knowledge. It is the highest intellectual region which can be reached by man. It is a libel on the great truths and revelations of the word of God, to represent them as merely dealing with the heart, whilst the higher faculties are left untouched. The intellect is, in point of fact, strengthened, expanded, and elevated;—infinitely more by the teaching of the gospel than by any thing else. What has the Christian system, as an economy, as the kingdom of God, to fear from light and knowledge, when it is in truth the perfection of light and knowledge itself? What is there to alarm any one in the investigations of philosophy and metaphysics, as they pry into the spiritual, the hidden, the divine; when, at the same time, the Christian philosophy, the metaphysics of the Bible, reveal and exhibit these objects to its disciples as their daily and common lessons? What, in the profound and sublime researches of science, in its application to nature,—whether in the heights above or the depths below;—when, in truth, they only amount to a comment, a gloss, an illustration of truths which the Bible has taught its disciples

from the beginning? What, in studies in history, in morals, in human relations, in jurisprudence and law; in principles of equity and right; in the well-being of states, and in the mundane destinies of mankind? Has the Christian code any thing to apprehend from all this? Is it not rather the great storehouse of all which is true and certain on all these points? What, again, in beauties of thought, forms of truth, and ideas and sentiments, whether expressed in prose or poetry,—didactic speech or ornate language? Have the books of scripture any thing to dread from a comparison with any, with all, of the productions of either ancient or modern times? We have said nothing about inspiration, prophecy, miracles,—those things which are taken generally as the proofs of divinity. But a divine system must be true and immutable, independently of the external manifestations which make it known as such. These are only the outward coruscations of God; the voice which the truth uses to make known its own claims, not the truth itself: they are, so to speak, the hand-writing upon the wall,—not the essence, the qualities, the glories, of the spiritual and the invisible Being, who holds out that hand, and inscribes the characters. The Christian religion is God,—is the glorious Trinity,—is the spiritual world,—is the essence and truth of all being,—as well as a mighty and merciful remedy for the evils of sin, and the miseries of the human race. It is just as possible for infidelity to blow up the universe by its puny malice, as it is to uproot Christianity. Then the teachers of our religion need not fear any thing from knowledge, from investigation, from the advancement of science and literature. But has not religion much to gain as to the character of outward developement; if all its ministers, instead of employing the language of complaint, came forward, and, as was the wont in the best times of antiquity, made themselves the high priests of knowledge, of light, of progress? These, it seems, are the notions of the ministers and people of the Methodist church in America. The establishment of their collegiate institutions indicates their desire to place their church-progress abreast of the advancing light of the age.

But these efforts to establish a good and useful system of education must give the American Methodist church a *status* in the country, which nothing else could possibly do. In despite of system and theory, human society must have its aristocracies; and scholarship creates a sort of aristocracy in the United States. No people on

earth, not even excepting the French, are better hero worshippers than the Americans. Their great men are their gods. Political leaders, and the chiefs of war, it is true, create more excitement than any others; but learning comes in for its share of public applause. It is difficult to estimate the real amount of intellectual culture existing in the country; but the idea as to its value has undoubtedly gone forth, and is universally entertained.

In this state of public feeling, it is impossible for any church to possess anything like an honourable standing in the country, without recognising the necessity of scientific and literary instruction, and making provision for its attainment.

Indeed, it is clear, in a nation where all the offices of law and the professions, all the dignities and honours of the State, are open to all classes, the fact that none can enter upon them but those who have been previously prepared, will, of itself, be an inducement to exertion. Hence the position of a church must be infinitely advanced by its progress in knowledge. What we see in these fine countries is only the beginning. But from these foundations must, as time progresses, grow up great establishments. Nothing is to be despised in which a principle of life is found, however feeble in its present state. Give it time, scope, and the means of growth, and it is certain to develope itself. This must be the case with these schools. They are in their infancy, but they possess vitality. The progress of events, the increase of population, the accumulation of wealth, will bring with them multiplied demands for instruction; and these rudimental colleges must grow into great universities.

On the whole, then, this western church is a fine illustration of the power of the grace of God; of the energizing character of divine truth; and of the indefatigable zeal, industry, and piety of its founders.

What is to follow, no one can tell. But it is to be hoped that the same mercy and power which enabled the fathers of the work to lay the foundations of a structure so noble, will continue to be manifested in carrying on the building through all succeeding generations.

IV.—THE MISSISSIPPI LINE.

We now enter upon a perfectly new route, the line of the Mississippi. The discovery of the "father of waters" was effected by Frenchmen, Jesuit missionaries from Canada. The following is Bancroft's eloquent narrative of this important event:—

"The long-expected discovery of the Mississippi was at hand, (1673,) to be accomplished by Joliet, of Quebec, of whom there is no record, but of this one excursion, that gives him immortality; and by Marquette, who, after years of pious assiduity to the poor wrecks of Hurons, whom he planted near abundant fisheries, on the cold extremity of Michigan, entered, with equal humility, upon a career which exposed his life to perpetual danger; and, by its results, affected the destiny of nations.

"The enterprise projected by Marquette had been favoured by Talon, the intendant of New-France, who, on the point of quitting Canada, wished to signalize the last period of his stay, by ascertaining if the French, descending the river of the central west, could bear the banner of France to the Pacific, or plant it side by side with that of Spain, on the Gulf of Mexico.

"A branch of the Potawatomics, familiar with Marquette as a missionary, heard with wonder the daring proposal. 'These distant nations,' said they, 'never spare the strangers; their mutual wars fill their borders with bands of warriors; the Great River abounds in monsters, which devour both men and canoes; the excessive heats occasion death.' 'I shall gladly lay down my life for the salvation of souls,' replied the good father; and the docile nation joined him in prayer.

"At the last village of the Fox River ever visited by the French, —where Kickapoos, Mascoutics, and Miamis dwelt together on a beautiful hill in the centre of prairies and magnificent groves, that extended as far as the eye could reach; and where Alloüez had already raised the cross, which the savages had ornamented with brilliant skins and crimson belts, a thank-offering to the Great Manitou,—the ancients assembled in counsel to receive the pilgrims. 'My companion,' said Marquette, 'is an envoy of France, to discover new countries; and I am an ambassador from God, to enlighten them with the gospel;' and, offering presents, he begged two guides for the morrow. The wild men answered courteously, and gave in return a mat, to serve as a couch during the long voyage.

"Behold, then, in 1673, on the 10th day of June, the meek, the single-hearted, unpretending, illustrious Marquette, with Joliet for his associate, five Frenchmen as his companions, and two Algonquins as guides, lifting their canoes on their backs, and walking across the narrow portage that divides the Fox River from the Wisconsin. They reach the water-shed; uttering a special prayer to the immaculate Virgin, they leave the streams, that, flowing onwards, could have borne their greetings to the castle of Quebec; already they stand by the Wisconsin. 'The guides returned,' says the gentle Marquette, 'leaving us alone, in this unknown land, in the hands of Providence.' France and Christianity stood in the valley of the Mississippi. Embarking on the broad Wisconsin, the discoverers, as they sailed west, went solitarily down the stream, between alternate prairies and hill-sides, beholding neither man nor the wonted beasts of the forest; no sound broke the appalling silence, but the ripple of the canoe, and the lowing of the buffalo. In seven days

'they entered happily the Great River, with a joy that could not be expressed;' and the two birch-bark canoes, raising their happy sails under new skies and unknown breezes, floated gently down the calm magnificence of the ocean stream, over the broad, clear sand-bars, —the resort of innumerable water-fowl,—gliding past islands that swelled from the bosom of the stream, with their tufts of massive thickets; and between the wide plains of Illinois and Iowa, all garlanded as they were with majestic forests, or chequered by island groves and the open vastness of the prairie.

"About sixty leagues below the mouth of the Wisconsin, the western bank of the Mississippi bore on its sands the trail of men; a little footpath was discovered, leading into a beautiful prairie; and, leaving the canoes, Joliet and Marquette resolved alone to have a meeting with the savages. After walking six miles, they beheld a village on the banks of a river, and two others on a slope, at the distance of a mile and a half from the first. The river was the *Mon-in-gon-e-na*, or Moingona, of which we have corrupted the name into Des Moines. Marquette and Joliet were the first white men who trod the soil of Iowa. Commending themselves to God, they uttered a loud cry. The Indians hear; four old men advance slowly to meet them, bearing the peace-pipe, brilliant with many-coloured plumes. 'We are Illinois,' said they, that is, when translated, 'We are men;' and they offered the calumet. An aged chief received them at his cabin with upraised hands, exclaiming, 'How beautiful is the sun, Frenchman, when thou comest to visit us! Our whole village awaits thee; thou shalt enter in peace into all our dwellings.' And the pilgrims were followed by the devouring gaze of an astonished crowd.

"At the great council, Marquette published to them the one true God,—their Creator. He spoke, also, of the great captain of the French, the governor of Canada, who had chastised the Five Nations, and commanded peace; and he questioned them respecting the Mississippi, and the tribes that possessed its banks. For the messengers who announced the subjection of the Iroquois, a magnificent festival was prepared of hominy and fish, and the choicest viands from the prairies.

"After six days' delay, and invitations to new visits, the chieftain of the tribe, with hundreds of warriors, attended the strangers to their canoes; and, selecting a peace-pipe embellished with the head and neck of brilliant birds, and all feathered over with plumage of various hues, they hung round Marquette, the mysterious arbiter of peace and war, the sacred calumet, a safeguard among the nations.

"The little group proceeded onwards. 'I did not fear death,' says Marquette; 'I should have esteemed it the greatest happiness to have died for the glory of God.' They passed the perpendicular rocks, which wore the appearance of monsters; they heard at a distance the noise of the waters of the Missouri, known to them by its Algonquin name of Pekitanoni; and when they came to the most beautiful confluence of rivers in the world,—where the swifter Missouri rushes like a conqueror into the calmer Mississippi, dragging it, as it were, hastily to the sea,—the good Marquette resolved in his heart,

anticipating Lewis and Clarke, one day to ascend the mighty river to its source, to cross the ridge that divides the oceans, and, descending a westerly flowing stream, to publish the gospel to all the people of this New World.

"In a little less than forty leagues, the canoes floated past the Ohio, which was then, and long afterwards, called the Wabash. Its banks were tenanted by numerous villages of the peaceful Shawnees, who quailed under the incursions of the Iroquois.

"The thick canes begin to appear so close and strong, that the buffalo could not break through them; the insects become intolerable; as a shelter against the suns of July, the sails are folded as an awning. The prairies vanish, thick forests of whitewood, admirable for their vastness and height, crowd even to the skirts of the pebbly shore. It is also observed, that in the land of the Chichasas the Indians have guns.

"Near the latitude of 33 degrees, on the western bank of the Mississippi, stood the village of Mitchinganua, in a region that had not been visited by Europeans since the days of De Soto. 'Now,' thought Marquette, 'we must, indeed, ask the aid of the Virgin.' Armed with bows and arrows, with clubs, axes, and bucklers, amidst continued whoops, the natives, bent on war, embarked in vast canoes, made out of the trunks of hollow trees; but, at the sight of the mysterious peace-pipe, held aloft, God touched the hearts of the old men, who checked the impetuosity of the young; and, throwing their bows and quivers into the canoes, as a token of peace, they prepared a hospitable welcome.

"The next day, a long wooden canoe, containing ten men, escorted the discoverers, for eight or ten leagues, to the village of Akansea, the limit of their voyage. They had left the region of the Algonquins, and, in the midst of the Sioux and Chichasas, could speak only by an interpreter. A half league above Akansea, they were met by two boats, in one of which stood the commander, holding in his hand the peace-pipe, and singing as he drew near. After offering the pipe, he gave bread of maize. The wealth of his tribe consisted in buffalo skins; their weapons were axes of steel, a proof of commerce with Europeans.

"Thus had our travellers descended below the entrance of the Arkansas, to the genial climes that have almost no winter but rains; beyond the bound of the Huron and Algonquin languages, to the vicinity of the Gulf of Mexico; and to the tribes of Indians that had obtained European arms by traffic with Spaniards or with Virginia.

"So, having spoken of God, and the mysteries of the Catholic faith; having become certain that the Father of Rivers went not to the ocean east of Florida, nor yet in the Gulf of California; Marquette and Joliet left Akansea, and ascended the Mississippi.

"At the 38th degree of latitude, they entered the river Illinois, and discovered a country without its paragon for the fertility of its beautiful prairies, covered with buffaloes and stags,—for the loveliness of its rivulets, and the prodigal abundance of wild ducks and swans, and of a species of parrots and wild turkeys. The tribe of

Illinois, that tenanted its banks, entreated Marquette to come and reside among them. One of their chiefs, with their young men, conducted the party by way of Chicago, to Lake Michigan; and, before the end of September, all were safe in Green Bay."

The following is an account of the end of the missionary, who was the principal author of this great discovery:—

"The unaspiring Marquette remained to preach the gospel to the Miamis, who dwelt in the north of Illinois, round Chicago. Two years afterwards, sailing from Chicago to Muckinan, he entered a little river in Michigan. Erecting an altar, he said mass after the rites of the Catholic church; then, begging the men who conducted his canoe to leave him alone half an hour,

> 'In the darkling wood,
> Amidst the cool and silence, he knelt down,
> And offered to the Mightiest solemn thanks
> And supplication.'

"At the end of the half hour they went to seek him, and he was no more. The good missionary, discoverer of a world, had fallen asleep on the margin of the stream that bears his name. Near its mouth the canoe-men dug his grave in the sand. Ever after, the forest rangers, if in danger on Lake Michigan, would invoke his name. The people of the west will build his monument." *

The first descent to the sea from these upper regions, was made by another French Jesuit of the name of La Salle, one of the most extraordinary men of the age.

"At last, in the early part of 1682, La Salle and his company descended the Mississippi, to the sea. His sagacious eye discerned the magnificent resources of the country. As he floated down its flood, as he framed a cabin on the first Chickasa bluff, as he raised the cross by the Arkansas, as he planted the arms of France near the Gulf of Mexico, he anticipated the future affluence of emigrants; and heard in the distance the footsteps of the advancing multitude that were coming to take possession of the valley. Meantime he claimed the territory for France, and gave it the name of Louisiana. The year of descent has been unnecessarily made a question; its accomplishment was known in Paris before the end of 1682." †

Such is the account of the discovery and descent made for the first time down this great river, in itself sufficient, with the territory on its banks made accessible by its tributaries, to form one of the mightiest empires in the world.

The Mississippi, "Father of Waters," is 3,300 miles in length; rises from Lake Itasca, to the west of Lake Supe-

* BANCROFT, vol. iii. pp. 155—162. † *Idem*, pp. 167, 168.

rior, and flows south into the Gulf of Mexico. It receives in its course, besides innumerable smaller contributions, the following great rivers: namely, on its left the Wisconsin, 400 miles in length; the Illinois, 500; and the Ohio, 1,200. It receives on its right, St. Peter's, 350 miles in length; Iowa, 350; Missouri, 3,200; White River, 450; Arkansas, 2,000; and Red River, 1,500. The Mississippi, counting from the sources of the Missouri, is 4,300 miles long.

This is the line we have now to explore; and to examine the territorial extent of the Methodist church in these vast regions.

The Wisconsin territory, which forms the most northerly district on the line of the Mississippi, being a new territory, is not in possession of a separate Conference; but the Rock-River Conference embraces this portion of country; and, no doubt, as population increases, a new organization will take place.

I. But, on the right bank of the river, parallel, in point of latitude, with Wisconsin, we find the IOWA CONFERENCE. In this division are four districts, called mission districts; namely, *Burlington*, *Bloomington*, *Dubuque*, and *Desmoines:* forty stations, circuits, and missions; fifty-four ministers, with ninety-seven local preachers; and eight thousand four hundred and forty church-members.

This is a new country, having been erected into a Territorial Government in 1838, and admitted as a State into the Union as late as 1846. In consequence, all the districts and stations are marked as missions. We have, strange to say, no Christian Advocate, and as yet no college of any kind, connected with this Conference. This whole territory, more than a hundred years ago, as we have seen, used to be traversed by Jesuit missionaries from Canada. Their mission was then to the Indian tribes; not, however, without political and territorial objects. The Jesuits and the Indians alike have disappeared, and now an Anglo-American population is springing up, and Methodist missionaries are every where found.

II. In descending the Mississippi on the left bank, we find the ILLINOIS CONFERENCE, joining that of Rock River, and continuing the ecclesiastical line of posts towards the south. In this Conference we have ten districts; namely, *Quincy*, *Bloomington*, *Springfield*, *Jack-*

sonville, *Lebanon*, *Sparta*, *Mount Carmel*, *Danville*, *St. Louis German Mission*, and *Quincy German Mission:* one hundred and six stations, circuits, and missions; one hundred and thirty ministers, with four hundred and twenty-five local preachers; and twenty-four thousand and ninety-eight church-members.

We find the following extra appointments:—Conference Female Academy, W. D. R. Trotter, Agent; M'Kendree College, Erasmus Wentworth, President; A. W. Cummings, Spencer Mattison, Professors; William Goodfellow, Principal of Preparatory Department; Georgetown Seminary, Jesse H. Moore.

On the above college, Dr. Bangs says,—

"Another college was founded this year in Lebanon, Illinois, under the patronage of the Illinois Conference. It has gone on prosperously from that day to this, being under the presidency of a graduate of the Wesleyan University, a son of one of our old preachers of the New-England Conference, the Rev. Joseph A. Merritt. This institution is exerting an improving and hallowing influence on the present generation of that new and growing country, by calling into action their intellectual resources, and it promises stability and usefulness under the superintendence and patronage of its zealous friends and supporters."

The German missions in the bounds of this Conference constitute a very important portion of its work. These plodding, industrious, and sober people fall very much under the care of the Methodist church; and, by suitable attention and culture, become excellent, and many of them eminent, Christians. Numerous ministers are raised up belonging to their nation; and, for piety, zeal, devotedness, and ability, are exceeded by no other class.

III. Missouri, on the right bank of the Mississippi, and only separated from Illinois by the river, is the next Conference demanding our attention. It belongs to the Methodist Episcopal church, South. We have five districts in this country; namely, *St. Charles*, *Columbia*, *Richmond*, *Weston*, and *Hannibal:* thirty-five stations, circuits, and missions; fifty-one ministers, with eighty-seven local preachers; and ten thousand nine hundred and twenty-four church-members, eleven hundred and sixty-four of whom are people of colour.

We find the following appointments:—Isaac Ebbert is President of St. Charles College; Jeremiah F. Riggs is

Agent for the College; Richard Bond is Agent for the American Bible Society; Nathan Scarritt is Principal of Howard High School.

We are here, as the number of people of colour will indicate, in a slave-State. In 1810, the number is reported as 3,011; and in 1840, as 58,240. Out of these only 1,160 are members of the Methodist church. This cannot be considered as very encouraging success amongst this degraded race.

IV. St. Louis, very famous as a western first-class city, which is found in the State of Missouri, gives its name to a Conference. The St. Louis Conference contains six districts; namely, *St. Louis*, *Cape Girardeau*, *Potosi*, *Springfield*, *Lexington*, *Boonville*: fifty-one stations, circuits, and missions; fifty-nine ministers, with one hundred and sixty-three local preachers; and thirteen thousand seven hundred and fifty-five church-members, eight hundred and ninety-five of whom are people of colour.

As this city and locality constitutes an interesting portion of the Union, and is much visited and remarked upon by our countrymen, it may be proper to notice, that it was founded in 1764, by the French, as the name indicates, when they were in possession of New-Orleans, and commanded the waters of the Mississippi from the south. Methodism was introduced so recently as 1821. Its faithful historian gives us the following account of this event:—

"In 1821, Methodism was introduced into the town of St. Louis, by the Rev. Jesse Walker, who went there as a missionary, under the direction of the Missouri Conference. St. Louis is the largest town on the west bank of the Mississippi River, and only second to New-Orleans in importance as a place for commercial pursuits. Its original settlers were French Roman Catholics, this being another in the range of settlements which they established along the course of the waters from Quebec to New-Orleans. It had been, for some time before this, rising in importance, and increasing in population, by emigrations from different parts of the United States, and from the Old World, and was considered the centre of commerce in that part of the country.

"In this mixed population, the missionary had some prejudices to encounter, and the more so on account of the indiscreet zeal of some who had represented the citizens of that place to the eastern churches as being but little removed from barbarians. Mr. Walker, however, was kindly received by a few, and he gradually gained the confidence of the community, raised a society of about one hundred

members, and succeeded in building a house of worship thirty-five feet in length, and twenty-five in breadth." *

This is the account of the progress made in this place. Twenty-seven years ago, it seems, the Methodist church had no existence in St. Louis; we have now a Conference, numbering 13,755 members in the city and neighbouring country. About the time in question, namely, in 1820, the city itself numbered 4,598 inhabitants; in 1845, they amounted to 34,140. It appears from this, that population and Methodism have been concurrently progressing, and probably in pretty equal proportions.

V. The State of ARKANSAS, on the right bank of the Mississippi, gives its name to a CONFERENCE belonging to the Methodist church, South. This Conference contains five districts; namely, *Little Rock*, *Fayetteville*, *Washington*, *Pine Bluff*, and *Helena:* forty-one stations, circuits, and missions; forty-three ministers, with one hundred and forty-eight local preachers; and nine thousand seven hundred and thirty-six church-members, seventeen hundred and fifty of whom are people of colour.

Agent for the Washington Seminary, Lewis S. Marshall.

This is new ground, Arkansas having been separated from the State of Missouri only in 1819, and erected into a territorial government. In 1836, it was admitted into the Union as an independent State. Its white population is stated to be 14,273 in 1820; and in 1845, to have increased to 145,000. Its slave-population, in 1820, consisted of 1,617; and in 1840, it had increased to 19,935.

It will be seen, that the Methodist church has rapidly advanced in this new country. Its work, as is evident from the Minutes, is chiefly missionary. Time has not allowed of much consolidation, or of the introduction of seminaries of learning. Institutions of this description must follow evangelization, and no doubt they will appear in due time.

VI. Memphis, standing on the left bank of the Mississippi, and in the lowest point of the State of Tennessee,

* BANGS's "History of Methodism in America," vol. iii. pp. 229, 230.

gives its name to a Conference. The MEMPHIS CONFERENCE contains six districts; namely, *Memphis*, *Granada*, *Salem*, *Somerville*, *Jackson*, *Paducha:* seventy-one stations, circuits, and missions; one hundred and one ministers, with three hundred and forty-four local preachers; and thirty thousand nine hundred and forty church-members, six thousand and sixty-eight of whom are people of colour.

Jackson Female Institute, L. Lea, President; A. W. Jones, Professor; G. T. Baskerville, Agent for the Jackson Female Institute and Centenary Fund.

This ecclesiastical division, in great part, lies in the upper or northern portion of the State of Mississippi, though its head is in Tennessee. Slavery, it will be seen, abounds here; and it is gratifying to find upwards of six thousand slaves belonging to the church.

VII. The Mississippi State, the south-east point of which touches the Gulf of Mexico, is occupied by another division bearing the above name. This MISSISSIPPI CONFERENCE contains seven districts; namely, *Clinton*, *Natchez*, *Vicksburg*, *Yazoo*, *Lake-Washington Mission*, *Sharon*, *Pearl River:* fifty-four stations, circuits, and missions; seventy-three ministers, with one hundred and ninety-three local preachers; and sixteen thousand five hundred and ninety-eight church-members, six thousand one hundred and eighty-three being people of colour.

Centenary College, John C. Miller; Joseph M'Dowell, Agent for Old Centenary College.

We have the names of two cities connected with this Conference, which cannot fail to call up impressive recollections in the minds of those who are acquainted with their history: Natchez and Biloxa are the places referred to.

Natchez was the name of a tribe of aborigines, who had their dwelling-place in the locality bearing the name at present. Let Bancroft tell the tale of their extirpation:—

"The French, who were cantoned among the Natchez, coveted their soil; the commander, Chaport, swayed by a brutal avarice, demanded as a plantation the very site of their principal village. They listened to the counsels of the Chickasas; they prevailed, in part, with the Choctas; and a general massacre of the intruders was concerted. The arrival of boats from New-Orleans with merchandise hastened the rising of the Natchez. On the morning of the

28th of November, 1729, the work of blood began; and, before noon, nearly every Frenchman in the colony was murdered.

"The Great Sun, taking his seat under the storehouse of the company, smoked the calumet in complacency, while the head of Chaport was laid at his feet. One after the other the heads of the principal officers at the post were ranged around it, while their bodies were left abroad to be a prey to dogs and buzzards. At that time the Jesuit Du Poisson was the appointed missionary among the Arkansas. .....Desiring to place a settlement near the margin of the Mississippi, he had touched at Natchez in search of counsel, had preached on the first Sunday in Advent, had visited the sick, and was returning with the host from the cabin of a dying man, when he, too, was struck to the ground, and beheaded. The Arkansas, hearing of his end, vowed that they would avenge him with a vengeance that should never be appeased. Du Codère, the commander of the post among the Yazoos, who had drawn his sword to defend the missionary, was himself killed by a musket-ball, and scalped, because his hair was long and beautiful. The planter De Koli, a Swiss by birth, one of the most worthy men, zealous for the colony, had come, with his son, to take possession of a tract of land on St. Catherine's Creek; and both were shot. The Capuchin missionary among the Natchez chanced to be absent when the massacre began; returning, he was shot near his cabin, and a Negro-slave by his side. Two white men, both mechanics, and two only, were saved. The number of victims was reckoned at two hundred. Women were spared for menial services; children, also, were detained as captives. When the work of death was finished, pillage and carousals began."

The retaliation follows:—

"La Sueur was the first to arrive in the vicinity of the Natchez. Not expecting an attack, they were celebrating festivities, which were gladdened by the spoils of the French. Mad with triumph, and exulting in their success, on the evening of the 28th of January they gave themselves up to sleep, after the careless manner of the wilderness. On the following morning, at day-break, the Choctas broke upon their villages, liberated their captives, and, losing but two of their own men, brought off sixty scalps, with eighteen prisoners.

"On the 8th of February Daubois arrived, and completed the victory. Of the Natchez, some fled to the neighbouring tribes for shelter; the remainder of the nation crossed the Mississippi to the vicinity of Natchitoches. They were pursued; and, partly by stratagem, partly by force, their place of refuge was taken. Some fled still farther to the west. Of the scattered remnants, some remained with the Chickasas, others found a shelter among the Muskhogus. The Great Sun, and more than four hundred prisoners, were shipped to Hispaniola, and sold as slaves.

"Thus perished the nation of the Natchez. Their peculiar language,—which has still been preserved by the descendants of the

fugitives, and is, perhaps, now on the point of expiring,—their worship, their division into nobles and plebeians, their bloody funeral rites, invite conjecture; and yet so nearly resemble in character the distinctions of other tribes, that they do but irritate, without satisfying, curiosity." *

Such is the history of Natchez; where a city now stands, bearing the name of an extinct nation, and where a district of the Methodist church is pursuing its peaceful and pious career.

VIII. The LOUISIANA CONFERENCE now demands our attention. We have six districts in this division; namely, *New-Orleans*, *Baton Rouge*, *Opelousas*, *Monroe*, *Shreveport*, *Vidalia:* fifty-three stations, circuits, and missions; forty-seven ministers, with seventy-one local preachers; and eight thousand two hundred and seventy-two church-members, three thousand seven hundred and forty-nine of whom are people of colour.

D. O. Shuttuck, President of Centenary College; Robert R. Read, Agent for the Centenary College.

The above college is located at Jackson.

This Conference is important because it includes New-Orleans, the great commercial mart of the Mississippi, and famed as the most profligate and wicked place in the Union. On examination, it will be found that the societies in this city are very small, which seems to corroborate the common report as to the dissipation of the place. Its inhabitants are, it is said, constantly changing, and consist very much of desperate adventurers; and it should seem, that the sickliness of the place causes the people to push the pursuit of gaiety and pleasure to the utmost extreme; as if the uncertainty of life led them to seek as much of what they consider enjoyment in as short a space as possible. This is no unusual thing. The inhabitants of Vera Cruz are similarly distinguished; and yet it is about the most pestilential locality in the world.

Races of men, it should seem, have something to do with both religion and solid freedom. Wherever, on the continent of America, we find the basis of population to be French, as in New-Orleans;—or Spanish, as in Florida;—we perceive in this circumstance an effectual barrier against the progress of the gospel, as well as an incapacity for self-government and liberty, as demonstrated by their departed

* BANCROFT, vol. iii. pp. 360—364.

power. Romanism may, indeed, perform its part in all this. Its policy has every where been to attach man to a system, instead of educating him to walk and act for himself. But systems break down; and when this takes place, and the people are found helpless vassals, they are sure to be incapable of acting for themselves, and necessarily fall under the dominion of stronger races.

IX. ALABAMA is not exactly on our line. It lies betwixt the State of Mississippi on the one hand, and Georgia on the other; having Florida, for a considerable extent, as its frontier towards the south, and yet touching the Gulf of Mexico by its south-west point. The Conference of this name contains eight districts; namely, *Mobile*, *Gainesville*, *Columbus*, *Tuscaloosa*, *Talladega*, *Montgomery*, *Eufala*, and *Summerfield:* ninety-eight stations, circuits, and missions; one hundred and eighteen ministers, with four hundred and forty-nine local preachers; and forty-four thousand six hundred and three church-members, fifteen thousand two hundred and seventy-nine being people of colour.

Macon Female Institute, Frederick G. Ferguson; Centenary Institute, A. H. Michell; Agent, G. Garrett.

The white population of this State, in 1810, amounted to 20,845; and in 1845, it had increased to 624,827. In 1820, its slave population amounted to 41,879; and in 1840, to 258,532. This is a fearful augmentation. It shows that an active and distressing internal barter in the flesh and blood of man must be going on within the limits of the States.

We have some relief in the fact above stated, that 15,279 of these poor wretches are within the pale of the church.

We have two other Conferences in this southern direction which must be noticed, though they lie beyond our Mississippi route.

X. The TEXAS CONFERENCE contains four districts; namely, *Galveston*, *Rutersville*, *Austin*, *San Antonio:* twenty-nine stations, circuits, and missions; twenty-nine ministers, with fifty-four local preachers; and three thousand two hundred and thirteen church-members, seven hundred and ninety-nine of whom are people of colour.

XI. The EAST TEXAS CONFERENCE embraces three districts; namely, *San Augustine*, *Marshall*, *Clarkesville:* twenty-seven stations, circuits, and missions; twenty-three ministers, with seventy local preachers; and four thousand eight hundred and three church-members, six hundred and thirty-seven of whom are people of colour.

XII. In 1834, the Rocky Mountains were crossed by two or three missionaries, and the gospel was introduced into OREGON. This work has been progressing from that period to the present time. But as Oregon has not been formed into a Conference, we are unable to report its exact state. Indeed, at the Pittsburgh Conference, I heard a missionary, who had spent several years in the country, give a most interesting account of the state of things, and the hopeful prospect of much good. He proposed the establishment of a Conference for Oregon and California; though at the time the treaty for the cession of the latter territory to the United States had not been signed. The arguments of the missionary were listened to very attentively by the Conference; and good Bishop Hedding proposed several questions as to the time it would take a bishop to travel to the place to constitute the Conference in question, the route, expense, and modes of travelling, as if he had it in his heart to attempt the journey. This was fine in a man near seventy, not very agile in his structure, and not by any means in good health.

At the above date the mission was exclusively intended to benefit the Heathen population. A fine establishment was formed near the mouth of the Columbia; and the first efforts of the missionaries were crowned with promising success. Since that time, the territory has been divided between the British and the Americans; and the latter are pressing to occupy the country. The portion of Oregon to which they have chiefly at present emigrated, was described as surpassingly fertile and beautiful; and the people were represented as making great progress in the cultivation of the soil. Distant ages will hear and know more about Oregon. It will, no doubt, share in the prosperity and greatness of the American world; become the area of several new States; and be the means of extending the influence and power of this great nation to the sea-board of the Pacific; and, as a consequence, to China, India, and Polynesia, by a direct and easy route. The consequences lie in the future; but that their influ-

ence must be great on the destinies, not only of America, but also of the world, may safely be predicted.*

XIII. INDIAN MISSIONS.—To the west of Iowa, Missouri, and Arkansas, is found the Indian Territory, six or seven hundred miles in length, and of less breadth; where, for the present, the wrecks of numerous powerful tribes and nations are located. The Methodist Episcopal church, South, has established itself amongst these tribes, and designates the ecclesiastical territory the INDIAN-MISSION CONFERENCE. In this Conference we have three districts; namely, *Kansas River*, *Cherokee*, and *Muscogee:* twenty-six stations, circuits, and missions; thirty-two ministers, with thirty-two local preachers; and three thousand eight hundred and fifteen church-members: these are divided into ninety-seven whites, two hundred and seventy-three people of colour, (that is, people of the African race,) and three thousand four hundred and forty-five Indians.

We find the following extra appointments:—Indian Manual-Labour School and Station, Thomas Johnson, Tyson Dines; Asbury Manual-Labour School and Station among the Creeks, Thomas B. Ruble; Fort Coffee Manual-Labour School, New-Hope Female School and Station, Jesse L. M'Alister; M'Kendree Manual-Labour School and Station among the Chickasaws, Wesley Browning; Robertson-neighbourhood School, Erastus B. Duncan.

It is a subject of rejoicing that Christianity has found its way, to any extent, amongst these deeply-injured races of the human family. Their tale of woe is one of the most painful on the records of time. Whilst the poor Negro submits with docility and comparative content to his lot of degradation and toil, the Red-man, in the pride of his manhood, has ever spurned the yoke of oppression; and rather than submit to become the white man's slave, he has chosen to fight for his freedom through long ages of unequal conflict; till now the remains of innumerable

* Since the above was written, the great excitement respecting the discovery of gold in California, and the emigration of the people in vast numbers in search of the precious metal, have occurred. How singular are the ways of Providence! This gold mania will attract a large population to a country which would otherwise only have been peopled in the usual way; and though much disappointment will, no doubt, arise respecting the gold, the people will remain to cultivate the soil, and extend the Christian cause.

nations, which owned and hunted freely through the whole continent, are pent up in a mere nook in the farthest west.

In the conquests and settlements of the Christian nations of Europe,—it may be well asked,—what has the world gained by their Christianity? The Pagan nations of antiquity invariably contrived to connect the social and political improvement of the conquered or colonized countries, with the possession of their territory and dominion over the people. Northern Africa was colonized by the Phenicians; and their political power, their system of government, their commercial enterprise, and their social progress, spread civilization amongst the natives of those countries, and they were, as a consequence, assimilated to the general mass of the Carthaginian population. The colonies established by the Greeks are notorious as centres of knowledge; of improved institutions and laws; of freedom and good government; so that, instead of being constituted to repel, to alienate, to barbarize the people of the territories they occupied, the door was opened for their reception; and the colony became the means of organized order, and the foundation of franchises securing all the blessings of the social state to the native population. The progress of the Roman power was chiefly that of conquest. But even this great people invariably carried the arts of civilized life to the abodes of the conquered savage tribes. The Roman empire is known to have laid the foundation of civilization through the whole of central Europe. What were the ancient Britons at the time the country was invaded by Cæsar? Not one tittle in advance of the Red-men of the American forests, when that country was first visited by the European settlers. But how different the issue! The Pagan power, the Roman conquerors of Britain, became its civilizers. The foundation of our improvements was laid by the policy and lessons of the legions and the cohorts of Rome. They did not seek to crush the native population, to possess and occupy their lands with a race of Italians, to the entire exclusion of the natives of the soil. True, they sought the complete ascendancy of their political institutions; and this, exciting the opposition of the Britons, brought them into collision with the Roman power: but the policy of the latter was to turn the wild hordes into peaceful, prosperous, and happy Roman citizens.

How perfectly different has been the conduct of pro-

fessedly Christian nations in America, and elsewhere! The policy of every power which has established itself in that country has been the same. The English,—the Dutch,—the French,—the Spaniards;—the Puritan,—the Huguenot,—the Calvinist,—the Papist;—all nations, all religions, have equally and uniformly acted upon the principle of isolation; of establishing social and religious freedom exclusively for themselves;—of causing law, government, commerce, education, religion, to radiate amongst their own communities;—whilst, by ten thousand modes of intrigue, fraud, oppression, cruelty, and wrong, the natives of the soil have been repelled and driven from the abodes of civilized man.

Religion has been blamed, in no very measured terms, for its failures in preventing the injustice and wrong done to man in his most helpless condition. And it must be confessed, that it is not blameless in the matter; it ought more strenuously to have asserted the rights of the oppressed. Good men in their individual capacity exerted themselves, in some instances, very nobly to communicate a knowledge of the Christian faith, and not without success. The exertions of Eliot, of Brainerd, of Penn, and others, stand out as fine instances of zeal and devotedness. Their successes were as signal as their toils; and had other influences and agencies corresponded with their philanthropic labours, permanent good must have been the result. But the matter of fact is, that the politico-social power which was simultaneously at work with these feeble agencies, constantly thwarted and destroyed the effects of their exertions. These religious men were ardently seeking the instruction, the conversion, the Christianization, of the savage tribes; but the political power was equally intent upon the aggrandizement of the European population, at the expense of the natives. The latter became the predominant force; so that every thing built up by the honest and laborious efforts of the missionary, was as regularly pulled down by the action of the political power. Two antagonistic forces were constantly at work side by side. The selfish one, however, as might be expected, was always infinitely stronger than the Christian.

The only possible mode of averting the wrongs inflicted upon the Indian races, would have been so to blend the Christian with the political power, as to make the latter in its spirit Christian. Had the Governments, in attempting to establish themselves in the country, been controlled

and guided by truly religious principles, in the hands of a sufficiently influential executive, the mischief might have been prevented; and at this day, instead of finding the Indians an outcast race in the extremities of the Western world, we should now see them free, prosperous, and Christian citizens of the United States. Nothing is equally just, —nothing is truly liberal,—nothing regards the primary rights of mankind,—nothing establishes social relations,— nothing assimilates and blends into brotherhood all races, —nothing points to one almighty Father,—nothing brings men together on similar terms, and in the posture of prayer and worship;—nothing does all this but Christianity.

The Christian name has often been miserably outraged by its representatives; but never on so large, so gigantic a scale as in America. Licentious courtiers, hard-hearted and selfish politicians, money-mongering commercial companies, chartered pickpockets, riotous adventurers, and fortune-hunters;—all these soon overpowered the Puritan, the Quaker, the Christian. Not, indeed, that the Pilgrim Fathers, except in individual instances,—as in the case of Roger Williams,—seem to have entertained much scruple respecting the rights of the aborigines; and probably their creed prevented them taking much pains to make them Christians. They were a gigantic race of men, full of lofty and noble sentiments, and had a firm belief in their own high destiny; but they had little sympathy with human nature as such. A race of men who excluded even their fellow-Christians from social fellowship, and drove them from their homes on differing in opinion with themselves, were not very likely to seek any close connexion with the reprobate Heathen.

William Penn and his Quaker followers were of a different spirit. This eminent person* had a just perception of the rights of man, in the Christian sense of the term.

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* Since this was written, MACAULAY'S "History" has been published, in which Penn is shown to have yielded to court influence in some instances, which place his character in those transactions in a questionable point of view. This only shows that courts, in the times of Charles and James, were not very suitable places for Christians; and that the religious principles of Penn were much safer in the wilderness, in toil, in executing projects of usefulness, than in the keeping of Whitehall, and under the influence of Jesuits. We speak of Penn all along in his character of Christian and lawgiver in America; and, certainly, in this sphere, his conduct is seen to be most exemplary.

He nobly exerted himself to secure these rights to the Indians; and, had he been supported by a power corresponding to his own just notions, at any rate a model colony would have been established in Pennsylvania. But the principles of Penn may be said to have died with himself; and that on which his tender heart was so intensely fixed, the freedom, the civilization, and the Christian state of the Indian tribes connected with his colony, was buried in his own sacred resting-place.

The religion which alone could have saved this noble race must, in order to be effective, have been united in some way with the political power. The isolated and individual exertions of good men were found inadequate to the task. The day for great and free religious organizations and institutions had not then arrived. No missionaries, except Popish, connected with large and influential bodies at home, were then in the field. The only church having the forms and the power of a great institution in this country, in the first days of American colonization when the mischief began, was the episcopal church.

Is it too much to expect a Christian nation to conduct its pôlicy on Christian principle,—upon the truths of the gospel? Had this been the case, the political body which laid the foundation of English rule in America would have acted a very different part towards these injured people. Would Christian truth, nay, would Heathen honesty, have allowed the seizure of their lands; often connected with the most infamous chicanery, fraud, and dishonour? Would occasions of irritation and barbarous wars have been sought, for the sole purpose of driving the sheep to the slaughter, and occupying the space vacated by their immolation, or their banishment? Would the superior attainments of knowledge and the means of aggression possessed by white men have been employed as a snare to entrap the poor children of the forest into some bargain and covenant to their own utter ruin? Would these noble tribes have been incited to hate each other, to imbrue their hands in each other's blood, to butcher and exterminate women and children, and feast their voracious appetite for cruelty,—that the white man might profit from the decimation of these several tribes by their slaughter of each other? Would their sufficiently-miserable existence have been still more distressingly embittered by the fiend-like design of poisoning the very springs of life by the introduction of "fire-water," and new diseases, to thin their ranks? Would systems of barter and

intercourse have been established on a large and universal scale, the whole design of which was to defraud the Indian, and rob him of the scanty and hard-earned fruits of the chase? No; Christianity repudiates all this. It utters its voice in the wilderness, it warns of the present and eternal consequences of cruelty and injustice to the feeble, the poor, the dependent. And had the nation, sending out its swarms to occupy the territory of these tribes, instead of exerting a power to destroy, been governed by its doctrines, perfect justice must have been done. The absence of the aboriginal inhabitants from the United States will be a silent,—continued,—eternal memorial of the cruel wrongs, first of the nations which began their expulsion, and next of the Americans who finished it. From their location in the west, the Indian territory, they will for ever send across the flourishing territory, the populous cities, the mighty commerce and growing opulence of the white man's usurpations, the wail of sorrow, the cry of injustice and of wrong.

In a profoundly-interesting chapter on the Indian tribes, we find the following eloquent paragraph in Bancroft:—

"Benevolence has every where in our land exerted itself to ameliorate the condition of the Indian; above all, to educate the young. Jesuit, Franciscan, and Puritan; the church of England, the Moravian; the benevolent founders of schools, academies, and colleges; all have endeavoured to change the habits of the rising generation among the Indians; and the results, in every instance, varying in the degree of influence exerted by the missionary, have varied in little else. Woman, too, with her gentleness, and the winning enthusiasm of her self-sacrificing benevolence, has attempted their instruction, and has attempted it in vain. St. Mary of the Incarnation succeeded as little as Jonathan Edwards, or Brainerd. The Jesuit, Stephen de Carbeil, revered for his genius, as well as for his zeal, was for more than sixty years, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a missionary among the Huron Iroquois tribes; he spoke their dialects with as much facility and elegance as though they had been his mother-tongue; yet the fruits of his diligence were inconsiderable. Neither John Eliot nor Roger Williams was able to change, essentially, the habits and character of the New-England tribes. The Quakers came among the Delawares in the spirit of peace and brotherly love, and with sincerest wishes to benefit the Indian; but the Quakers succeeded no better than the Puritans, nor nearly so well as the Jesuits. Brainerd awakened in the Delawares a perception of the unity of Christian morals, and yet his account of them is gloomy and desponding: 'They are unspeakably indolent and slothful; they discover little gratitude; they seem to have no sentiments of gene-

riosity, benevolence, or goodness.' The Moravian, James Keil, could not change their character; and, like other tribes, its fragments at last emigrated to the west. The condition of the little Indian communities that are enclosed within the European settlements in Canada, in Massachusetts, in Carolina, is hardly cheering to the philanthropist. In New-Hampshire, and elsewhere, schools for Indian children were established; but, as they became fledged, they all escaped, refusing to be caged. Harvard College enrols the name of an Algonquin youth among her pupils; but the college parchment could not close the gulf between the Indian character and the Anglo-American. The copper-coloured men are characterized by a moral inflexibility, a rigidity of attachment to their hereditary customs and manners. The birds and the brooks, as they chime forth their unwearied canticles, chime them ever to the same ancient melodies; and the Indian child, as he grows up, displays a propensity to the habits of his ancestors." *

Let our historian himself find a solution for all this. The historical fact relates to one of God's ordinances, —marriage.

"Tribes even of the Indians submitted to the English, and, by a formal treaty, declared themselves the tributaries of King James. A marriage was the immediate cause of this change of relations.

"A foraging party of the colonists in Virginia, headed by Argall, had stolen away the daughter of Pawhatan, and now demanded of her father a ransom. The indignant chief prepared rather for hostilities. But John Rolfe, a young Englishman, winning the favour of Pocahontas, desired her in marriage; and, with the favour of Sir Thomas Dale, and to the express delight of the savage chieftain, the nuptials were solemnized according to the rites of the English church. Every historian of Virginia commemorates them with approbation; distinguished families trace their descent from this union. The Indian wife, instructed in the English language, and bearing an English name, sailed with her husband for England, and was caressed at court, and respectfully admired in the city. The immediate fruits of this marriage to the colony were a confirmed peace, not with Pawhatan alone, but also with the powerful Chickahominies, who sought the friendship of the English, and demanded to be called 'Englishmen.' It might have seemed that the European and native races were about to become blended. Yet no such result ensued. The history of Pocahontas is full of singular incidents; from her first intercession for Smith, (for his life at the hands of her father,) her regard for the English was uniform; as a wife and a mother, her conduct was exemplary; her manners were those of wild simplicity, and pure and ingenuous feeling. Yet, strange as is her history, nothing is more singular than her marriage. *The Eng-*

* Bancroft, vol. iii. pp. 302—304.

lish and the Indian races remained disunited; and the weakest gradually became extinct." *

When at Washington, I saw, as before related, in the Capitol, a most beautiful and touching picture of this marriage, connected with the baptism of the lady. It remains as one of the national monuments of America, thought to be sufficiently important to possess a place amongst the historical paintings of their great men, and great events. It was, indeed, truly great; an event which seemed ordained of Providence to point out the only way and means of bringing about the union, the amalgamation, the oneness, of the two races. What were the immediate effects? The peace of the tribes, their loyalty to the throne, their cordial attachment to the English name, and their desire to be "called Englishmen." No difficulty arose at home. The lady was received at court, admitted into the best society, was caressed in the city; she proved to be a good wife and mother, and became the parent of some with whom the best families were allied. No doubt the English dames in the colonies would raise a great outcry, and incite their lords to repudiate all such marriages; would tutor their sons against Indian alliances, and do all in their power to render the matter odious. Be this as it may, it is certain that the colonists themselves rendered this practice impossible, as is the case at present, by the force of public opinion. And here are indicated the causes leading to the extirpation of the Red men. The only principle by which races can be united has been disregarded; indeed, contemned and trampled upon; and no one of the immutable laws of nature,—no one of the ordinations of Providence,—can be violated without bitter consequences arising.

Moreover, one evil always drags others after it. This one cause of separation would make it necessary to guard the privileged race by fences of law and custom, degrading to the Indians, and, consequently, a ground of constant irritation. It is not necessary to go into the question raised by our historian respecting the want of success by all parties seeking the instruction of these people. But no one can be surprised that so fine and noble a race, independent, manly, and brave, should spurn the gratuities,—the knowledge,—the religion,—of a nation who, at the same time, refused them human rights, and were every day pressing upon their lawful domains.

* Bancroft, vol. i. pp. 163, 164.

It is now time to examine what the Methodist church has done for this class; and with what degree of success. The work amongst them began long before the Indians entered upon their present location, and has often been much injured by their removal. We cannot attempt a full account; all we can do is to give some slight notice of facts. These poor outcasts, it must be remarked, have been drawn from every part of the United States. The whole continent was once occupied by them.

The attempts of the Methodist church amongst them began with the Wyandott Indians, in Upper Sandusky, in the State of Ohio, in 1816. The agent in this work—in spite of orders, priesthoods, canons, calls, and imposition of hands—was a poor free-man of colour, "born and raised in Pawhatan county." How strange, that the name of the father of the lady married to the Englishman, should also be the name of the country of this good man! If one could believe in the transmigration of souls, it would be no difficult matter to imagine, that the soul of Pocahontas had entered this poor coloured man. "Having been brought to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus, it was powerfully impressed on the mind" of John Steward, —for that was his name,—"that it was his duty to travel somewhere north-west, in search of some of the lost sheep of the house of Israel." He could have no rest in his spirit, until he yielded obedience to what he considered the call of God. John Steward took his departure from his home and kindred, and continued his course till he arrived at Pipe-Town, on the Sandusky River, where a tribe of the Delaware Indians dwelt. He delivered a discourse to them through an interpreter, and took his departure to Upper Sandusky. Steward related his experience to Mr. Walker, the sub-agent of the States to the Indians; and he being finally satisfied that he was actuated by pure motives, both Mr. and Mrs. Walker encouraged and assisted him; and, speaking the Wyandot dialect, the agent became his interpreter. He delivered his first sermon to one old Indian woman; his next to an old man, in addition to the old woman; they "were both soon converted to the Christian faith." "In the month of November, 1816, by the faithful labours of Steward, assisted occasionally by some local preachers, before any regular missionary was appointed, a large society of converted natives had been formed." Among these were several influential chiefs,—

such as Between-the-logs, Mononcue, Hicks, and Scuteash, with two of the interpreters,—Pointer and Armstrong. "Between-the-logs was one of the chief counsellors of the nation, a man of vigorous intellect, who soon became an eloquent advocate of the Christian cause." "In the year 1819, this mission was taken under the superintendence of the Rev. James B. Finley." "At a Quarterly-Meeting, in November of this year, about sixty of these native converts were present;" the account given by themselves of their conversion is very interesting. Between-the-logs said truly, "This is the first meeting of the kind which has been held for us; and now, my dear brethren, I am happy that we, who have been so long enemies to one another, are come together as brothers; at which our great Father is well pleased." Yes, this was "the first meeting of the kind ever held" for Indians. How affecting! Christians, so called, had lived in contact with these people for two hundred years; but their lips had never, till now, been opened to declare their conversion to the faith of Christ. And, stranger still, no one amongst all the zealous and devoted missionaries of the Methodist church, so far as we can perceive, had attempted to seek these lost souls: this honour was reserved for a poor man of colour; himself, like those he visited, an outcast from the great world of civilized man. Truly God's ways are not as ours. If these Indian tribes are ultimately saved and made socially happy, let it be eternally remembered, that, so far as the Methodists are concerned in the matter, the work began by a poor man of colour, of African blood.

It is refreshing to hear the opinions of these simple children of nature, of the forest. Mononcue said, amongst other things, the evening following:—

"Now some of our nation are trying to do better; but we have many hinderances, some of which I mean to tell. The white men tell us they love us, and we believe some do, and wish us well; but a great many do not, for they will bring us whiskey, which has been the ruin of our people. I can compare whiskey to nothing but the devil, for it brings with it all kinds of evil; it destroys our happiness; it makes Indians poor; strips our squaws and children of their clothes and food; makes us lie, steal, and kill one another. All these and many other evils it brings among us: therefore you ought not to bring it among us. Now you white people make it, you know its strength and use; Indians do not. Now this whiskey is a curse to yourselves; why not quit making it? This is one argument used by wicked Indians against the good book: 'If it is so good, why do not white men all do good?' Another hinderance is, white men

cheat Indians, take away their money and skins for nothing. Now you tell us your good book forbids all this; why not then do what it tells you? then Indians do right too. Again, you say our great Father loves all men, white, black, and red men, that do right; then why do you look at Indians as below you, and treat them as if they were not brothers? Does your good book tell you so? I am sure it does not. Now, brothers, let us all do right; then our great Father will be pleased, and will make us happy in this world; and when we die, then we shall all live together in his house above, and always be happy."

Here is the solution of all the difficulties respecting the continued barbarism of these poor Pagans. In these simple words of a converted Indian, are found the real causes of their separation from the civilized community,—their angry hostility, their extirpation.

They next read a lecture to the Conference:—

"We hope our good fathers will not give us up because so many of our people are wicked and do wrong; for we believe some white men are wicked yet, that had the good word preached to them longer than our people; and our great heavenly Father has had long patience with us all; and we let the old father know. that we, the speakers, will not give over speaking, and telling the people to live in the right way; and if any of us do wrong, we will strive to help him right, and let none go wrong; and we will try to make our head chiefs and all the people better; and we are one in voice with our queens, and we all join in giving thanks to our good fathers that care for our souls, and are willing to help our people; and we want them all to pray for us, and we will pray for them; and we hope our great heavenly Father will bless us all: and this is the last." *

In 1821 this mission is reported as still prospering, the Rev. James B. Finley being appointed its superintendent, who established a school, "to teach the boys the art of agriculture, and the girls to sew, spin, and knit, and all the duties of the household." Having enclosed a large farm, Mr. Finley "laboured with his own hands, for the purpose of setting an example to the Indians, that they might habituate themselves to an agricultural life. These movements had a salutary effect upon their physical and moral condition."

In 1823, Bishop M'Kendree says of these Indians,—

"But now they are building hewed log-houses, with brick chimneys, cultivating their lands, and successfully adopting the various agricultural arts. They now manifest a relish for, and begin to en-

* BANGS's "History of Methodism in America," vol. iii. pp. 169—174.

joy, the benefits of civilization; and it is probable, that some of them will this year raise an ample support for their families, from the produce of these farms. There are more than two hundred of them who have renounced Heathenism and embraced the Christian religion, giving unequivocal evidence of their sincerity, of the reality of a divine change."

What became of John Steward, the man of colour, the apostle of this nation?

"When so exhausted in his physical powers as to be unable to labour for his support, his temporal wants were provided for by his friends; about fifty acres of land, on which was built a cabin for his accommodation, being secured to him by fee-simple. Here he lived the remainder of his days; and, on his demise, the property was inherited by his brother. In this place, loved and honoured by those who had been benefited by his evangelical labours, he lingered along the shores of mortality until December 17th, 1823, when he fell asleep in Jesus, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, and the seventh of his labours in the missionary field. On his death-bed he gave the most consoling evidence of his faith in Christ, and hope of immortality." *

In 1827, Between-the-logs finished his career. This was a remarkable man.

"His mother was of the Bear tribe, from whence he derived his name. His Pagan history is much like that of other Indians. His father and mother were separated, and he remained with the former till his death, when he returned to his mother. He joined the Indian warriors who were defeated by General Wayne; by his intellectual superiority and eloquence, he became 'chief speaker and confidential adviser of the head chief;' he was sent at twenty-five to examine into the prophetical and miraculous pretensions of some impostors, and exposed the juggle; he joined the expedition commanded by General Harrison against Upper Canada; settling afterwards in Upper Sandusky, in a fit of drunkenness he killed his wife; this is about his last exploit in his Pagan state. In his Christian state he became a powerful preacher, the leader of his Christian brethren in all business matters; the head of the school department; often visited and spoke in the Ohio Conference; visited New-York and the intervening places to advocate the cause of missions to the Indians, and then died, 'expressing an unshaken confidence in God, and a firm hope, through Jesus Christ, of eternal life.'"

In 1821, an attempt was made to introduce the gospel to the Creek Indians, located in Georgia and Alabama. After various disappointments this enterprise was abandoned in despair.

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* BANGS'S "History of Methodism in America," vol. iii. pp. 246, 247.

In 1822, an effectual and successful mission was established amongst the Mohawks, in Upper Canada, at that time connected with the Methodist church in the United States.

The narrative is very interesting. Many were truly converted to God, and formed into church-fellowship. The Rev. William Case was one of the chief instruments; and these Indians constitute a portion of the mission-church now under the care of the British Conference.

"The Cherokee mission was also commenced this year. The Cherokee Indians inhabited a tract of country included in the States of Georgia and North Carolina on the east, and Alabama on the west; and that part of Tennessee lying south of Hiwassee and Tennessee rivers, comprising not less than ten millions of acres. These natives had been partially civilized; some of them had become wealthy, possessing domestic cattle in abundance, and were thriving agriculturists. White people had settled among them, intermarriages had taken place, so that there were many half-breeds of respectable standing and character, who could speak both the English and Cherokee languages; and many of the children were well educated. And had they been left undisturbed in their possessions, they doubtless would have arisen into a wealthy, intelligent, religious, and respectable community."*

What does our philosophical historian, Mr. Bancroft, say to this? But what use is it for nature and religion to assert their supremacy, and do their work, in the presence of a ruthless political system,—misnamed "civilization?"

1823. "A mission was commenced this year among the Pottawatamy Indians, a small tribe settled in the neighbourhood of Fort-Clark, on the Fox River, in the State of Illinois." After the "hard labours" of seven years, Mr. Walker, the missionary, was obliged to abandon this enterprise as hopeless. "Their strong attachments to savage life, and incurable suspicions of white men, together with their final determination to remove west, frustrated the benevolent attempts to introduce the gospel and the arts of civilized life among them."†

This year Mr. Finley, in company with some of the converted chiefs and an interpreter, set off on a visit to the Chippeways. They at length arrived at the Wyandot reservation, on the Huron River, where they were cordially received and entertained by a white man called

* BANGS'S "History of Methodism in America," vol. iii. pp. 206, 207.

† *Idem*, vol. iii. p. 223.

Honnes, who had been taken prisoner when a lad. He was now supposed to be one hundred years of age; could remember nothing of his parentage, or of his days previous to his captivity, only that he was called Honnes. He was now a cripple, and nearly blind; but very intelligent and communicative. He sat upon a deer-skin, and, through an interpreter, addressed our missionaries:

"My children, you are welcome to my cabin; and I now thank the Great Spirit that he has provided a way for us to meet together in this world. I thank him for all his mercies. He has fed me all my life. He has saved me in the field of blood, and has lifted up my head when I have been sick; and, like a kind Father, has protected and provided for me." *

In 1825, a work of grace commenced among the Mississauga Indians, of Upper Canada. Peter Jones, "feeling, after his conversion, for the salvation of his wretched tribe, hastened away to them, and told them what great things God had done for his soul. This had a powerful effect upon their minds, and led them to attend the meetings on the Grand River." This mission has prospered to this time, and is now under the care of the British Conference.

A similar work commenced among a branch of the Delawares and Chippeways, who were settled at Moncytown, on the river Thames.

In 1827, a new mission was begun among another branch of the Mississaugas, residing on Snake and Yellow-Head Islands, in Lake Simcoe, Upper Canada. This arose from some of the people hearing a sermon from one of the preachers,—then desiring a missionary,—then the establishment of a Sunday-school;—and in two years, there were four hundred and twenty-nine under religious instruction; three hundred and fifty of whom were "orderly members of the church." †

The Oneida mission commenced in 1829. This tribe of Indians were settled on an Indian reservation, in the western part of the State of New-York; they were partially civilized, and were cultivators of the soil; but were deeply debased by immoral habits. In this state they were visited by a young man from the Mohawks in Upper Canada. He had been converted among that tribe of Indians, and "was impelled, by his thirst for the salva-

* Bangs's "History of Methodism in America," vol. iii. p. 238.
† *Idem*, vol. iii. p. 350.

tion of others, to make known unto them the way of peace and salvation." He being able to speak to them in their own language, and from his own experience, they received the tidings in penitent hearts; and a work of reformation commenced among them, which eventuated in the conversion of upwards of one hundred. This good work has steadily gone on. The Onondagos, a neighbouring tribe, by the example and teaching of these new converts, "received the gospel, and twenty-four of them were converted to God, and brought into church-fellowship."

A mission to the Shawnee and Kanzas Indians, inhabiting the western part of the State of Missouri, was undertaken in 1830.

"The Shawnees, especially, were found to be of a docile and tractable disposition, had commenced cultivating the soil, and manifested a great desire to be taught in religion, in literature, and the arts of civil and domestic life.....Success has attended the labours of God's servants, and the mission has continued to flourish and enlarge its dimensions to this day. Many, indeed, have been raised up among these natives of the forests, who are now ornaments to their profession, bringing forth the fruits of righteousness to the glory of God." *

We have also a mission established in this year amongst the Iroquois, attended by somewhat singular circumstances.

"A prophet had risen up among them who acknowledged the true God, and was zealously engaged in instructing the people in religious things. Whether he had acquired his knowledge of God by intercourse either directly or indirectly with the white people, or had been conducted along by the secret whispers of that 'Spirit which giveth understanding to man,' it appears that, though mixed with many errors and superstitions, he had made considerable progress in divine things, and was piously engaged in his exertions for the temporal and spiritual benefit of his people. He was not averse to hearing the truths of the gospel, though it was some time before he fully gave up his peculiar notions, and came heartily to embrace Christianity in its fulness and power." †

In the year 1831, the American church gave up their Indian Missions in Canada to the British Conference; and our historian makes the following reflections upon the subject:—

"From the movements already alluded to in Upper Canada, the Indian missions in that province, including no less than ten stations,

* BANGS's "History of Methodism in America," vol. iv. p. 56.
† *Idem*, p. 59.

and one thousand eight hundred and fifty adult Indians under religious instruction, most of whom were members of the church, were taken from our superintendence, and put under the care of the Wesleyan Conference in England. These missions, which had become endeared to us by such associations as could not be easily dissolved, and for the benefit of which we had expended so much labour and money, still clung to our affections; and could not therefore be surrendered even in the amicable manner in which the arrangement for their future supply was made, without feelings of regret. Knowing, however, that they would be provided for by our brethren in England with the same assiduous care with which they had been from the beginning, we withdrew our pastoral oversight with the less sorrow, still praying Almighty God to bless and prosper them." *

We now enter a new and a very different scene. About this time the United States Government consummated the injuries of centuries; and by various means drove the Indian nations from their several locations in the heart of the country, to the western territory beyond the Mississippi, where we have found them under the designation of the "Indian-Mission Conference."

As might be expected, this dissolution of old associations and attachments produced great convulsions amongst them. The Indian possesses the same instincts and passions as other men. Though former oppressions, which had lessened the extent of the territory of the several tribes, might leave them little to esteem and love; yet we all know how a last shred, figment, shadow,—of departed possession and enjoyment is prized by those who feel that they are losing their hold of the beloved object for ever.

"Hitherto," says Dr. Bangs, "our Indian Missions in the United States and territories had been attended with unparalleled success. About this time, however, the action of the general governments of the United States on the Indian settlements began to exert an injurious influence upon some of these missions, and even to threaten them with destruction. In 1821, the Rev. Dr. Morse made an extensive tour of observation among the western tribes of Indians, under the patronage of the general Government; and, in his published report, gave it as the result of his observations, that, could an amicable arrangement be made between the Government and the aboriginal tribes, for their removal west of the Mississippi, where they could live under the protection of the United States, and be taught the arts of agriculture and domestic life, it would be eventually beneficial."

* Bangs's "History of Methodism in America," vol. iv. pp. 60, 61.

Let us see the result attending the adoption of this policy.

"This policy operated most injuriously upon the Cherokees, who were settled principally in the State of Georgia. Over these people Georgia undertook to extend her laws, and thus force them either to sell their lands and remove west of the Mississippi, or be deprived of the privilege of living under their own laws, as members of a separate community. As the project was resisted by the most opulent part of the Cherokees, and a considerable portion of the nation, a division of sentiment was created among themselves in regard to their removal, which excited much irritation of feeling, and operated injuriously on the interests of the mission. At this time there were no less than seventeen missionaries, including interpreters, and eight hundred and fifty church-members; and the prospects of extensive good were brightening, until they were overcast by these movements.

"Similar results were produced by similar movements among the Choctaws. This mission had been remarkably owned of God; so much so, that in 1830 there were reported not less than four thousand church-members; embracing all the principal men of the nation, their chiefs and captains, many of whom were eminently useful in instructing their brethren by exhortation and prayer. They were, however, less averse to being removed than the Cherokees; and, finally, in a council which was held in March, 1830, they passed a resolution to sell their lands to the United States, and emigrate to the West. This resolution, however, gave offence to a part of the nation, and furnished a pretext to the Pagans to plot the destruction of the missionaries and Christian Indians. The treaty, however, was finally consummated, though with much difficulty, and the missionaries determined to accompany the Christian Indians to their new habitation. It should be recorded, that the general Government did all it could to mitigate their sufferings, by affording provision and protection to the emigrants, and securing to them their lands in the West..... The decree was passed, and remove they must; and the Rev. Alexander Tulley, who had devoted his best days and energies to this mission, and that, too, with a rare success, accompanied them to their new residence; and, in a letter dated September 5th, 1831, he states that about five hundred had arrived, most of whom were members of the church. These, with others that occasionally arrived, at their new home, attended regularly to their Christian duties, and they have prospered, more or less, to the present time."

The present experiment in respect to these interesting people, now going on in the West, is probably their final trial. The Christian philanthropist cannot but feel a deep interest in their ultimate fate. Will religion save them? The last account is more encouraging than the contrary. It is given from the Report of the Missionary

Society of the Methodist Episcopal church, South, for 1847:—

"Rev. L. B. Stateler has had charge of the Kansas-river district during the past year.

"*Indian Manual-Labour school.*—This institution at the last Conference was placed under the superintendency of the Rev. J. C. Berryman, but has since passed into the hands of Rev. William Patten. At this place there are a meeting-house or chapel, 1 society, 34 members, 1 Sabbath-school, 100 scholars, and a library containing 200 volumes. The resources of this establishment are now sufficient for the accommodation of 150 children, males and females; and it bids fair, with proper management, to become a source of knowledge and piety to all the surrounding tribes. The number of children in the school proper has averaged about 100.

"*Shawnee mission.*—Rev. L. B. Stateler has also been in charge of this work, assisted a part of the time by a native helper. On this circuit there are, 1 meeting-house, 5 societies, 130 church-members, 1 local preacher; 22 still remain on trial. Probable population, 900.

"*Delaware mission.*—Rev. N. T. Shaler, and Charles Ketchum, the latter a native, supplied this work the past year. From the returns, there has been a small decrease here. Present number in society, 50 members, and 2 on probation. Population about 1,000.

"*Kickapoo mission.*—Brother P. Fish, a native, has been labouring among these people. Your missionary here has recently been called to mourn the loss of his wife. She died in peace.

"There has been no increase here during the past year. Here are 1 meeting-house, and 34 church-members. Population about 600.

"*Wyandott mission.*—Since Rev. J. Wheeler left, this station has been supplied with Rev. E. T. Peery and Rev. W. A. Duncan. It has 1 church, 158 church-members, and 20 still on trial.

"This station is in a prosperous condition. The Wyandotts are faithful in their attendance to hear the gospel, and are still advancing in civilization.

"*Potowatamie, Chippewa, Peoria,* and *Wea.*—Rev. Thomas Hurlbut and M. Boshma have laboured with these tribes the past year. This is still rather a discouraging field for missionary effort. But there are several reasons why we should continue our labours among them. They have 2 meeting-houses, 51 church-members, and 1 Sabbath-school. Probable population, 2,000.

"*Kansas mission.*—Rev. J. T. Peery, missionary. But little, so far, has been accomplished at this mission. They are yet, for the most part, an unsettled, wandering people, which affords the missionary but little opportunity to preach the gospel to them. A school, however, has been established among them, with some prospect of success. As returned, there are 1 church-member, 1 Sabbath and day school with 15 children. Population, 1,600.

"*Cherokee district.*—To this district Rev. E. J. Peery was appointed

at the last session of the Conference. It was divided into seven circuits and stations. A portion of this district has laboured under serious embarrassments during the past year, principally, however, from political difficulties in the Cherokee nation. But of late these obstacles have been, to a considerable extent, removed. There seems to be now, throughout the entire Cherokee nation, an open door to receive the gospel with all the means necessary to moral and religious education.

"In the Creek nation, a wide door is also open before us. All opposition to the gospel there seems to be fast passing away. There is an increasing desire for missionaries, schools, and books.

"The *Quapaw mission* and school have been doing well under the superintendence of Rev. S. G. Patterson. There are 12 church-members, 1 Sunday and day school with 20 children. These are divided into four classes, and are taught spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography. The Quapaws number about 600, a part of whom are on the Canadian river.

"*Seneca* and *Upper Cherokee.*—Rev. D. B. Cumming and a native were appointed to this work the past year. There has been quite a general revival in the bounds of this charge the latter part of the year. More than 100 have been admitted on trial. There are 6 meeting-houses, 538 church-members, 7 local preachers, 6 sabbath-schools, 181 scholars, and a library containing 161 volumes. Population, about 6,000.

"*Ta-leh-quah.*—Thomas B. Ruble and William M'Intosh, the latter a native, have been labouring on this circuit. Since May last, a good revival has been in progress in this charge. 65 have been admitted on trial. 20 children and 6 adults have been baptized. The prospects are generally good. On this circuit there are 2 meeting-houses, 7 societies, 205 church-members, of which 10 are whites, 189 Indians, and 6 coloured. There are 13 preaching-places, 8 classes; also 1 sabbath-school, 1 superintendent, 4 teachers, 25 scholars, and a library of 100 volumes. Population, about 2,000.

"*Lower Cherokee.*—John F. Boot and John Boston have been the labourers there. This circuit has been blessed with a considerable revival towards the close of the year. At one camp-meeting 35 were admitted on trial, and quite a number baptized. On this circuit there are 3 meeting-houses, 18 preaching-places, 337 church-members, 1 local preacher. Population, about 3,000.

"*Barren-Fork.*—Rev. A. Cumming and Tu-si-wa-li-ta, the latter a native, have laboured on this circuit the past year. Owing partly to the difficulties in the nation, and other causes, but little has been accomplished in that part of the work. There are 8 societies, 138 church-members, 2 local preachers. Population, 3,000.

"*Creek-Nation circuit.*—Rev. W. D. Collins and Daniel B. Asperry, the latter a native. During the past year, 142 have been received and baptized. Expelled, 42; died, 45; many of whom left satisfactory evidence of their acceptance with God. In this charge there are 452 members, 404 of whom are natives, and 48 blacks. Probable population, embracing the Seminoles, 17,700; of

this number about 3,000 have the privilege of hearing the gospel. There are also 2 local preachers, 16 exhorters, 17 societies, and 17 class-leaders.

"*Little-River mission.*—This is also in the Creek country, but embraces a part of the Seminoles. Rev. James Essex has been labouring there, and contending with considerable opposition. Some good, however, has been done. A school of about 15 scholars has been taught most of the time, and a sabbath-school organized, numbering 20 children. There is now 1 society, 16 native and 4 coloured members.

"*Choctaw district.*—Rev. N. M. Talbott has had charge of this. It embraces 7 circuits and stations, and opens a wide and most inviting field for missionary operations.

"*Fort-Coffee Academy.*—Rev. W. L. M'Allister in charge. This establishment has been doing well. There are in society 7 whites, 14 Indians, 1 coloured. At New-Hope, the female branch, 2 whites and 8 Indians. No population but the schools. 1 sabbath-school at each place; number of scholars in both, 80; library worth 50 dollars; literary institutions, 2, male and female. Male students, 54; female, 25; all of whom are regularly boarded, besides some 8 or 10 day-scholars. Of the above, some are in the Spellers, and some in each number of Goodrich's series of Readers. Some are in the arithmetic, some in grammar, some in natural philosophy, and some in the History of the United States. There is also a temperance society at this academy; 91 members, 68 of whom are students.

"*Mush-la-tubee circuit.*—Rev. John Page, a native Choctaw, has been in charge of this. It now numbers 3 societies, and 1 local preacher. Population, 3,600.

"*Doakesville circuit.*—This work has been under the pastoral care of Rev. J. H. Carr, and is reported to be in a prosperous condition. There are on this circuit, 6 meeting-houses, 9 societies, and 441 church-members; of which 91 are still on trial; 42 children have been baptized during the past year. Population, about 8,600.

"*Kiamesha mission.*—Rev. J. Chuck-nu-by has been labouring in this work. As returned, there are now within this charge, 3 meeting-houses, 8 societies, 307 members. Population, about 2,500.

"*Boggy circuit.*—Rev. N. M. Talbott has been in charge of this. Returned, 1 meeting-house, 2 societies, and 70 church-members. Probable population, 1,800.

"*Chickasaw.*—Rev. E. B. Duncan has had charge of this work, and reports as follows: 'We have in this mission 3 meeting-houses, 3 societies, and 68 church-members, of which 10 are whites, 11 natives, 47 coloured. There is 1 sabbath-school, 20 scholars, and a library containing 20 volumes. One literary institution, 21 students; 5 of whom read Testaments, 4 reading spelling-book, 8 spelling, 4 A B C's. The Chickasaws number some 5,000.' This is an inviting field, and is fully open to the gospel, and the blessings of civilization.

"*Chickasaw Academy.*—Rev. W. Browning, superintendent. This institution has not yet been commenced. Arrangements had been

made nearly two years ago, on the part of the Chickasaws, for the establishment of a school, and it was supposed, when a superintendent was appointed a year ago, that the preliminary arrangements were all settled; but upon his arrival at Fort Washita, he found that sundry amendments had been suggested by the commissioner and approved by the secretary, rendering it necessary to lay the whole matter before the Indians again.

"The great difficulty of assembling a council of the Indians has retarded the matter, so that it was not till the 25th of August last, that a council held at Boiling Spring determined to establish a school, and made an appropriation of 5,000 dollars to commence the buildings, and 6,000 dollars annually to support the institution. Its management is committed to the Missionary Society of our church, on the condition of an appropriation of 1,000 dollars annually to its aid. It is to be on the manual-labour plan, and will embrace instruction in agriculture, and several of the most useful of the mechanical branches.

"The superintendent is ready and waiting to commence operations, so soon as information shall be received of the sanction of the War Department. Notwithstanding the long delay, the necessity for a school is deeply felt, and strongly urged, by many of the Chickasaws, and the prospect is encouraging."

The slander, against these people, of incapacity for civilization, stands refuted by these facts, as their general character repels the equally unfounded slanders against their manhood. They, on the contrary, evidently possess all the elements of a noble race. Their resolute resistance to the encroachments of the whites; their repugnance to their manners and customs; their fierce and heroic defence of their soil; their love of the chase, and of forest life; their struggles to prevent the dissolution of their clanships, and tiny nationalities; their repudiation of all effeminate emotions, and systematic culture of fortitude, courage, and manly exercises; and, as the case stood for ages and ages, their hostility to the Christian church;—are facts to be resolved into a peculiar strength and greatness of character, rather than of incapacity. How unlike the Negro and the Hindoo is the Red-man of the American forests! He much more resembles the noble, the dauntless, the independent Arab, as he spreads his tent in wildernesses never subdued; and, mounting his steed, bids defiance to all pursuers. Why should the American Indians be refused the meed of admiration for qualities which in other cases call it forth? They have eternally refused to submit to the domination of their invaders. Is this a proof of weakness? Rather does it not indicate prodigious moral strength? They have defended their ter-

ritories by disputing every inch of ground with the white man, and when beaten have refused quarter, challenging the infliction of the most cruel tortures, and meeting death with the fortitude of the greatest heroes. Is this evidence of a mean, a dastardly, and a decrepit nature? Is it not much more in proof of real nobility? Had these tribes lived in the days of chivalry, they would have been found amongst the most renowned knights. These Indians, moreover, were lovers of freedom. It might be wild,—the freedom which delighted to snuff the winds of the desert, instead of that which rests in a finely-poised balance of political power; but there it existed, deeply seated in the soul;—in all its resentments, its frenzy of passion, its repulsive force, its fixed, undying resolution. Is this love of liberty a weakness? Will this be said in the midst of the struggles of modern times? They were generous and frank when treated with confidence and justice, as the cases of Roger Williams,—William Penn,—Smith,—the effects of the marriage of Pocohontas,—the affection and gratitude manifested to many of the Roman Catholic missionaries,—will all evince. Is this deemed a sign of a feeble character? Is it not invariably taken as evidence of a magnanimous soul? When confided in on honourable terms, even by the European nations around them, they were found capable of observing treaties, of taking their share in the operations of war, of fighting in connexion with the more disciplined troops of their allies, and uniformly conducted themselves with truth and bravery. To help themselves against a rival foe, all the colonial powers often sought their assistance and co-operation. Does this, again, seem as if they were deficient in intellectual and manly qualities? Does it not indicate, on the contrary, that, even in the opinion of these detractors, they possessed useful powers in the matter of war? Yes: these Indians are, in truth, amongst the noblest race of untutored men on whom the sun ever shone.

We are astonished at the lateness of the attempt made by the Methodist body, to bring these children of the forest into the fold of Christ. There is no evidence from his Journal, that Bishop Asbury, the apostle of Methodism, entertained the idea of extending the kingdom of God amongst this people. His benevolent and active mind embraced the whole population of the United States, with this exception. It seems to have been taken for

granted, on all hands, that they were incapable of Christianity, till the delusion was dissipated by the labours of John Steward, the poor man of colour. The labours of faithful men, indeed, might not have succeeded in retaining them in their primeval homes, securing their rights to the soil on which they lived, or giving them a place in the citizenship of the United States; and, as the matter stood at the time, it is easy to see, that the remedy, supposing it to be successful, came too late to secure these blessings. Ages of oppression and wrong had thinned the ranks of all the Indian nations; they were only the shreds and skeletons of former strength and power; they had been hunted, like wild beasts, into nooks and corners, and seemed only to exist by sufferance; they were writhing under the scourges and miseries of centuries; and the traditional sufferings and wrongs of past generations, handed down to them by the maledictions and sworn revenge of their ancestors, leaving them the legacy of their cruel oppressions, tended to feed and infuriate their passions. Yes, it was too late. The blow had been struck, the deed was done, the murderous wound inflicted. All of life which remained, at the time, was the mere death-struggles of a giant; cursing, in bitter scorn, the power which had inflicted the blow. This giant has now trailed his remnant of existence to the extremity of the West. The song of love is no longer heard amid the rippling streams and forests of their primeval fatherland; the lute, the drum, the dance of the Red-man, now never gladdens the wigwam village, or echoes through the thickets, rendered joyous by the frolics of boyhood and the excitements of the chase; the incense of religious rites to avert the invasions of the genii of evil, or to propitiate the "Great Spirit," ceases to rise in the midst of the groves and bowers of their "high places;" the war-whoop will never more be borne by the breeze, or heard in frightful notes to disturb the repose and rouse the apprehensions of the wives and children of the white man. The morning breaks, the sun shines brightly, nature appears in all her gorgeousness, fragrant flowers give their sweetness to the winds;—birds and animals play and sing gaily;—the day declines, the dews fall, and all things are hushed in soft slumbers,—never, no, never to be broken again by the joys or sorrows of the poor Indian. Let a stranger be permitted to chant his funeral dirge.

Never was conquest so complete as that gained over these races. The Norman lords of this island cut down the heads of the nation; but they left the meaner kinds

of life to vegetate. The northern barbarians subdued Italy and Europe; but they allowed the people to remain on the soil, to outlive the oppression, and assert the rights of humanity. The ruthless Turks conquered the Greek empire; but even they have not succeeded in cutting off the race or expelling them from the country. England has subdued India; but the notion of deporting the inhabitants has never formed part of her policy. America is alone in this. Her work is perfect. She occupies the largest territorial possessions of any civilized power in the world; and it is all cleared of the nations once inhabiting the soil. Her occupancy is now undisputed. One people,—one power,—one system,—one government,—now pervades the mighty spaces once filled with innumerable races. The Roman empire never possessed the unity, the homogeneity, the strength, of the American Republic.

We hope this gigantic mistress of so splendid an empire will not, in future, think it essential to her interest or glory to molest the Indians in the "far West." Surely they may now be left alone to live,—if it may please God,—and if they do not become extinct by natural causes. It would, moreover, be a mercy, if Christianity might now be permitted to have fair play amongst them, and let it be seen if they are an exception to the general rule, and cannot possibly be saved. Every well-wisher to the race will look with deep interest towards this Indian territory; and if, after all the miseries of the past, it should turn out that a happy and Christian community is the result of this arrangement, he will rejoice in the goodness of God, whatever he may think of the policy which led to the settlement.

We now give the statistical results of this section of the work, in a tabular view.

Conferences.	Dist.	Circuits.	Minist.	Supernum.	Local Pr.	Members.
Iowa	4	40	54	2	97	8,440
Illinois.	10	106	130	54	425	24,458
Missouri.	5	35	51		87	10,924
St. Louis	6	51	51	5	163	13,755
Arkansas	5	41	43	3	148	9,730
Memphis	6	71	101	4	344	30,940
Mississippi . . .	7	54	73	5	195	16,598
Louisiana	6	53	47	2	71	8,279
Texas.	4	29	29	2	54	3,213
Indian Mission.	3	26	32	1	32	3,815
	56	506	511	98	1,616	130,052

The whole statistical result of our survey of the territorial progress of the American Methodist Episcopal church will be as follows:—

	Conf.	Dist.	Cir.	Ministers.	Local Pr.	Members.
Atlantic Line . . .	13	72	1,300	1,687	1,611	405,541
Hudson and Lake Line	10	72	1,065	1,343	1,984	210,790
Ohio Line	7	60	630	876	2,253	262,858
Mississippi Line.	10	56	506	511	1,616	130,052
	40	260	3,501	4,417	7,464	1,009,241

We have not noticed the supernumeraries in the above table, because not employed in full work. They, however, amount to 423.

We leave this sketch of the territorial progress of Methodism in the States to the reader's own reflections; with the single remark, that, in the author's own opinion, it is unexampled,—that it is the greatest developement of religious truth which has taken place in the history of Christianity, either in ancient or modern times.

PART V.

THE MEASURES ADOPTED BY THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH ON THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY.

CHAP. I.—*Laws on the Subject—Preachers from the Beginning held anti-slavery Views—Opposition of the Planters—The Power of the separate States—Difficulties arising from this.*

THE following are the regulations and laws on the subject of slavery contained in the Discipline; and are consequently those which are only in force at present:—

"1. We declare that we are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of slavery: therefore no slave-holder shall be eligible to any official station in our church hereafter, where the laws of the State in which he lives will admit of emancipation, and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom.

"2. When any travelling preacher becomes an owner of a slave, or slaves, by any means, he shall forfeit his ministerial character in our church, unless he execute, if it be practicable, a legal emancipation of such slaves, conformably to the laws of the State in which he lives.

"3. All our preachers shall prudently enforce upon our members the necessity of teaching their slaves to read the word of God; and to allow them time to attend upon the public worship of God on our regular days of divine service.

"4. Our coloured preachers and official members shall have all the privileges which are usual to others in the District and Quarterly Conferences, where the usages of the country do not forbid it. And the presiding elder may hold for them a separate District Conference, where the number of coloured local preachers will justify it.

"5. The Annual Conferences may employ coloured preachers to travel and preach where their services are judged necessary; provided that no one shall be so employed without having been recommended according to the form of Discipline."

The legislation of the church on this subject is somewhat curious, and was often varied, till it settled down into the above rules. As early as 1780, consequently before the termination of the war, or the vigorous exertions of Dr. Coke, we have the following minute:—

"QUES.—Does this Conference acknowledge that slavery is contrary to the laws of God, man, and nature, and hurtful to society; contrary to the dictates of conscience and pure religion, and doing that which we would not others should do to us and ours? Do we pass our disapprobation on all our friends who keep slaves, and advise their freedom?

"ANS.—Yes."

In 1783:—

"QUES.—What shall be done with our local preachers who hold slaves contrary to the laws which authorize their freedom in any of the United States?

"ANS.—We will try them another year. In the mean time let every assistant deal faithfully and plainly with every one, and report to the next Conference. It may then be necessary to suspend them."

In 1784:—

"QUES.—What shall we do with our local preachers who will not emancipate their slaves in the States where the laws admit it?

"ANS.—Try those in Virginia another year; and suspend the preachers in Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New-Jersey.

"QUES.—What shall be done with our travelling preachers that now are, or hereafter shall be, possessed of slaves, and refuse to manumit them where the law permits?

"ANS.—Employ them no more."*

"Not more than six months had elapsed after the adoption of these last rules before it was thought necessary to suspend them. Accordingly, in the Annual Minutes for 1785, the following notice was inserted:

"'It is recommended to all our brethren to suspend the execution of the minute on slavery till the deliberations of a future Conference; and that an equal space of time be allowed all our members for consideration, when the minute shall be put in force.'

"'N. B. We do hold in the deepest abhorrence the practice of slavery; and shall not cease to seek its destruction by all wise and prudent means.'

"This note does not seem to refer to Question 43, (1784,) as it, with the same answer, was retained in the Discipline of 1786. From this, till 1796, no mention, it would seem, was made of the subject, except in the General Rules.

"1796. The following section was introduced on the subject:—

"'QUES.—What regulations shall be made for the extirpation of the crying evil of African slavery?

"'ANS.—1. We declare, that we are more than ever convinced of the great evil of the African slavery which still exists in these United States, and do most earnestly recommend to the yearly Conferences, Quarterly-Meetings, and to those who have the oversight of districts and circuits, to be exceedingly cautious what persons

* "Discipline," pp. 214, 215. Last edition, 1844.

they admit to official stations in our church; and, in the case of future admission to official stations, to require such security of those who hold slaves, for the emancipation of them, immediately or gradually, as the laws of the States respectively, and the circumstances of the case, will admit; and we do fully authorize all the yearly Conferences to make whatever regulations they judge proper, in the present case, respecting the admission of persons to official stations in our church.

"'2. No slave-holder shall be received into society till the preacher who has the oversight of the circuit has spoken to him freely and faithfully on the subject of slavery.

"'3. Every member of the society who sells a slave shall immediately, after full proof, be excluded the society. And if any member of our society purchase a slave, the ensuing Quarterly-Meeting shall determine on the number of years in which the slave so purchased would work out the price of his purchase. And the person so purchasing shall, immediately after such determination, execute a legal instrument for the manumission of such slave at the expiration of the term determined by the Quarterly-Meeting. And in default of his executing such instrument of manumission, or on his refusal to submit his case to the judgment of the Quarterly-Meeting, such member shall be excluded the society. *Provided also*, that in the case of a female slave, it shall be inserted in the aforesaid instrument of manumission, that all her children who shall be born during the years of her servitude, shall be free at the following times; namely, every female child at the age of twenty-one, and every male child at the age of twenty-five. *Nevertheless*, if the member of our society, executing the said instrument of manumission, judge it proper, he may fix the times of manumission of the children of the female slaves before mentioned at an earlier age than that which is prescribed above.

"'4. The preachers and other members of our society are requested to consider the subject of Negro slavery with deep attention till the ensuing General Conference: and that they impart to the General Conference, through the medium of the yearly Conferences, or otherwise, any important thoughts upon the subject, that the Conference may have full light, in order to take further steps toward the eradicating this enormous evil from that part of the church of God to which they are united.'

"1800. The following new paragraphs were inserted:—

"'2. When any travelling preacher becomes an owner of a slave or slaves, by any means, he shall forfeit his ministerial character in our church, unless he execute, if it be practicable, a legal emancipation of such slaves, conformably to the laws of the State in which he lives.'

"'6. The Annual Conferences are directed to draw up addresses for the gradual emancipation of the slaves to the legislatures of those states in which no general laws have been passed for that purpose. These addresses shall urge, in the most respectful, but pointed, manner, the necessity of a law for the gradual emancipation of the

slaves; proper committees shall be appointed by the Annual Conferences, out of the most respectable of our friends, for the conducting of the business; and the presiding elders, elders, deacons, and travelling preachers, shall procure as many proper signatures as possible to the addresses, and give all the assistance in their power in every respect to aid the committees, and to further this blessed undertaking. Let this be continued from year to year, till the desired end be accomplished.'

"1804. The following alterations were made:—

"The question reads,—'What shall be done for the extirpation of the evil of slavery?'

"In paragraph 1, (1796,) instead of 'more than ever convinced,' we have, 'as much as ever convinced;' and instead of 'the African slavery which still exists in these United States,' we have 'slavery.'

"In paragraph 4, (3 of 1796,) respecting the selling of a slave, before the words 'shall immediately,' the following clause is inserted,—'except at the request of the slave, in cases of mercy and humanity, agreeably to the judgment of a committee of the male members of the society, appointed by the preacher who has the charge of the circuit.'

"The following new proviso was inserted in this paragraph:—'*Provided also*, that if a member of our society shall buy a slave with a certificate of future emancipation, the terms of emancipation shall, notwithstanding, be subject to the decision of the Quarterly-Meeting Conference.' All after '*nevertheless*' was struck out, and the following substituted:—'The members of our societies in the states of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee, shall be exempted from the operation of the above rules.' The paragraphs about considering the subject of slavery and petitions to legislatures, (namely, No. 4 of 1796, and No. 6 of 1800,) were struck out, and the following added:—

"'5. Let our preachers, from time to time, as occasion serves, admonish and exhort all slaves to render due respect and obedience to the commands and interests of their respective masters.'

"1808. All that related to slaveholding among private members (see 2 and 3 of 1796) struck out, and the following substituted:—

"'3. The general Conference authorizes each Annual Conference to form their own regulations relative to buying and selling slaves.'

"Paragraph 5 of 1804 was also struck out.

"1812. Paragraph 3 of 1808 was altered so as to read,—

"'3. Whereas the laws of some of the States do not admit of emancipating of slaves, without a special act of the legislature; the General Conference authorizes each Annual Conference to form their own regulations relative to buying and selling slaves.'

"1816. Paragraph 1 (see 1796) was altered so as to read,—

"'1. We declare that we are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of slavery: therefore no slave-holder shall be eligible to any official station in our church hereafter, where the laws of the state in which he lives will admit of emancipation, and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom.'

"1820. Paragraph 3, (see 1812,) leaving it to the Annual Conferences 'to form their own regulations about buying and selling slaves,' was struck out.

"1824. The following paragraphs added:—

"'3. All our preachers shall prudently enforce upon our members the necessity of teaching their slaves to read the word of God; and to allow them time to attend upon the public worship of God on our regular days of divine service.

"'4. Our coloured preachers and official members shall have all the privileges which are usual to others in the District and Quarterly Conferences, where the usages of the country do not forbid it. And the presiding elder may hold for them a separate District Conference, where the number of coloured local preachers will justify it.*

"'5. The Annual Conferences may employ coloured preachers to travel and preach where their services are judged necessary; provided that no one shall be so employed without having been recommended according to the Form of Discipline.'" †

It is clear from the above rules, and especially from the early enactments of the Conference, that the American preachers, from the beginning, took an enlightened and Christian view of the enormities of slavery, and set themselves strenuously to oppose it. They rightly considered it as opposed to "the laws of God, man, and nature, and hurtful to society;" and it should seem that their testimony, in private and in public, agreed to this opinion. They evidently desired to clear the Methodist church of the evil, and induce their members to take part with them in obtaining a revision of the laws of the several States; and, as it seems, did all in their power to cause them to manumit their own slaves. In some few cases they were successful. Some of the members of society had the justice and benevolence to free themselves from the blame. But it should appear that the civil power proved too strong for them in the end; and instead of relaxing their hold on the African race, they passed more stringent laws, making emancipation next to impossible.

It is known that Dr. Coke preached strenuously and constantly in the midst of slave-holders against the system, and sometimes to the hazard of his life. In this he was not singular. Bishop Asbury and the other ministers bore a similar testimony. How far this testi-

* "These provisions respecting District Conferences have been retained ever since, although District Conferences were abolished in 1836."

† EMORY'S "History of the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church," pp. 274—279.

mony has influenced public opinion, and assisted in an alteration of the law, it is impossible to know. But it is a fact of history, that in several of the States where slavery prevailed at the time when the question was first agitated, it has long ceased to exist. There can be no reason to doubt that the influence of Christianity has furnished its amount of moral force in this important achievement; and it is gratifying to think that the Methodist Conference took a prominent part in this good work.

But in the South, where slaves are more necessary for the cultivation of the soil;—where the masters are more numerous and influential;—and where great numbers of poor Africans are held in hopeless bondage, the course has been rather retrogressive than otherwise. From the beginning of the agitation, the position taken by the slaveholders of this portion of the Union was defensive. They strenuously resisted all claim, on the part of either the church or any other parties, to interfere in their affairs, or to put in jeopardy their rights of property. And being the governing class in these States, and either sending members to the legislative bodies, or being themselves sent, they enjoyed the unenviable means of riveting the chains of the slave as fast as they pleased.

It may be proper to remark here, that the General Congress of the United States has no power to legislate on this question. The constitution secures, to each of the separate States, the power to manage their own affairs within the limits of the State; and this vital question of slavery is one of the vested rights in question. It follows, that the northern or non-slave-holding States can have no other influence than that of example on the slave States. This is a grievous calamity, inasmuch as it places the power of legislation, on this subject, altogether in the hands of the parties interested. In the exercise of this power, these men have scorned all attempts at modifying the system, much less abolishing it; and, instead of improving the condition of their slaves, they have made it as intolerable as possible. It is known that they have obstructed the course of their education, by making it a penal offence on the part of religious persons to attempt it; they have prevented the free circulation of knowledge amongst their vassals, and have destroyed the presses and property, and sometimes put the lives of parties attempting it into jeopardy; they have made emancipation impossible, or nearly so, by surrounding it

with conditions which no person can comply with; they have persecuted, imprisoned, and maltreated good men,—and women too,—who have interested themselves in the welfare of the slaves, under the pretext that they were lending themselves to enable them to escape; and, in fine, it seems to have long been the settled purpose of these persons to do battle, at the same time, with the laws of God, the moral sense of the world, and all the principles of humanity.

This fearful power, it must be confessed, has hitherto been too great for the Methodist church, and the Christian party desiring freedom for their fellow-creatures. It was soon found necessary—at least, so it was thought—for the Conference to modify and relax their rules; they could not occupy the high ground at first taken; they practically were foiled in their attempts to carry their resolutions into effect, as we have seen; and even Dr. Coke, in his second visit, for the sake of preaching the gospel and extending the knowledge of his Saviour's name, considered it expedient to wave the slavery question. There seems to have been, from the beginning, more or less of internal agitation on this subject; and hence the constant changes taking place in the legislation of the church. A fixed and absolute principle condemnatory of slavery was, as we have seen, at first resolved upon. This not only brought the church into collision with public opinion and private interests in the slave-holding States, but also with the laws and authorities of these States themselves.

Hence arose the difficult and perplexing question, as to whether it is consistent with the Christian system, the religion of the New Testament, to frame a church-organization, adopt a code of laws, and establish an administrative power, which should directly contravene the laws of the country. It is easy enough to see, that to do this must place the members of the church on the horns of a distressing dilemma. If they obey the church-law, the spiritual republic, the ecclesiastical state,—then they are deemed traitors to the civil State, disloyal to the laws, rebels against the supreme power. If, again, they adhere to the civil system, they expose themselves to ecclesiastical penalties,—to censure, to degradation, to expulsion, as the case might be. This is exactly the manner in which the matter went on; and, of necessity, must do so, when two co-ordinate powers, antagonistic to each other, are made to work on the same soil, amongst the same people. This state of

things necessarily brought up the question as to the rights of the civil state,—its supremacy,—its power to rule,—and the binding nature of its enactments in the case of its own subjects; though the enactment itself might be so anti-christian and unjust, as not only to make slavery legal, but also to guard and fence it around by such protective laws, as to make emancipation itself impossible.

These were some of the difficulties connected with this subject; and, from their writings and speeches, it seems to be the opinion of many of the most judicious and able men in the American church, that the cause of amelioration and ultimate emancipation would have fared better, in the long run, if the church had never legislated at all upon the subject of slavery. Their idea is, that the spiritual society should have employed spiritual weapons alone; have trusted to the force and influence of divine truth, to gain its own conquests; have limited its functions to the duty of testifying and bearing witness against the evil; of promulgating principles and doctrines, the essential tendency of which must ultimately undermine and overthrow the system, just as light disperses darkness; that, in fine, it would have been more safe, and, moreover, more successful, to rely simply upon the doctrines and spirit of Christianity to effect the purpose desired.

Whatever may be thought of this, it is undoubtedly an awkward predicament for a church, as an organization, to place itself directly, and by statute law, in collision with the laws of the country in which it is found. This was the difficulty in which the Methodist Conference found itself, by its early enactments; and hence the necessity of compromises of various sorts. The whole question evidently lay in a very narrow compass; namely, whether they ought so to modify these rules as to meet the case of the slave-holding States, or whether they would allow themselves to be driven out of them as incendiaries, or otherwise run the hazards of martyrdom. The age of martyrdom had passed away.

CHAP. II.—*The Wesleyan-Methodist Connexion—Agitations—The Address of the British Conference—Orange Scott—Debates at the General Conference—The Spirit of Compromise prevails—Fails to heal the Breach—Agitations proceed—Separation—The new Community established.*

THE seceding church, designated as above, arose out of agitations on the subject of slavery, and established itself in the States on non-slavery principles. It makes no compromises at all, and refuses to admit members holding slaves, within its communion. The leader in this movement was the Rev. Orange Scott, an able and energetic man.

We will allow Dr. Bangs to state the opening of the case, the moderate opponent of these movements, and the historian of Methodism. He says, after mentioning preceding agitations,—

"In this agitated state of things,* it could hardly be expected that the church should wholly escape the excitement, or avoid participating in the discussions, to which it gave rise. Accordingly, as our brethren in the eastern States entered more deeply into this subject than any others, and as they had a weekly paper † under their control, its columns were open to the discussion of slavery as it existed in the United States, and severe denunciations were uttered against all who held slaves, whether in or out of the church. These denunciations were met and repelled with spirit by those more immediately implicated, as being incompatible with that spirit of brotherly love which ought to characterize all Christians, and more especially such as are members of the same communion.

"These discussions had been conducted for two or three years previously to the session of this General Conference, and a weekly paper had been established in the city of New-York, for the avowed purpose of advocating immediate emancipation, irrespective of all consequences. As the arguments and measures set forth in this and other periodicals of a kindred character were not fellowshipped by a great majority of our preachers and people even in the middle and northern Conferences, nor by the official organ of the church, the Christian Advocate and Journal, these were stigmatized by the immediate emancipationists as pro-slavery in their views and feelings, and, of course, as involved in the same guilt and condemnation with those who actually held their fellow-beings in bondage. These irritating charges were considered unjust, as the brethren implicated thought they could easily distinguish between an approval of slavery as a system, and the apologizing for those who held slaves under certain peculiar circumstances. This clear distinction, however, was not admitted by the zealous advocates of immediate emancipation; and

* The agitations on abolition in general are referred to.

† "Zion's Herald," published at Boston, before referred to.

hence they poured forth their anathemas upon all indiscriminately who either held slaves or offered an apology for those that did, on account of their peculiar circumstances.

"It was in this state of the public mind, and of the church, that the General Conference came together in 1836. And though many of its oldest and most judicious members were very desirous of keeping the discussion of slavery from the deliberations of the Conference, being convinced it could result in no good; yet several circumstances conduced to bring it in, and to make it the subject of much debate. In the first place, the allusion to the subject in the Address of our Wesleyan brethren, and in the Address of their representative, the Rev. William Lord, made it necessary to advert to it in the answer of the General Conference, which, it will be perceived by those who will look at that answer, was done in a very brief and respectful manner. In the second place, not many days after the Conference had assembled, it was ascertained that two of the abolition brethren from New-England had attended and lectured at an abolition meeting in the city of Cincinnati; and as the agitation was very great upon that subject, it was feared by many that a popular excitement would be produced, injurious to the character of the Conference, and perhaps detrimental to the peace and harmony of the church in Cincinnati. With a view to allay all such apprehension, the Conference passed the following preamble and resolutions, by a vote of one hundred and twenty in favour, and fourteen against them:—

"'Whereas great excitement has prevailed in this country on the subject of modern abolitionism, which is reported to have been increased in this city recently, by the unjustifiable conduct of two members of the General Conference in lecturing upon, and in favour of, that agitating subject; and whereas, such a course on the part of any of its members is calculated to bring upon this body the suspicions and distrust of the community, and to misrepresent its sentiments in regard to the points at issue; and whereas, in this aspect of the case, a due regard for its own character, as well as a just concern for the interests of the church confided to its care, demand a full, decided, and unequivocal expression of the ideas of the General Conference in the premises:—Therefore,

"'1. Resolved, by the delegates of the Annual Conferences in General Conference assembled, That they disapprove, in the most unqualified sense, the conduct of two members of the General Conference, who are reported to have lectured in this city recently upon, and in favour of, modern abolitionism.

"'2. Resolved, That they are decidedly opposed to modern abolitionism, and wholly disclaim any right, wish, or intention to interfere in the civil and political relation between master and slave as it exists in the slave-holding States in this Union.

"'3. Resolved, That the foregoing preamble and resolutions be published in our periodicals.'

"The consideration of these resolutions brought the entire subject of slavery and abolitionism before the Conference, and elicited a very spirited and protracted debate, which finally ended in their

adoption, as before mentioned. Many very able speeches were delivered on both sides of the question, and generally with good temper and much calmness of deliberation, though not without some appearance of asperity and warmth of feeling. The pith of the controversy, however, notwithstanding the whole field of argument and illustration was amply surveyed, may be comprehended in two of the speeches, both published at the time,—that of the Rev. O. Scott in favour, and of the Rev. W. Winans against modern abolition. And even this argument itself may be brought into a very narrow compass.

"The course pursued by the Methodist Episcopal church, from the beginning of her existence, in reference and in opposition to slavery, as it has all along existed in the United States, proves that she has always considered it an evil not to be tolerated except under given circumstances; and that such circumstances exist in some portions of our Union, where severe penal laws have been enacted against emancipation, as to justify her in holding in her communion those who hold slaves, provided they are otherwise pious. That this was her doctrine, is provable from her whole course of proceeding from the time of her organization in 1784. At this time were passed the severest laws against slavery which we find upon record at any time of her existence; but even these aimed at a *gradual*, and did not insist on an *immediate*, emancipation; yet, finding upon experiment, that these severe rules could not be carried into execution without producing a greater evil than that which they were designed to remove, about six months after they were passed they were suspended, and have never been revived, nor were they ever inserted in her book of Discipline; and at almost every subsequent General Conference some enactment has been made for the purpose of regulating slavery, of modifying or mitigating its character, with a view ultimately, if practicable, to do it away. This has been the doctrine, and these have been the measures, of our church, in reference to this most difficult and perplexing subject. And they prove most incontestably, that she does not, nor has at any time considered slaveholding, under all circumstances, of such a deadly character as to 'exclude a man from the kingdom of grace and glory;' for it is manifest, that the making rules for the regulation of a practice is, in some sense, to pronounce that the practice is not, in itself considered, independently of all concurring circumstances, a moral evil in the sight of God. To legislate for a time is to sanction it, though the *manner* of holding the thing may be considered either unlawful or inexpedient.

"This statement of the doctrine of the church will enable us to perceive the force and scope of the argument now wielded by Mr. Scott against slavery in the Methodist Episcopal church. In opposing the above resolutions, he laid down the following proposition:—

"'That slavery is wrong in *some* circumstances, in *no* circumstances, or in *all* circumstances.' In selecting from these positions the one which suited his views, he took this strong ground: *That slavery is wrong, morally wrong, under all possible circumstances;* and, in the course of his argument, contended that no circumstance

whatever could alter or modify the sinful character of slavery; that it was a wrong, or a *sin*, not to be tolerated under any circumstance whatever, either in or out of the church. By this comprehensive and sweeping proposition, all who held slaves, whatever might be the palliating circumstances, were, on that very account, sinners against God, and ought to be forthwith excommunicated from the communion of the church, unless they repented, and 'brought forth works meet for repentance,' by an immediate and unconditional surrender of their slaves, without any regard to the consequences of such a measure.

"And yet, such was the light and force of truth upon this subject, that, almost in the next breath, Mr. Scott admitted that 'God himself expressly permitted his people to enslave the Canaanites,' thus upsetting at a stroke the whole array of argument which he had brought to prove that *slavery was a sin under all circumstances;* for here was a circumstance in which God either permitted his people to *commit sin*, or which did away with the *sinfulness* of slavery: the first supposition is daringly impious; the second is fatal to the argument.

"Of this concession, a concession which sacred history had forced from him, Mr. Winans took advantage, and built upon it the following impregnable argument:—

"'That, according to this admission, taken in connexion with the main proposition that *no* circumstance could alter the character of an action, as it was *once right* for God to *permit slavery*, it was therefore *always right;* is *right now;* and no possible circumstance could make it *wrong*.'

"This was the very gist of the argument. And the reader will observe, that in stating the argument thus, Mr. Winans did not attempt to prove that slavery, as it existed in the United States, is right, or not sinful; but simply to show, that on Mr. Scott's concession, his major proposition, that slavery is a sin under all circumstances, could not be true.

"I need not trace this controversy any further. The views of the General Conference in reference to this subject may be seen in the following [extract from the] Pastoral Address, which was adopted near the close of the Conference:—

"'We now approach a subject of no little delicacy and difficulty, and which we cannot but think has contributed its full proportion to that religious declension over which we mourn. It is not unknown to you, dear brethren and friends, that, in common with other denominations in our land, as well as our citizens generally, we have been much agitated in some portions of our work, with the very excitable subject of what is called abolitionism. This subject has been brought before us at our present session, fully and, we humbly trust, impartially discussed, and, by almost a unanimous vote, highly disapproved of; and while we would tenderly sympathize with those of our brethren who have, as we believe, been led astray by this agitating topic, we feel it our imperative duty to express our decided disapprobation of the *measures* they have pursued to accomplish their

object. It cannot be unknown to you, that the question of slavery in these United States, by the constitutional compact which binds us together as a nation, is left to be regulated by the several State legislatures themselves; and thereby is put beyond the control of the general government, as well as that of all ecclesiastical bodies; it being manifest, that, in the slave-holding States themselves, the entire responsibility of its existence or non-existence rests with those State legislatures. And such is the aspect of affairs in reference to this question, that, whatever else might tend to meliorate the condition of the slave, it is evident to us, from what we have witnessed of abolition movements, that these are the least likely to do him good. On the contrary, we have it in evidence before us, that the inflammatory speeches, and writings, and movements, have tended, in many instances, injuriously to affect his temporal and spiritual condition, by hedging up the way of the missionary who is sent to preach to him Jesus and the resurrection, and by making a more rigid supervision necessary on the part of his overseer, thereby abridging his civil and religious privileges.

"'These facts, which are only mentioned here as a reason for the friendly admonition which we wish to give you, constrain us as your pastors, who are called to watch over your souls as they who must give an account, to exhort you to abstain from all abolition movements and associations, and to refrain from patronizing any of their publications; and especially from those of that inflammatory character which denounce in unmeasured terms those of their brethren who take the liberty to dissent from them. Those of you who may have honest scruples as to the lawfulness of slavery, considered as an abstract principle of moral right and wrong, if you must speak your sentiments, would do much better to express yourselves in those terms of respect and affection, which evince a sincere sympathy for those of your brethren who are necessarily, and in some instances reluctantly, associated with slavery in the States where it exists, than to indulge in harsh censures and denunciations, and in those fruitless efforts which, instead of lightening the burden of the slave, only tend to make his condition the more irksome and distressing.

"'From every view of the subject which we have been able to take, and from the most calm and dispassionate survey of the whole ground, we have come to the solemn conviction, that the only safe, scriptural, and prudent way for us, both as ministers and people, to take, is wholly to refrain from this agitating subject, which is now convulsing the country, and consequently the church, from end to end, by calling forth inflammatory speeches, papers, and pamphlets. While we cheerfully accord to such all the sincerity they ask for their belief and motives, we cannot but disapprove of their measures, as alike destructive to the peace of the church, and to the happiness of the slave himself. But while we thus express our disapprobation of these measures, we would, with equally strong and decided language, record our abhorrence of all unlawful and unscriptural means to check and to counteract them. All mobs, and violent movements of self-created tribunals, to inflict summary punishment upon those

who may differ from them in opinion, are condemned alike by the laws of our land, and by every principle of Christianity. We should, therefore, be extremely pained and mortified to learn, that any of you should have lent your influence to foment a spirit of insurrection, in any manner, or to have given sanction to such violent movements as have, in some instances and places, disturbed the peace of society, and forestalled the operation of the established tribunals of justice to protect the innocent and to punish the guilty. To be subject to the powers that be, is a duty enjoined no less by Christianity, than it is a dictate of common prudence, necessary to be observed for the preservation of good order, and the support and perpetuation of those civil and religious institutions which we so highly and justly value as freemen, as Christians, and as Methodists. The exercise of mutual forbearance in matters of opinion, is essential in a community where freedom of speech is guaranteed to the citizens by the constitution which binds them together, and which defines and secures the rights and liberties of all.

"'Finally, brethren and friends, we exhort you to unity and brotherly love, and to the practice of those things which make for peace. Instead of indulging in those irritating recriminations which tend to disturb the harmony of the body, and to prevent the exercise of mutual good-will and fraternal feeling, let us follow after that charity which edifieth; and the cultivation of that love which endureth all things, hopeth all things, believeth all things.'"*

In the midst of this scene of agitation, we have seen that the Address of the British Conference made its appearance, and, by its allusions to slavery, increased the confusion. Dr. Bangs does not tell us the result of the debates on this Address, except in regard to the answer sent in reply. But the matter of fact is, that the Address of the British Conference was treated as an abolition document, and its publication was suppressed.

"The Address, on motion of Dr. ———, was referred to a Committee of three, with instruction to report as early as possible. They were Dr. ———, and Dr. ———, and Mr. ———. Orange Scott moved to have the Address published in the periodicals of the church; Dr. ——— opposed the printing of that portion of it which related to slavery. The motion to print it was laid on the table (that is, lost). The next day, May 4th, Dr. ——— presented a Report, in answer to the Address from the Wesleyan Conference.

"Among other things, the Report says, that had the Wesleyan Conference fully understood the difficulties of this subject in this country, and how slavery was interwoven in many of our State constitutions, they would probably have censured us less, or modified their language on this subject. The Report spoke of 'the trouble abolitionism' had made, but nothing of the *trouble of slavery*.

* Bangs's "History of Methodism in America," vol. iv. pp. 243—249, 258—261.

"Considerable discussion took place, when it was moved to adopt the Report. Rev. T. Spicer, of the Troy Conference, rose and said, 'The Report speaks of *the trouble abolitionism* has made us; I think *slavery* should be inserted instead of *abolitionism*.' This seemed to be a new thought to some; they seemed to have forgotten that *slavery* was any trouble at all.

"Most of the session was taken up, May 5th, in considering the Report of the Committee in reply to the Wesleyan Conference. It was presented with the language somewhat altered. It was extremely difficult, however, to get the language on the part relating to slavery so as to suit those that were not abolitionists; the discussion was almost entirely among those that were not abolitionists. Various alterations and amendments were proposed; and once a motion was made to strike out the whole that related to slavery. The Report was finally adopted. During the discussion, the abolitionists received some hard *slants* (!) without making any reply. Abolitionism, for instance, was said to be an 'unhallowed flame, that has burned to the destruction of both whites and blacks.'

"As adopted, the Report was much modified in language, and did not censure abolitionism, nor condemn slavery. It was immediately moved, by Orange Scott, to call up the resolution to print the Address of the Wesleyan Conference; but the hour of adjournment arrived, and it was deferred. The next day it was renewed by Dr. Bangs. The vote was 59 to 59, Bishop —— being in the chair; so the document was not ordered to be printed."*

Such was the fate of the Address of the British Conference of 1835.

As an illustration of the sort of man that this indomitable Orange Scott was, in doing battle on this great question, though in the midst of fearful odds, we give his own account of one of his speeches. This is not the speech itself, but an epitome of the argument.

"I assumed the position that the principle of slavery—the principle which justifies holding and treating the human species as property—is morally wrong,—or, in other words, that it is a *sin*. The principle, I contended, aside from all circumstances, is *evil*, ONLY EVIL, and that CONTINUALLY! I said, no hand could sanctify it—no circumstances could change it from bad to good. It was a reprobate—too bad to be converted—not subject to the law of God, neither indeed could be. I admitted that circumstances might palliate, and circumstances might aggravate; but no circumstances could justify the *principle*. If any circumstances could justify the right of property in human beings, then we had only to change some of the circumstances with which slavery is connected, and it becomes universally right—so that in that case the sin would be in the circumstances. The abstract question was argued at considerable length. It was insisted that slavery was morally right or

* "Life of the Rev. Orange Scott," pp. 85—87.

morally wrong, or that it had no moral character. The first and last of these suppositions I considered *absurd;* and contended that 'He who has made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the earth,' must look with *disapprobation* upon such a system of complicated wrongs, as American slavery.

"I then attempted to show, that such views of slavery among Methodists, and Methodist ministers, are not 'modern,' by extracts from Wesley, Clarke, our fathers in this country; and our brethren on the other side of the Atlantic. And these quotations show, that clear, plain, pointed denunciations of slavery are not peculiar to 'modern abolitionism.'

"But, it is said, that this abolition discussion is not conducive to the peace of the church. Suppose this were admitted; are there no interests to be consulted beside the peace of the church? It may not, perhaps, be always best, that the church be at peace. There may be 'ease in Zion,' connected with a 'wedge of gold and a Babylonish garment.' The Methodist Episcopal church has an unholy alliance with slavery; she ought not, therefore, to give herself any peace, till she cleanses the skirts of her garments from 'blood-guiltiness!' Shall the dearest interests of *undying millions* be sacrificed upon the altar of the peace of the church? 'But the church will be divided.' What will divide it? The church is built upon a rock, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. If, therefore, abolition is from *beneath*, the church is safe; for the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And if abolition is from above, (of which I have no more doubt than of the truth of Christianity,) it will never harm the church. All *future* consequences to the Union and the church are, at best, *imaginary*. They may be realized, and they may not. Shall we then suffer *imaginary consequences* to determine our duty, when we have a more unerring rule? Had we always acted on this principle, where would the temperance reformation, and many other important enterprises, have been? Imaginary consequences are a new standard of duty for a body of Christian ministers, and very unbecoming in the nineteenth century.

"I come now, Mr. President, to notice a few things, which were stated on the floor of this Conference yesterday, and then I have done. An aged and venerable brother from Baltimore called the abolition excitement an 'unhallowed flame;' and this expression he has several times repeated on this floor. Now, Sir, this *same* unhallowed flame has burnt off the chains from 600,000 goods and chattels in the West India Islands, and elevated them to the rank of human beings! Abolitionism is one in all parts of the world. We are not trying an experiment—we are walking in a beaten track. Our principles have been fully tested, and we have no fears as to the final results. The day of our national jubilee may linger, but it will come at last; *and it cannot tarry long!* Had it not been for the abolitionists, the 600,000 coloured freemen in the West India Islands had still been goods and chattels! And do you ask what the abolitionists have done? Let the 600,000 goods and chattels metamorphosed into peaceable, industrious, and happy freemen,

answer the question! Let a ship-load of *fifty-nine tons* of Bibles testify to the good effects of emancipation! Through the influence of this 'unhallowed flame,' some scores of slaves have been set at liberty *in this country*. A gentleman in this city has emancipated his slaves, through the influence of abolition doctrines. The fires of abolition are now burning deep and wide—the leaven of liberty is now working through the whole lump—and the axe is laid at the root of the tree—the whole country is awake; and the day of our redemption is at hand!

"The *impropriety* of attempting to brave public opinion has been suggested on this floor. But, Sir, if public opinion is wrong, it ought to be braved. Shall truth and righteousness succumb to public opinion, without stopping to inquire whether that public opinion is right or wrong? If public opinion is wrong, let it be set right; and in order to this, let it be braved by a firm adherence to right principles! However few in number the advocates of truth may be, let them not swerve the breadth of a hair from right principles. Let there be no compromise between truth and error.

"Public opinion was against Daniel when he was commanded not to pray for thirty days; but he braved it, and, in defiance of the king's decree, continued to pray with his windows open towards Jerusalem. Public opinion was against the three Hebrews, when they refused to worship the 'golden image,' and to obey laws which infringed upon the rights of conscience. They braved public opinion, and stood it out against the stern decree of the king. Did they do right? The apostles braved public opinion in every place where they planted the standard of the cross. Martin Luther and his followers did the same at the risk of their lives. John Wesley and his coadjutors in England braved public opinion. When Mr. Wesley was expelled from the churches, he preached in grave-yards, public markets, and open fields! And though public opinion *commanded* Mr. Wesley to desist through the medium of *mobs*, still he stood it out! Shame on his *compromising sons!* The Methodists in all parts of the United States have braved, and, finally, to a considerable extent, *changed*, public opinion. Every man's hand has been against us, and yet we have stood *firm*. But now comes up the new doctrine of *compromise!* Let it be banished from the breast of every patriot, philanthropist, and Christian. The advocates of temperance have *braved* and *changed* public opinion. The same may be said of Wilberforce, and the English abolitionists. And with all these examples before us, shall we succumb to an unholy public opinion, founded in the *love of gain?* Shall we turn our backs upon the cause of suffering humanity, because public opinion frowns upon us? *No!* NEVER!!

"Mr. President, Rev. J. A. Collins has told us that he came up here flush with the expectation, 'that the brethren from the north would put their foot on abolitionism and crush it.' And have we yet to learn, Sir, that free discussion is not to be put down in this way? When you can put your foot on one of the burning mountains and smother its fires—when you can roll back the current

of the thundering falls of Niagara—or stop the sun in its course, you may then begin to think about 'crushing abolitionism!' *Sir, the die is cast*—the days of the captivity of our country are numbered! ITS REDEMPTION IS WRITTEN IN HEAVEN!!" *

These measures of precaution did not put an end to the agitation. The stone continued to roll on, gathering bulk and impetus in its progress, as might be expected, till the Conference of 1840, when a new effort at gaining their point was made by the abolitionists, and strenuously resisted by that body.

The bishops, in their answer to the Address of the British Conference, took the initiative, no doubt with a view to prevent agitation. They say,—

"We have considered, with affectionate respect and confidence, your brotherly suggestions concerning slavery, and most cheerfully return an unreserved answer to them. And we do so the rather, brethren, because of the numerous prejudicial statements which have been put forth in certain quarters to the wounding of the church. We assure you, then, brethren, that we have adopted no new principle or rule of discipline respecting slavery since the time of our apostolic Asbury, neither do we mean to adopt any. In our General Rules, (called the 'General Rules of the United Societies,' and which are of constitutional authority,) 'the buying and selling of men, women, and children, with an intention to enslave them,' is expressly prohibited; and in the same words, substantially, which have been used for the rule since 1792. And the extract of part ii. section 10, of our Book of Discipline, which you quote with approbation, and denominate 'a noble testimony,' is still of force to the same extent that it has been for many years; nor do we entertain any purpose to omit or qualify this section, or any part thereof. For, while we should regard it a sore evil to divert Methodism from her proper work of 'spreading scripture holiness over these lands,' to questions of temporal import, involving the rights of Cæsar, yet are we not the less minded on that account to promote and set forward all humane and generous actions, or to prevent, to the utmost of our power, such as are evil and unchristian. It is our first desire, after piety toward God, to be 'merciful after our power; as we have opportunity, doing good of every possible sort, and as far as possible to all men, to their bodies;' but especially, and above all, 'to their souls.'

"Of these United States, (to the government and laws of which, 'according to the division of power made to them by the constitution of the Union, and the constitutions of the several States,' we owe, and delight to render, a sincere and patriotic loyalty,) there are several which do not allow of slavery. There are others in which it is allowed, and there are slaves; but the tendency of the laws, and the minds of the majority of the people, are in favour of

* "Life of the Rev. Orange Scott," pp. 91—95.

emancipation. But there are others in which slavery exists so universally, and is so closely interwoven with their civil institutions, that both do the laws disallow of emancipation, and the great body of the people (the source of laws with us) hold it to be treasonable to set forth any thing, by word or deed, tending that way, Each one of all these States is independent of the rest, and sovereign, with respect to its internal government, (as much so, as if there existed no confederation among them for ends of common interest,) and therefore it is impossible to frame a rule on slavery proper for our people in all the States alike. But our church is extended through all the States, and as it would be wrong and unscriptural to enact a rule of discipline in opposition to the constitution and laws of the state on this subject, so also would it not be equitable or scriptural to confound the positions of our ministers and people (so different as they are in different States) with respect to the moral question which slavery involves.

"Under the administration of the venerated Dr. Coke, this plain distinction was once overlooked, and it was attempted to urge emancipation in *all* the States; but the attempt proved almost ruinous, and was soon abandoned by the Doctor himself. While, therefore, the church has encouraged emancipation in those States where the laws permit it, and allowed the freed-man to enjoy freedom, we have refrained, for conscience' sake, from all intermeddling with the subject in those other States where the laws make it criminal. And such a course we think agreeable to the scriptures, and indicated by St. Paul's inspired instruction to servants, in 1 Cor. vii. 20, 21. For if servants were not to care for their servitude, when they *might not* be free, though if they might be free they should use it *rather ;* so, neither should masters be condemned for not setting them free when they *might not* do so, though *if* they *might* they should do so *rather*. The question of the evil of slavery, abstractedly considered, you will readily perceive, brethren, is a very different matter from a principle or rule of church discipline to be executed contrary to, and in defiance of, the law of the land. Methodism has always been (except, perhaps, in the single instance above) eminently loyal, and promotive of good order; and so we desire it may ever continue to be, both in Europe and America. With this sentiment we conclude the subject, adding only the corroborating language of your noble Missionary Society, by the revered and lamented Watson, in their Instructions to Missionaries, published in the Report of 1833, as follows:—

"'As in the colonies in which you are called to labour, a great proportion of the inhabitants are in a state of slavery, the Committee most strongly call to your remembrance what was so fully stated to you when you were accepted as a missionary to the West Indies, that your only business is to promote the moral and religious improvement of the slaves to whom you may have access, without, in the least degree, in public or private, interfering with their civil condition.'" *

* Bangs's "Methodism in America," vol. iv. pp. 378—380.

These means of suppression failed. The question came up for discussion, and Orange Scott became again the champion of anti-slavery principles.

"The official reporter of the General Conference said, (in the New-York Advocate and Journal,) 'The speaker's manner throughout was dispassionate and conciliatory, and his whole address free from offensive or inflammatory epithets. He was heard with the greatest respect and attention by the body, and by a very large audience which had convened to listen to the debate on this theme.'

"Several propositions were made; and, among others, William A. Smith, of Virginia, proposed some very ultra pro-slavery measures. Some of his propositions, however, were so amended as almost entirely to neutralize their force. This brought up Mr. Smith with some doctrines not very palatable to the anti-abolition members of the Committee from the free States. He appealed to the Committee, and asked them whether they held slavery to be a moral evil or not. 'If,' said he, 'you hold slavery to be a moral evil, hands off that brother,' (pointing to Orange Scott,) 'you ought not to condemn, but to cover, him. If slavery be indeed a moral evil, I will defend him as long as there is a plank on the deck. If slavery be a moral evil, he reasons like a philosopher! The South will never be satisfied by your passing resolutions against Orange Scott and Co., while you hold the same doctrines he contends for. If slavery be a moral evil, the conclusion is irresistible, that it ought to be *immediately abandoned*.' But he contended that it was not a moral evil. And W. M. Wightman, from South Carolina, stated, that, as Methodists, they had abandoned the doctrine that slavery is a moral evil. They did not believe the doctrine. They did not regard the Discipline on that subject. And he moved, at one time, an amendment to a resolution, which was, that all on the subject of slavery be struck from the Discipline." *

We give the above as specimens of the kind of agitation going on at this period; but so far as the Conference legislated at all, it was evidently in the direction of pro-slavery principles. We find a curious law adopted on the subject of coloured evidence against a white man in church-courts, enacted at this Conference; placing the poor black, though a member of the same church with the white, in a position in which he could give no evidence against him, though he might witness the most enormous sins.

"There was one other subject which excited a deep interest. An appeal had come up from a member of the Missouri Conference, appealing from a decision of the said Conference condemning him for admitting coloured testimony against a white person. The appeal was

* "Life of the Rev. Orange Scott," pp. 174, 175.

sustained, and the decision of the Missouri Conference reversed. As this reversal was considered as sanctioning the practice of admitting coloured testimony against the character of a white person, the following Resolution, offered by Dr. Few, of the Georgia Conference, after a strong and protracted debate, was adopted:—

"'That it is inexpedient and unjustifiable for any preacher to permit coloured persons to give testimony against white persons, in any State where they are denied that privilege in trials of law.'

"The passage of this Resolution gave great dissatisfaction to many members of the Conference; and after a variety of expedients had been resorted to in vain, to obviate the difficulties which seemed to grow out of it, Bishop Soule offered the following resolutions, which were adopted by a great majority, ninety-seven voting in the affirmative, and twenty-seven in the negative:—

"'Resolved, 1. That in the decision of this Conference in the case of the appeal of Rev. Silas Comfort, it is *not* intended to express or imply that the testimony of coloured persons against white persons, in church trials, is either expedient or justifiable in any of the slave-holding States or territories where the civil laws prohibit such testimony in trials at law.

"'Resolved, 2. That it is not the intention of this Conference, in the adoption of the resolution of Rev. Ignatius A. Few, of Georgia, in regard to the admission of the testimony of coloured people, to prohibit such testimony in church trials in any of the States or territories where it is the established usage of the church to admit, and when, in the judgment of the constitutional judicatories of the church, such testimony may be admitted with safety to the peace of society, and the best interests of all concerned.

"'Resolved, 3. That it is not the intention of this Conference, in either of the above cases, or in any action had by this body, to express or imply any distrust, or want of confidence, in the Christian piety and integrity of the numerous body of coloured members under our pastoral care, to whom we are bound by the bonds of the gospel of Christ, and for whose spiritual and eternal interests, together with those of all our fellow-men of every colour, and in every relation and condition in life, we will never cease to labour.'" *

We have one other very important document which we insert, inasmuch as it established a rule which was much referred to afterwards.

"A very able report was adopted near the conclusion of the Conference on the subject of ordaining ministers in slave-holding States who own slaves, and will not liberate them from their bondage. This arose out of the practice of the Baltimore Conference in refusing to ordain some local preachers, who lived in the State of Virginia, where they pleaded that the laws would not permit emancipation.

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* BANGS's "History of Methodism in America," vol. iv. pp. 396, 397.

"As this subject had never before been so fully investigated, and as the report, drawn up by Dr. Bascom, very clearly unfolds the principles by which the church has ever been governed upon this grave and important question, I think the reader will be pleased to have the entire report before him. It is as follows:—

"'The Committee, to whom was referred the memorial and appeal of some fifteen official members of the Methodist Episcopal church in Westmoreland circuit, Baltimore Conference, on the subject of alleged withholdment of right from a portion of the local ministry within the limits of that Conference, and to whom was likewise referred the report of the judiciary Committee upon a similar remonstrance from the same division of the Baltimore Conference, signed by about thirty official members of the church, and addressed to the General Conference in 1836, after giving to the subject the attention its obvious importance demands, beg leave to report the following as the result of their deliberations:—

"'The particular portion, or rather general section, of country in which these remonstrances have their origin, although belonging to the Baltimore Conference, is found within the limits of the State of Virginia; and the memorialists represent in strong but respectful terms, that local preachers within the jurisdiction of the Baltimore Conference, but residing in the commonwealth of Virginia, have, in considerable numbers, and for a succession of years, been rejected as applicants for deacon's and elder's orders in the ministry, solely on the ground of their being slave-holders, or the owners of slaves. In the memorials referred to, it is distinctly stated, that election and ordination have been withheld from the applicants in question on no other ground or pretence than that of their being the owners of slave-property; and it is further argued, that the Baltimore Conference avows this to be the only reason of the course they pursue, and which is complained of by the petitioners. The appellants allege, further, that the laws of Virginia relating to slavery forbid emancipation, except under restrictions, and subject to contingencies, amounting, to all intents and purposes, to a prohibition; and that the Discipline of the church having provided for the ordination of ministers thus circumstanced, the course pursued by the Baltimore Conference operates as an abridgment of right, and therefore furnishes just ground of complaint. The memorialists regard themselves as clearly entitled to the protection of the well-known provisional exception to the general rule on this subject found in the Discipline; and assume with confidence, and argue with firmness and ability, that no other objection being found to the character of candidates for ordination, it is a departure from the plain intendment of the law in the case, and a violation not less of express compact than of social justice, to withhold ordination for reasons which the provisions of the law plainly declare are not to be considered as a forfeiture of right. It is set forth in the argument of the appellants, that, attaching themselves to the church as citizens of Virginia, where, in the obvious sense of the Discipline, emancipation is impracticable, the holding of slaves, or failure to emancipate them,

cannot be pleaded in bar to the right of ordination, as is the case in States where emancipation, as defined and qualified by the rule in the case, is found to be practicable. In the latter case, the question is within the jurisdiction of the church, inasmuch as the holding or not holding of property of this kind depends not upon the constitution and regulation of civil property, but upon the will and purpose of individuals. Under such circumstances, the conduct in question is voluntary, and in every final sense the result of choice. In the former, however, where emancipation is resisted by the prohibition of law, it may be otherwise; and in many instances is known to be resulting entirely from the involuntary relations and circumstances of individuals connected with the very structure of civil polity, and the force and array of public opinion, and popular interest. The memorialists advert to the fact, that we have in the Discipline two distinct classes of legislative provision in relation to slavery; the one applying to owners of slaves where emancipation is practicable, consistently with the interests of master and slaves; and the other, where it is impracticable without endangering such safety, and these interests on the part of both. With the former, known as the general rule on this subject, the petitioners do not interfere in any way, and are content simply to place themselves under the protection of the latter as contracting parties with the church; and the ground of complaint is, that the church has failed to redeem the pledge of its own laws, by refusing or failing to promote to office ministers in whose case no disability attaches on the ground of slavery, because the disability attaching in other cases is here removed by special provision of law, and so far leaves the right to ordination clear and undoubted; and hence the complaint against the Baltimore Conference. In further prosecution of the duty assigned them, your Committee have carefully examined the law, and inquired into the system of slavery as it exists in Virginia, and find the representation of the memorialists essentially correct. The conditions with which emancipation is burdened in that commonwealth preclude the practicability of giving freedom to slaves as contemplated in the Discipline, except in extremely rare instances, say one in a thousand, and possibly not more than one in five thousand. The exception in the Discipline is therefore strictly applicable to all the ministers and members of the Methodist Episcopal church holding slaves in Virginia, and they appear clearly entitled to the benefit of the rule made and provided in such cases.

"'As emancipation under such circumstances is not a requirement of discipline, it cannot be made a condition of eligibility to office. An appeal to the policy and practice of the church for fifty years past, will show incontestably, that, whatever may have been the convictions of the church with regard to this great evil, the nature and tendency of the system of slavery, it has never insisted upon emancipation in contravention of civil authority; and it therefore appears to be a well-settled and long-established principle in the polity of the church, that no ecclesiastical disabilities are intended to ensue either to the ministers or members of the church in those States where the

civil authority forbids emancipation. The general rule, therefore, distinctly and invariably requiring emancipation as the ground of right, and the condition of claim to ordination where the laws of the several States admit of emancipation, and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom, and which, in the judgment of your Committee, should always be carried into effect with unyielding firmness, does not apply to your memorialists, and cannot by any fair construction of law affect their rights.

"'On the other hand, your Committee have given the most careful consideration to the position of the Baltimore Conference complained of by the appellants. The journals of the several sessions of the Baltimore Conference, for a series of years, have been carefully examined, and found to be silent on the subject of the rejections in question, except the single statement that A, B, and C, from time to time, applied for admission or orders, and were rejected. We find no rule or reason of action, no evidence of preconcertion, no grounds or reasons of rejection, stated in any form, directly or indirectly. Nothing of this kind is avowed in, or found upon, the face of the journals of that body. The charge of particular motives, it occurs to your Committee, cannot be sustained in the instance of a deliberative body, say the Baltimore Conference, unless it appears in evidence that the motives have been avowed by a majority of the Conference; and it is not in proof that the Conference has ever had an action to this effect, whatever may have been the declaration of individuals sustaining the charge of the appellants. The fact charged without reference to motives, that there has been a long list of rejections, both as it regards admission into the travelling connexion and ordination, until the exception seems to be made a general rule, is undoubtedly true, and is not denied by the defendants. The evidence, however, in relation to specific reasons and motives is defective, and does not appear to sustain the charge of a contravention of right by any direct accredited action of the Baltimore Conference had in the premises.

"'That this view of the subject presents a serious difficulty, is felt by your Committee, and must be so by all. The rule applicable in this case allows an annual Conference to elect under the circumstances; but does not, and, from the very nature and ubiquity of the case, cannot, require it. Among the unquestioned constitutional rights of our Annual Conferences is that of acting freely, without any compulsory direction, in the exercise of individual franchise. Election here is plainly an assertion of personal right on the part of the different members composing the body, with regard to which the claim to question or challenge motives does not belong even to the General Conference, unless the result has turned upon avowed considerations unknown to the rule and law in the case. The journal of the Conference is the only part of its history of which this body has cognizance, and to extend such cognizance to the reasons and motives of individual members of Conferences not declared to be the ground of action by a majority, would be to establish a rule at once subversive of the rights and independence of Annual Conferences. In the

very nature of the case an Annual Conference must possess the right of free and uncontrolled determination, not only in the choice of its members, but in all its elections, and, keeping within the limits and restrictions of its charter as found in the Discipline, can only be controlled in the exercise of such right by moral and relative considerations, connected with the intelligence and interests of the body.

"'The memorialists prayed the last General Conference, and they again ask this, to interfere authoritatively by change or construction of rule so as to afford relief; and in failure to do so, in the memorial of 1836, they ask to be set off to the Virginia Conference, as the only remaining remedy. In their present petition, they are silent on the subject of a transfer to Virginia. Under all the circumstances of the case, and taking into the account the probabilities of future action in the premises, your Committee cannot but regard this as the only conclusive remedy. But how far this may be considered as relatively practicable, or whether advisable in view of all the interests involved, the Committee have no means of determining, and therefore leave it to the judgment of those who have. That the petitioners, in accordance with the provisions of the Discipline, whether said provisions be right or wrong, are entitled to remedy, your Committee cannot for a moment doubt, inasmuch as they are labouring, and have been for years, under practical disabilities actually provided against by the Discipline of the church. The alleged grievance is, by the petitioners themselves, regarded as one of administration, not of law. No change of legislation is asked for, unless this body prefer it; and it does not appear to your Committee to be called for by any view of the subject they have been able to take.

"'Your Committee are unwilling to close the brief view of this subject without anxiously suggesting that, as it is one of the utmost importance, and intense delicacy in its application and bearings throughout our entire country, involving, in greater or less degree, the hopes and fears, the anxieties and interests, of millions; it must be expected that great variety of opinions and diversity of conviction and feeling will be found to exist in relation to it, and most urgently call for the exercise of mutual forbearance and reciprocal good-will on the part of all concerned. May not the principles and causes, giving birth and perpetuity to great moral and political systems or institutions, be regarded as evil, even essentially evil, in every primary aspect of the subject, without the implication of moral obliquity on the part of those involuntarily connected with such systems and institutions, and providentially involved in their operation and consequences? May not a system of this kind be jealously regarded as in itself more or less inconsistent with natural right and moral rectitude, without the imputation of guilt and derelict motive in the instance of those who, without any choice or purpose of their own, are necessarily subjected to its influence and sway?

"'Can it be considered as just or reasonable to hold individuals responsible for the destiny of circumstances over which they have no control? Thus conditioned in the organic arrangements and distri-

butions of society, is there any necessary connexion between the moral character of the individual and that of the system? In this way the modifying influence of unavoidable agencies or circumstances in the formation of character is a well-known principle, and one of universal recognition in law, morals, and religion; and upon which all administration of law, not unjust and oppressive, must proceed. And your Committee know of no reason why the rule is inapplicable, or should not obtain, in relation to the subject of this report. In conclusion, the Committee would express the deliberate opinion, that, while the general rule on the subject of slavery, relating to those States only whose laws admit of emancipation, and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom, *should be firmly and constantly enforced*, the exception to the general rule, applying to those States where emancipation, as defined above, is not practicable, should be recognised and protected with equal *firmness* and *impartiality*. The Committee respectfully suggest to the Conference the propriety of adopting the following Resolution:—

"'Resolved, by the delegates of the several Annual Conferences in General Conference assembled, That, under the provisional exception of the general rule of the church on the subject of slavery, the simple holding of slaves, or mere ownership of slave property, in States or territories where the laws do not admit of emancipation, and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom, constitutes no legal barrier to the election or ordination of ministers to the various grades of office known in the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal church; and cannot, therefore, be considered as operating any forfeiture of right in view of such election and ordination.'" *

These measures only tended to aggravate the anti-slavery party. They continued to agitate the question at issue, by newspaper articles, lectures, sermons, and pamphlets; and in the end produced great excitement. The passions of both parties, as might be expected, became much inflamed. Personal reflections were made on both sides; and the storm, as was evident, must burst in some fearful explosion. The reformers turned their artillery from slavery to the church; and, as they could not obtain their purpose, they vehemently assailed the constituted authorities, and the ecclesiastical organization itself. The principle at issue admitted of no compromise in the opinion of the abolitionist party. They denounced slavery as a moral evil, a *sin*, not to be tolerated in the Christian society. The church for many years, whilst bearing its testimony against the evil in the abstract, had by various measures compromised the matter in practice. No agree-

* Bangs's "History of Methodism in America," vol. iv. pp. 404—412.

ment, of course, could take place between the parties, and separation became inevitable.

After various preliminary measures, a convention of the ministers and people favourable to the establishment of a body on anti-slavery principles, took place at Utica in the State of New-York, May 31st, 1843. At this meeting Orange Scott presided, and it was agreed to form a religious society, to be called "the Wesleyan-Methodist church." The usual Methodist platform was adopted; namely, of circuits, Annual Conferences, and a General Conference. A Book-Concern followed, with a newspaper, called "The True Wesleyan;" and, indeed, all the appliances of the system. This anti-slavery church immediately extended its operations into some of the slave-holding States; and, though comparatively few in numbers, spread its organization, its labours, and its principles, on a very extended surface. An increase of ministers and members has gone on from the beginning to the present time. The usual American energy of character evidently belongs to the preachers engaged in the work; the old topics of dispute seem very much to have subsided, and they are now intent on the conversion of men to God; and the most pleasing of all is, that we find their preachers, even Orange Scott, before his lamented decease, often officiating in churches belonging to the old body. Their existence as a separate community is, in itself, a testimony against slavery, and must, amongst other elements, have had its effect in producing a change.

One cannot but lament this separation. The abolitionists would have done more for the cause they had espoused by remaining in their old position. But the question became ultimately a mixed one, as is always the case, and they went out of the Methodist Episcopal church as much or more on ecclesiastical grounds than on those of slavery. Reformers often forget that great bodies are slow in their movements. It is in vain for a single man to start up with the idea that he is to change the course of old organizations, just by announcing the truth he imagines he has discovered. Such men must have patience, reiterate their opinions, make up their minds often to be defeated, and, moreover, to be treated with some severity. If their position in the church is left them, they may consider themselves well off. This was the case with these men. They were left in the ministry; their voice had not been silenced; they were at perfect liberty to advo-

cate their opinions in the Conference, and by the use of the press; and certainly, in the case of Orange Scott, a great amount of tolerance had been shown; for he had received permission to engage himself as an agent for the Anti-slavery Society, and, indeed, had been so employed for two or three years. These men split on the rock on which many besides themselves have split. Failing to accomplish their purpose as they desired, they concluded that it was the fault of the church itself, that the government was corrupt, and that it needed changing. The fact is, they had made a deep impression; had gained much ground; and had produced effects of a most important nature, which probably they could not themselves fully perceive, but which became afterwards much more evident. Multitudes of timid and irresolute persons are often brought under the power of influences of this nature which they have not the courage to express, and only wait for some favourable circumstances to avow themselves; and no doubt this was the case at the time in question.

We are naturally interested in such a man as Orange Scott. His career was very brief. He wore himself out by his feelings, his zeal, his incessant labours; and died July 31st, 1847, in his forty-eighth year. In him the anti-slavery cause lost one of its most devoted and able advocates, and the church of Christ on earth one of its most zealous and pious ministers. He possessed all the elements of a great character. With a profound depth of feeling was blended equal soundness of judgment; with unbending and inflexible resolution was united great warmth of affection; with fixed principle which nothing could shake, was found untiring energy and industry; with courage which no combination of men or circumstances could daunt, was united great tact and prudence. He had attained a just perception both of the law of God, and of the rights of man. The colour of the skin did not, in his theory, invalidate the dignity of humanity; and the poor oppressed slave found in him a faithful friend, and a powerful advocate. He feared no man in maintaining what he conceived to be for the honour of his Divine Master, and the just rights of the oppressed slaves; his labours in the cause he espoused were perfectly herculean; and he finished his career as a martyr in the cause of truth and freedom, lamented by his contemporaries, and honoured of God.

CHAP. III.—*The Methodist Episcopal Church, South—Progress of the Movement after the former Division—Change of Opinion in the Baltimore Conference—Condemnation of Harding—Confirmed by the General Conference—Bishop Andrew's Case—Debates—Resolution against him—Protest of the South.*

WE now come to the greatest division of all, the establishment of the church, South. Orange Scott was dead, and the party which he headed had formed a new body; but the great idea, the principle, of which Scott was the type, had not been destroyed: it remained, it proved, like all truth, to be indestructible. "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church." After he was gone, his cause became predominant. The men who had arrayed themselves against him adopted his side, and worked out, to a certain extent, his sentiment. The Conference which acted on the defensive when he was the assailant, on its first assembly when he was gone, by its majority, commenced an aggressive war. The tables were completely turned; and, instead of defending itself against the South, against the slavery power, it instantly began an assault which only ended in the complete separation of the parties. Without professing to adopt Orange Scott's idea, or making any change in the discipline of the church, it commenced a course of action which led to the same issue. The principles involved in the debate and its results, though not confessed, were understood, by both parties, to be those of slavery or no-slavery.

As is generally the case in all such questions, in both instances the decision was taken on the conduct of an individual. In the first case, Orange Scott was considered the embodiment of emancipation,—the representative of the anti-slavery principle,—and the principle itself was dealt with in his person. In the latter case, Bishop Andrew was equally considered as the embodiment of the slavery principle, of the opinions and convictions of the South; and he was, likewise, so dealt with. The man, in each instance, stood for the cause he represented; and when he was condemned, it was understood, by all parties, that abolitionism on the one hand received its sentence, and on the other slavery.

This may be considered by some as not exactly fair; but it is the usual course of things. Men hardly ever legislate on truth in the abstract. It may be questioned whether, in Bishop Andrew's case, the more straightforward course would not have been to deal with the law, instead

of adjudicating on the man. This, however, would have raised most perplexing questions, not likely very easily to be settled; and it was felt—it is to be presumed—to be the easier course to adjudge the individual, rather than to alter the law.

The subject was opened by a minor case, that of the Rev. F. A. Harding, of the Baltimore Conference. Mr. Harding had become possessed of five slaves, (by marriage,) and the above Conference came to the following resolution:—

"Resolved, That brother Harding be required to execute a deed of manumission, and have the same enrolled in the proper court, and give to this Conference, during this present session, a pledge that this shall be done during the present year.

"Brother Harding having stated the impossibility, with his views, of his compliance with this resolution, Mr. Collins moved for his suspension, until he gave sufficient assurance of his compliance."

Mr. Harding still refusing, the cause came before the General Conference on appeal.

As a matter of curiosity, it may be proper to insert the opinion of two legal authorities on the laws of the State of Maryland on this question of manumission:—

"At the request of Mr. Harding, I have to state, that, under the laws of Maryland, no slave can be emancipated, to remain in that State, nor unless provision be made, by the person emancipating him, for his removal from the State, which removal must take place, unless, for good and sufficient reason, the competent authorities grant permission to the manumitted slave to remain.

"There has lately (winter of 1843) been a statute enacted by the State Legislature, securing to married females the property (slaves, of course, included) which was theirs at the time of their marriage, and protecting it from the power and liabilities of their husbands.

"(Signed) W. D. Merrick."

"The Rev. Mr. Harding having married Miss Swan, who, at the time of her marriage, was entitled to some slaves, I am requested to say, whether he can legally manumit them or not. By an Act of Assembly, no person can manumit a slave in Maryland; and by another Act of our Assembly, a husband has no other or further right to his wife's slaves than their labour, while he lives. He can neither sell nor liberate them. Neither can he and his wife, either jointly or separately, manumit her slaves, by deed, or otherwise. A reference to the Acts of Assembly of Maryland will show this.

"Edmund Key.

"*Prince George County, April 25th*, 1844."

"This case derived much of its importance and influence from the fact that it came from what is called a 'conservative Conference,'

and one which had previously acted with the South in resisting the encroachments of abolitionism. The abolition North constantly denounced slavery as necessarily and under all circumstances a sin, and consistently and perseveringly contended for its entire banishment from the church, in all its forms and relations. The South, though admitting slavery to be a great evil, as declared in the Discipline, maintained that it was not necessarily sinful in all cases, and that it was impossible for the church to exist in the South in a state of entire disconnexion from this civil institution of the country. The middle or conservative Conferences, though anti-slavery in principle, had uniformly, for a long period, concurred with the practical views of the South, and co-operated with them in opposing Northern encroachments upon this conservative ground of the Discipline. In this case, the South regarded the Baltimore Conference, and those acting with it, as abandoning the vital conservatism of the Discipline, and the only ground upon which the church in the South could possibly enjoy security, or even existence, and as yielding to abolitionism the distinguishing principle by which it is characterized." *

Thus the matter stood with respect to Harding and the Baltimore Conference:—Harding insisting that it was *impracticable* for him to manumit the slaves in question; and the Conference, that they had never tolerated a slaveholding minister, and never would; that he must either emancipate and send his slaves out of the State, or endure the penalty of expulsion. The General Conference adopted their views, and sustained the sentence of the court below.

The above extract clearly states the case, as respects the disposition of parties, their several views and opinions, preparatory to the great contest which was about to commence. The change which had taken place in the opinions of so important and numerous a Conference as that of Baltimore,—together with the middle position which it occupied, and, as in all similar cases, holding the balance in its hand,—could not but turn the scale. Harding's case was only a skirmish of outposts; but it indicated how the battle would turn on the great field of conflict.

This soon opened.

"Accordingly, after the Harding case was determined, those rumours became more rife, and assumed a more confident tone. The South, on seeing the conservatives and abolitionists coalesce in this case, brought themselves to believe, that the *majority*, and not the *law*, exercised the only protective or punitive power of the

* "History of the Organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South," pp. 2, 3.

church. The abolition wing of the Conference felt both strengthened and emboldened by the new alliance; while the 'middle men' found themselves fully committed by their action in sustaining the Baltimore Conference, to carry out consistently the principles involved in that case, in any other that might come before them. The aged and wise saw and felt the perilousness of the position in which the Conference was placed: the North urged them further as the only means of saving New-England; the South entreated them to stay their hand, unless they wished to consummate the ruin of the Southern church, already but too successfully begun. While the zealous of the party in the ascendant—so decisively victorious in the recent contest—were arranging plans for a new attack, and rallying for a bolder charge, some of the sage and devout lovers of peace and unity, without distinction of party, gave themselves to counsel, to prayer, and serious inquiry, hoping to devise some means to avert the threatening storm. In this commendable spirit, two eminent and amiable men, Dr. W. Capers, of the South, and Dr. S. Olin, of the North, came forward in the General Conference, on the 14th of May, and offered jointly the following Resolution:—

"'In view of the distracting agitation which has so long prevailed on the subject of slavery and abolition, and especially the difficulties under which we labour in the present General Conference, on account of the relative position of our brethren North and South on this perplexing question; therefore,

"'*Resolved*, That a Committee of three from the North and three from the South, be appointed to confer with the bishops, and report within two days as to the possibility of adopting some plan, and what, for the permanent pacification of the church.'

"Immediately on the offering of this Resolution, the 'middle-men,' or conservatives, claimed to be recognised as a distinct division or class in the church and Conference, by demanding a representation in the proposed Committee. But as only two points were named in the Resolution, and two opposing principles, and not three, were involved in the previous debates and action of the Conference—the right to hold slaves according to the provisions of the Discipline, and the right of enforcing *abolition*, as in the case of Harding, the claim was seen to be groundless; and accordingly the Committee was taken from the South and from the *whole* North: Dr. Capers, of South Carolina, Dr. Winans, of Michigan, and Mr. Early, of Virginia, representing the former; and Dr. Olin and Mr. Crandle, of New-England, and Mr. Hamline, of Ohio, the latter.

"The discussion had pending this Resolution, is very important, as showing the true state of things to have been, at that time, very different from that in which they are commonly represented. The popular presentation of the matter is, that all the difficulty, and finally the division, had sole reference to the case of Bishop Andrew, and but for him there had been no serious controversy in the General Conference. The remarks made on that occasion show, that in the opinion of the prominent speakers, the *Rubicon* was passed before the case of Bishop Andrew was taken up at all."

On the 18th of May, Bishop Soule reported, that the Committee "had been unable to agree upon any plan of compromise to reconcile the views of the Northern and Southern Conferences."

"The failure of the attempt at compromise was, of course, the signal for pushing the measure so energetically commenced to the ulterior point. Accordingly, on the 20th, Mr. Collins, of Baltimore, the active advocate in opposition to Harding, offered the following preamble and Resolution, which were adopted :—

"'*Whereas*, it is currently reported and generally understood, that one of the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal church has become connected with slavery; and whereas, it is due to the General Conference to have a proper understanding of the matter; therefore,

"'*Resolved*, That the Committee on the Episcopacy be instructed to ascertain the facts in the case, and report the result of their investigation to this body to-morrow morning.'

"In obedience to the instruction given in this Resolution, on the 21st, Dr. Paine, Chairman of the Committee on Episcopacy, submitted to the Conference the following Report :—

"'The Committee on Episcopacy, to whom was referred a Resolution, submitted yesterday, instructing them to inquire whether any one of the superintendents is connected with slavery, presented their Report on the subject.

"'The Committee had ascertained, previous to the reference of the Resolution, that Bishop Andrew is connected with slavery, and had obtained an interview with him on the subject; and having requested him to state the whole facts in the premises, they presented a written communication from him in relation to this matter, and asked leave to offer it as his statement and explanation of the case.

"'*To the Committee on Episcopacy.*

"'DEAR BRETHREN,—In reply to your inquiry, I submit the following statement of all the facts bearing on my connexion with slavery :—Several years since an old lady of Augusta, Georgia, bequeathed to me a mulatto girl, in trust, that I should take care of her until she should be nineteen years of age: that, *with her consent*, I should then send her to Liberia; and that, in case of her refusal, I should keep her, and make her as free as the laws of the State of Georgia would permit. When the time arrived, she refused to go to Liberia, and, of her own choice, remains *legally* my slave, although I derive no pecuniary advantage from her, she continuing to live in her own house on my lot, and has been, and still is, at perfect liberty to go to a free State at her pleasure; but the laws of the State will not permit her emancipation, nor admit such deed of emancipation to record, and she refuses to leave the State. In her case, therefore, I have been made a slave-holder legally, but not with my own consent.

"'2. About five years since the mother of my former wife left to

her daughter, *not to me*, a Negro boy; and as my wife died without a will more than two years since, by the laws of the State he becomes legally my property. In this case, as in the former, emancipation is impracticable in the State; but he shall be at liberty to leave the State whenever I shall be satisfied that he is prepared to provide for himself, or I can have sufficient security that he will be protected and provided for in the place to which he may go.

" ' 3. In the month of January last I married my present wife, she being at the time possessed of slaves, inherited from her former husband's estate, and belonging to *her*. Shortly after my marriage, being unwilling to become their owner, regarding them as strictly hers, and the law not permitting their emancipation, I secured them to her by a deed of trust.

" ' It will be obvious to you, from the above statement of facts, that I have neither bought nor sold a slave; that in the only circumstances in which I am legally a slave-holder, emancipation is impracticable. As to the servants owned by my wife, I have no legal responsibility in the premises, nor could my wife emancipate them did she desire to do so. I have thus plainly stated all the facts in the case, and submit the statement for the consideration of the General Conference.

" ' Yours respectfully, (Signed) JAMES O. ANDREW.'

" ' All which is respectfully submitted.

" ' (Signed) ROBERT PAINE,

" ' Chairman of Committee on Episcopacy.'

" Mr. Collins, who had taken the lead in this as in the former prosecution, moved that the Report be laid on the table, and made the special order for the next day; assigning as his reason for this motion, that there was to be a meeting of the *Northern Delegates* that afternoon, to concert, as was distinctly understood, plans of action in the prosecution. This announcement was immediately followed by a call for a meeting of the *Southern Delegates* on the same afternoon. It was thus clearly seen, that the parties were organizing and arranging their plans and forces,—the one for attack, the other for defence, in the approaching contest.....

" On the next day, (the 22d of May,) Mr. Griffith, the coadjutor of Mr. Collins in the former case, and the member who spoke so contemptuously of the laws of Maryland, called up the Report in the case of Bishop Andrew, and offered the following preamble and Resolution:—

" ' Whereas, the Rev. James O. Andrew, one of the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal church, has become connected with slavery, as communicated in his statement in reply to the inquiry of the Committee on Episcopacy, which reply is embodied in their Report of yesterday; and whereas, it has been, from the origin of said church, a settled policy and invariable usage to elect no person to the office of bishop, who was embarrassed with this *great evil*, as under such circumstances it would be impossible for a bishop to exercise the functions and perform the duties assigned to a general

superintendent with acceptance in that large portion of his charge in which slavery does not exist; and whereas, Bishop Andrew himself was nominated by our brethren of the slave-holding States, and elected by the General Conference of 1832, as a candidate who, though living amidst a slave-holding population, was nevertheless free from all personal connexion with slavery; and whereas, this is, of all periods in our history as a church, the one least favourable to such an innovation upon the practice and usage of Methodism, as to confide a part of the itinerant general superintendency to a slave-holder; therefore,

"'*Resolved*, That the Rev. James O. Andrew be and he is hereby affectionately requested to resign his office as one of the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal church.'.....

"After some personal conversation of an explanatory character, in which Dr. Bangs, Dr. Capers, Mr. Davis, and Mr. Pickering were concerned, the following was offered as a substitute for the preamble and Resolution before the Conference:—

"'Whereas, the Discipline of our church forbids the doing any thing calculated to destroy our itinerant general superintendency; and whereas, Bishop Andrew has become connected with slavery by marriage and otherwise, and this act having drawn after it circumstances which in the estimation of the General Conference will greatly embarrass the exercise of his office as an itinerant general superintendent, if not in some places entirely prevent it; therefore,

"'*Resolved*, That it is the sense of this General Conference that he desist from the exercise of this office so long as this impediment remains. (Signed) "'J. B. FINLEY,

"'J. M. TRIMBLE.'" *

In the midst of all this, numerous speeches were delivered, and are reported in the History we quote, with what degree of fairness and accuracy we are not able to say; there seems to be a leaning as to *quantity* on the side of Southern men, after the manner of such things; for it is the History prepared by the Southern church, though it is not likely that their account of the speeches of their opponents would be designedly inaccurate, as far as they go. As specimens of American eloquence, as well as on account of their intrinsic importance, it seems right to give two or three of these speeches. We begin with Dr. Olin:—

"I believe we are all prepared to recognise the right of Southern brethren to hold slaves under the provisions of the Discipline. We shall acknowledge and guarantee the entire of the privileges and immunities of all parties in the church. I here declare, that if a

* "History of the Organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South," pp. 11—23.

remedy should be proposed that would trench on the constitutional claims of Southern ministers, I would not, to save the church from any possible calamity, violate this great charter of our rights. I am glad of the opportunity of saying, that no man, who is a Methodist, and deserves a place among us, can call in question here any rights secured by our charter. I do not say that he may not be a very honest or a very pious man, who doubts the compatibility of slave-holding, on the conditions of the Discipline, with the ministerial office; but in this he is not a Methodist. He may be a very *good man*, but a very *bad Methodist;* and if such a man doubts if the church will reform, or is too impatient of delay, let him, as I would in his place, do as our friends in New-England did last year, go to some other church, or set up one for himself.

"Not only is holding slaves, on the conditions and under the restrictions of the Discipline, no disqualification for the ministerial office; but I will go a little farther, and say, that slave-holding is not constitutionally a forfeiture of a man's right, if he may be said to have one, to the office of a bishop. The church, spread out through all the land, will always determine for itself what are disqualifications and what are not; and it has a perfect right to determine whether slave-holding, or abolitionism, or any other fact, shall be taken into consideration in its elections.

"These are my principles. I have never doubted with regard to them. I will add, that I can never give a vote which does violence to my sentiments in regard to the religious aspect of the subject. I here declare, that, if ever I saw the graces of the Christian ministry displayed, or its virtues developed, it has been among slave-holders. I wish here to divest myself of what, to some, may seem an advantage that does not belong to me. I would not conceal—I avow that I was a slave-holder, and a minister at the South, and I never dreamed that my right to the ministry was questionable, or that in the sight of God I was less fitted to preach the gospel on that account. And if the state of my health had not driven me away from that region, I should probably have been a slave-holder to this day. In this day of reform and manifold suggestions, I go further, and say, that, if by a vote of this General Conference, you might call in question the right of our Southern brethren to the ministry, and make their claim to the sacred office dependent on their giving immediate freedom to their slaves, I do not think that that would be a blessing to the slaves, or to the church. I do not believe the slave fares worse for having a Christian master, and I think the preachers may have more of public confidence on our present plan. I know these opinions may by some be regarded as unsound, and I make them not because they have any special value or novelty, but because I profess to speak my sentiments freely.

"With regard to the particular case before us, I feel constrained to make one or two remarks. If ever there was a man worthy to fill the episcopal office by his disinterestedness, his love of the church, his ardent, melting sympathy for all the interests of humanity, but, above all, for his uncompromising and unreserved advocacy

of the interest of the slave,—if these are qualifications for the office of a bishop, then James O. Andrew is pre-eminently fitted to hold that office. I know him well. He was the friend of my youth, and, although by his experience and his position fitted to be a father, yet he made me a brother, and no man has more fully shared my sympathies, or more intimately known my heart, for these twenty years. His house has been my home, on his bed have I lain in sickness, and he, with his sainted wife now in heaven, has been my comforter and nurse. No question under heaven could have presented itself so painfully oppressive to my feelings as the one now before us. If I had a hundred votes, and Bishop Andrew were not pressed by the difficulties which now rest upon him, without any wrong intention on his part, I am sure, he is the man to whom I would give them all. I know no man who has been so bold an advocate for the interest of the slaves; and when I have been constrained to refrain from saying what perhaps I should have said, I have heard him at camp-meetings, and on other public occasions, call fearlessly on masters to see to the spiritual and temporal interests of their slaves, as a high Christian duty. Excepting one honoured brother, whose name will hereafter be recorded as one of the greatest benefactors of the African race, I know of no man who has done so much for the slave as Bishop Andrew.

"I know the difficulties of the South. I know the excitement that is likely to prevail among the people there. Yet, allowing our worst fears all to be realized, the South will have this advantage over us,—the Southern Conferences are likely in any event to harmonize among themselves,—they will form a compact body. In our Northern Conferences this will be impossible in the present state of things. They cannot bring their whole people to act together on one common ground; stations and circuits will be so weakened and broken as, in many instances, to be unable to sustain their ministry. I speak on this point in accordance with the conviction of my own judgment, after having travelled three thousand miles through the New-England and New-York Conferences, that if some action is not had on this subject calculated to hold out hope,—to impart a measure of satisfaction to the people,—there will be distractions and divisions ruinous to souls, and fatal to the permanent interests of the church.

"I feel, sir, that if this great difficulty shall result in separation from our Southern brethren, we lose not our right hand merely, but our very hearts' blood. Over such an event I should not cease to pour out my prayers and tears as over a grievous and unmitigated calamity. It was in that part of our Zion that God for Christ's sake converted my soul. There I first entered on the Christian ministry. From thence come the beloved, honoured brethren, who now surround me, with whom and among whom I have laboured, and suffered, and rejoiced, and seen the doings of the right hand of the Son of God. If the day shall come when we must be separated by lines of demarcation, I shall yet think often of those beyond with the kindest, warmest feelings of an honest Christian heart. But, sir,

I will yet trust that we may put far off this evil day. If we can pass such a measure as will shield our principles from all infringement,—if we can send forth such a measure as will neither injure nor justly offend the South,—as shall neither censure nor dishonour Bishop Andrew, and yet shall meet the pressing wants of the church, and, above all, if Almighty God shall be pleased to help by pouring out his Spirit upon us, we may yet avoid the rock on which we now seem but too likely to split."

This speech was answered by Mr. Cass, of New-Hampshire.

" Mr. President, if I understand the subject now under consideration, it is this:—Is it expedient for this Conference to suspend Bishop Andrew from his office on account of his being a slave-holder, until such time as he shall be free from this embarrassment? The reason assigned why such action should be had is, that a large majority of the church are opposed to having a slave-holder for a bishop. Now, sir, I hold, if they are wrong and the bishop is right, no action should be had against him in the premises. This, then, is the question to be settled. Dr. Olin has said, that the bishop has done no wrong; but, with all due deference, I must beg leave to dissent from his opinion in this matter.

" Sir, is there no moral wrong in being a slave-holder? A portion of the North believe slave-holding to be a moral wrong. We have nothing to do with slavery in the abstract; but we believe that slavery, as it exists in these United States, and in the Methodist Episcopal church, is morally wrong.

" But, leaving this out of the question for the present, is there no wrong in Bishop Andrew becoming a slave-holder, and thereby disturbing the peace of the church? and also bringing this dark cloud over us, and this trouble upon us, which has pained our hearts, and detained us here for days? when he has brought this evil into existence by his voluntary act, with his eyes open? Sir, I think there must be a wrong in this.

" Dr. Olin has said, that the Resolution now before us should be so modified as that Bishop Andrew will not be censured. Sir, I hold there should be no privileged order in the Methodist Episcopal church: if he has done wrong, he ought to be censured. As much as I respect the office of bishop, and the men who fill it, they are amenable to justice if they do wrong as much as I am in my humble relation in the church; and with as much greater responsibility as their station is above mine. They are the very last men who should not be censured, if in the wrong. Mark this, sir,—whenever there is a privileged order in the Methodist Episcopal church, the glory will have departed. Let this not be,—no, never.

" Dr. Olin says, that slave-holding does not disqualify any man for the ministry, provided he live in a slave-holding State; and that the constitution of the Methodist church sustains him in his position, and those who differ from him in opinion are bad Methodists; and if they persist in these courses, they ought to follow the exam-

ple of those who have seceded from the Methodist Episcopal church. Sir, by this one stroke he has severed four Conferences from the Methodist Episcopal church. I do not, however, think he intended to do it. But it was done with his zeal to hold on to the South, which, by the way, he appears to have some sympathy if not partiality for, as he has been a slave-holder, and never thought it was any thing against his ministerial character.

"The South say, if Bishop Andrew is suspended, the line of division will be drawn between the North and South, and that when they say this they speak the mind of the whole South. Sir, how do they know this fact? Have they taken a vote in all their Annual Conferences? or have they had a convention to deliberate on this matter?

"They calculate to claim that they are the church, and the North will be the seceders. This is not the first time we have heard of nullification, or that which is equivalent, (in the church and State,) from the South; but the world stands yet, and I believe it will not be moved from its foundations if the Resolution before us should pass. These threats have their meaning, which is perfectly understood by the North."

May 24th. Mr. G. F. Pierce, of Georgia, spoke against the Resolution.

"Sir, there has been, in every speech which has been made on the other side of the question, a false issue attempted. Whatever may be affirmed of expediency, and the disqualification of Bishop Andrew for the office of general superintendent, in view of circumstances over which it is declared brethren have no control, it is not to be forgotten or disguised, that this is not an abstract, but a practical, question; that it involves the constitutional rights and equality of privileges belonging to Southern ministers. It is a practical question, too, which cannot be set off from its connexion with the past, and its bearings on the future. It is part and parcel of a system, slowly developed it may be, yet obvious in its designs and unwearied in its operation, to deprive Southern ministers of their rights, and to disfranchise the whole Southern church. You cannot take the question out of its relations. It cannot be made to stand as brethren have tried to make it stand, isolated and alone. If there had been no memorials on your table, praying for the establishment of a law of proscription,—if there had not been declared over and over again a settled purpose, if not in unequivocal terms, yet in unequivocal acts, to work out the destruction of this evil, and free the episcopacy and the church itself from this evil, the question before us would be different in its aspects, and the action of the South in regard to it might be modified accordingly. I beg this Conference to consider this question in the light of its connexion with the previous action in the case of the appeal from the Baltimore Conference. Sir, the preposterous doctrine was asserted in that Conference, that its purposes and usages are paramount to the law of the land, and the doctrine of that Conference has been

affirmed here. Sir, the action of this Conference on the subject has brought the whole Methodist Episcopal church into a position of antagonism to the laws of the land. I consider such action not only an outrage on the common justice of the case, but decidedly revolutionary in its movements, and destined to affect, unless repealed, the character of the Conference and all the ramifications of the church. What is the position? The ground was taken then and here,—the church, the Bible, the Discipline, and the laws of the land to the contrary notwithstanding,—that we have a right to make a man's membership depend upon the condition of his doing a thing which, as a citizen of the State, he has no power or right to do. The act which is proposed in the Resolution is part and parcel with the same affair. When Bishop Andrew has been invited to resign or desist from the exercise of his episcopal functions, or is impeached or deposed, it ought to be and can be considered as neither more nor less than collateral in its designs and effects with the action of the Conference in the case to which I have referred.

"This is a practical question, make what disclaimers you please, or any amount of them. The common sense of the country will consider it as an infraction of the constitutional, or, if you please, the disciplinary, rights of the Southern brethren, however it may be considered by those in the so-styled more favoured and less encumbered portions of the Union.

"But, sir, I will present one view of this question which has not been touched upon. Set off the South, and what is the consequence? Do you get rid of embarrassment, discord, division, strife? No, sir; you multiply divisions. There will be secessions in the Northern Conferences, even if Bishop Andrew is deposed or resigns. Prominent men will abandon your church. I venture to predict, that whenever the day of division comes,—and come I believe it will, from the present aspect of the case,—that in ten years from this day, and perhaps less, there will not be one shred of the distinctive peculiarities of Methodism left within the Conferences that depart from us. The venerable man who now presides over the Northern Conferences may live out his time as a bishop, but he will never have a successor. Episcopacy will be given up, the presiding eldership will be given up, the itinerancy will come to an end, and Congregationalism will be the order of the day. The people will choose their own pastors, and preachers will be standing about the ecclesiastical market-places; and when men shall ask, 'Why stand ye here all the day idle?' the answer will be, 'Because no man hath hired us.' [An involuntary burst of applause was here interrupted by the chair, who said, 'That is wholly inadmissible.']

"We have unity and peace, and seek it because of its effects on the Connexion; and I believe, to-day, that if the New-England Conferences were to secede, the rest of us would have peace. There would be religion enough left among us to live together as a band of Christian brothers.

"Sir, I object to the substitute for another reason. I would have preferred the original Resolution. The substitute presents a most

anomalous view of the whole subject. Suppose that view is adopted; what is it? What do you do with the bishop? You cannot put him on a circuit or station: he is a bishop in duresse, a bishop in prison bounds, an anomaly, a fifth wheel in the machine of Methodism, doomed to live on the Book Concern, while no provision is made for his rendering the church any service, if this Resolution is adopted."

This speech was answered by the Rev. J. T. Peck, of the Troy Conference.

"He [Mr. Pierce] says we have made *a false issue* in this discussion. And what is it? Why, that we have discussed it as an individual matter, confined in its application to Bishop Andrew himself; whereas, it was in truth a great practical question, bearing upon the whole South. We admit it, Mr. President; it is a great practical question, bearing not upon the South merely, but upon the *whole church*. We utterly disclaim the limitation of the question to any man. We take up the issue exactly as he has laid it down. It is upon the assertion and action of a great principle of immense *practical bearing* that we predicate our arguments. It is, verily, the brother may be well assured, a matter of great *practical importance* to us, and to the church, whether we have a slave-holding bishop or not. Here, then, I have no contention with him.

"But, Mr. President, the brother alarmed me! He made a declaration which was to me utterly surprising! He says, the great question of unity is decided! [Mr. P. explained, 'Prospectively decided.'] *Prospectively* decided? to be sure! Did any one suppose it had been decided *retrospectively?* Division, then, in his mind, is really inevitable! Surely, sir, *I* had not thought so. And I am happy to say, I know many brethren, North and South, much more distinguished for age and experience than either of us, who do not think so. The *division* of our excellent church decided! The unity of our common Methodism destroyed! May Heaven forbid it! I do not believe it, sir. The strong bonds that hold us together, I trust, are not sundered! But, he says, the Baltimore appeal-case virtually decided it. I do not so understand it. There were, it is true, several points of analogy between the case of Mr. Harding and that of Bishop Andrew. But the action contemplated in the case of the bishop is widely different from that had in the case of Mr. Harding. In that case we did nothing more than to *affirm* the decision of the Baltimore Conference; and in that act say, that we would not allow slavery to be crowded on her, after she had *nobly declared she would not have it*. The appellant stood suspended from his ministerial functions. But was any such thing intended in the case of Bishop Andrew? Did the Resolution affirm any such thing? Certainly not. It merely proposed that he should *desist* from the exercise of the episcopal office until he should free himself from the embarrassment of slavery. The cases then were widely different. Brethren were undoubtedly premature in asserting, that the decision of the Conference in the Baltimore appeal-case had prospectively

determined the division of the church! Indeed, the gentleman himself seemed to have doubts about it, when he came to consider a little; for after he had progressed in his argument so far as to consider the influence of the proposed action in the case of the bishop, he declared, 'Pass that Resolution, and the great question of Methodist unity is decided for ever.' Indeed! Then it *remains to be decided*, the Baltimore appeal case to the contrary notwithstanding! I thank the brother for that. My judgment in the case cannot be altogether groundless, since it derives support from his own declarations. Be assured, sir, I greatly rejoice in this.

"But the brother from Georgia says, this measure will not save us from secessions. We shall have secessions in New-England! We shall have them every where! What can be done to satisfy New-England? Sir, as the name of *New-England* struck my ear, I felt a thrill of the most intense interest. But, the reverend gentleman proceeded, they are busy-bodies in other men's matters! a thorn in the flesh! a messenger of Satan to buffet us! And, alluding (as I understood him to do) to a certain movement in New-England, and certain principles upon which that movement was based, he called it the foul spirit of the pit! the Juggernaut of perdition! &c. Upon this language, Mr. President, I may not remark! I must, of necessity, leave it without animadversion! But with the utmost respect, this dear brother will excuse me for saying, I much prefer the terms used by some of his highly respected associates. I like the chaste and beautiful language of the sweet-spirited and eloquent Mr. Crowder, and the dignified and forcible style of the reverend gentleman who last preceded me. I must say, Mr. President, I deprecate the use of such language in a controversy of such solemn importance,—a controversy invested with more elements of moral grandeur than any which has engaged the attention of the American people for half a century! I hope the brother will not use it again, and certainly not on the floor of this General Conference.

"But my friend from the Georgia Conference says, 'Let New-England go! I wish in my heart she would secede! And joy go with her, for I am sure she will leave peace behind her!' Let New-England go! I cannot forget this exclamation. It vibrates in my soul in tones of grating discord. Why, sir, what is New-England, that we should part with her with so little reluctance? New-England! The land of the pilgrims; the land of many of our venerated fathers in Israel; the land of Broadhead, of Merritt, of the reverend man [pointing to George Pickering] who sits by my side; and a host of worthies whom we have delighted to honour as the bulwarks of Methodism in its early days of primitive purity and peril. Let New-England go! No, sir, we cannot part so easily with the pioneer land of the devoted and sainted Jesse Lee!

"But, Mr. President, our brethren of the South utterly mistake the truth in this matter. Why, sir, they cannot get half way to New-England in this war. They must wade through numbers and forces of which they never dreamed. They must encounter us in

the centre, whose opposition to slavery is uncompromising. And Baltimore (honour to her self-sacrificing devotion to the cause of humanity!) will be a formidable obstacle in the way of their advance. But if they ever should subdue us, and reach the land of the pilgrims, rest assured, sir, they would find there a wall of brass which would remain for ever impregnable to the assaults of the slave power. We are happy that New-England is with us to a man in this fearful conflict; that the united west and north and east form an insuperable barrier to the advance of slavery. O, sir, I fear me much our brethren at the South are deceiving themselves in this matter. This has never been a question of *principle* between us and New-England. We have always been agreed in fundamental anti-slavery sentiments; and I am the more careful to allude to this, because, so far as I remember, it is a distinction that has not been made in this discussion. It has been purely a question of *measures* between us. In this, it is true, we have differed; but in opposition of principle to slavery, north, east, and west, we always have been, and I trust shall ever remain, inseparably united. We resist, as one man, the advancement of slavery; which, not content to be confined within its own geographical limits, threatens to roll its dark waves over the North. *It claims the right to give us a slave-holding pastor, a slave-holding Bishop.* Do not, then, be surprised that we are so perfectly united in asking to be set back exactly where we were a few months ago. O, sir, if our brethren could roll the wheels of time back to where they were last November, when we had comparatively no difficulties to encounter! But this they cannot do. What less, however, can they expect us to ask, than that they should do what is equivalent to it,—give us our bishop without the slaves?"

After another series of Resolutions proposed by the original mover, Mr. Collins, Bishop Andrew rose, and addressed the Conference as follows:—

"Mr. President,—I have been on trial now for a week, and feel desirous that it should come to a close. For a week I have been compelled to listen to discussions of which I have been the subject, and I must have been more than man, or less than man, not to have felt. Sir, I have felt, and felt deeply. I am not offended with any man. The most of those who have spoken against me, have treated me respectfully, and have been as mild as I had any right to expect. I cherish no unkindly feelings toward any. I do not quarrel with my abolition brethren, though I believe their opinions to be erroneous and mischievous. Yet, so long as they conduct themselves courteously toward me, I have no quarrel with them. It is due that some remarks should be made by me before the Conference come to a conclusion upon the question, which I hope will be speedily done; for I think a week is long enough for a man to be shot at, and it is time the discussion should terminate.

"As there has been frequent reference to the circumstances of my election to the episcopal office, it is, perhaps, proper that I give a

brief history of that matter. A friend of mine (brother Hodges) now with God, asked me to permit myself to be put in nomination for that office. I objected; the office had no charms for me. I was with a Conference that I loved, and that loved me. What was I to gain to be separated from a happy home, from a wife and children whom I loved more than I did my own life? But my friend urged me; he said my election would, he believed, tend to promote the peace of the church, and that he believed it would be especially important to the prosperity of Methodism at the South. Finally, I consented, with the hope of failure; but I was nominated and elected. I was never asked if I was a slave-holder; no man asked me what were my principles on the subject; no one dared to ask of me a pledge in this matter, or it would have been met as it deserved. Only one man, brother Winans, spoke to me on the subject: he said he could not vote for me, because he believed I was nominated under the impression that I was not a slave-holder. I told him that I had not sought the nomination, nor did I desire the office; and that my opinions on the propriety of making non-slave-holding a test of qualification for the office of bishop, were entirely in unison with his own. Sir, I do not believe in this matter of secret will as a rule of action, either in the revelations of the Bible, or in the prescriptions of the book of Discipline. I believe in the revealed will of God, and in the written law of the church, as contained in the book of Discipline. I took office on the broad platform of that book, and I believe my case is covered by it. It was known that I was to reside at the South: I was elected in view of that very thing, as it was judged important to the best interests of the church, that one of the bishops should reside in that section of the work, and it was judged I could be more useful there than elsewhere. Well, what was I to do then? I was located in a country where free persons could not be obtained for hire; and I could not do the work of the family; my wife could not do it; what was I to do? I was compelled to hire slaves, and pay their master for their hire; but I had to change them every year; they were bad servants, for they had no interest in me or mine; and I believe it would have been less sin before God to have bought a servant, who would have taken an interest in me and I in him; but I did not do so.

"At length, however, I came in possession of slaves, and I am a slave-holder, as I have already explained to the Conference, and I cannot help myself. It is known that I have waded through deep sorrows at the South during the last four years; I have buried the wife of my youth and the mother of my children, who left me with a family of motherless children, who needed a friend and a mother. I sought to make my home a happy one, and I have done so. Sir, I have no apology to make. It has been said, I did this thing voluntarily, and with my eyes open. I did so deliberately, and in the fear of God, and God has blessed our union. I might have avoided this difficulty by resorting to a trick, by making over these slaves to my wife before marriage, or by doing as a friend, who has taken ground in favour of the Resolution before you, suggested.

'Why,' said he, 'did you not let your wife make over these Negroes to her children, securing her annuity from them?' Sir, my conscience would not allow me to do this thing. If I had done so, and those Negroes had passed into the hands of those who would have treated them unkindly, I should have been unhappy. Strange as it may seem to brethren, I am a slave-holder for conscience' sake. I have no doubt that my wife would, without a moment's hesitation, consent to the manumission of those slaves, if I thought proper to do it. I know she would unhesitatingly consent to any arrangement I might deem it proper to make on the subject. But how am I to free them? Some of them are old, too old to work to support themselves, and are only an expense to me; and some of them are little children: where shall I send these, and who will provide for them? But perhaps I shall be permitted to keep these; but then, if the others go, how shall I provide for these helpless ones? and as to the others, to what free State should I send them? and what would be their condition? Besides, many of them would not go; they love their mistress, and could not be induced under any circumstances to leave her. Sir, an aged and respectable minister said to me several years ago, when I had stated just such a case to him, and asked him what he would do, 'I would set them free,' said he, 'I would wash my hands of them; and if they went to the devil, I would be clear of them.' Sir, into such views of religion or philanthropy my soul cannot enter. I believe the providence of God has thrown these creatures into my hands, and he holds me responsible for their proper treatment. I have secured them to my wife by a deed of trust since our marriage. This arrangement was only in accordance with an understanding existing previous to marriage. These servants were hers; she had inherited them from her former husband's estate; they had been her only source of support during her widowhood, and would still be her only dependence if it should please God to remove me from her. I have nothing to leave her. I have given my life to the church from the days of my youth, (and I am now fifty,) and although, as I have previously remarked, she would consent to any arrangement I might make, yet I cannot consent to take advantage of her affection for me to induce her to do what would injure her without at all benefiting the slaves.

"Sir, I did not for a moment believe that this body of grave and reverend ministers would make this a subject of serious discussion. I thought it likely that there might be some warm ultra brethren who would take some exceptions to my course, and on that account I did not make the deed of trust before marriage, lest some should suppose I designed to dodge the responsibility of the case. Those who know me must know that I would not be governed by the mere matter of dollars and cents. What can I do? I have no confession to make; I intend to make none. I stand upon the broad ground of the Discipline, on which I took office; and if I have done wrong, put me out. The editor of the Christian Advocate has pre-judged this case. He makes me the scape-goat of all the difficulties which abolition excitement has gotten up at the North. I am the only

one to blame, in his opinion, should mischief grow out of this case. But, I repeat, if I have sinned against the Discipline, I refuse not to die. I have spent my life for the benefit of the slaves. When I was but a boy I taught a Sunday-school for slaves, in which I taught a number of them to read, and from that period till this day I have devoted my energies to the promotion of their happiness and salvation; with all my influence, in private, in public, with my tongue, with my pen, I have assiduously endeavoured to promote their present and eternal happiness. And am I to be sacrificed by those who have done little or nothing for them? It is said, I have rendered myself unacceptable to our people. I doubt this. I have just returned from Philadelphia, where they knew me to be a slave-holder; yet they flocked to hear me, and the presence of God was with us; and we had a good, warm, old-fashioned meeting. I may be unacceptable in New-York, yet from the experience I have had I doubt even that. To whom am I unacceptable? Not to the people of the South, neither masters nor slaves. Has my connexion with slaves rendered me less acceptable to the coloured people of the South? the very people for whom all this professed sympathy is felt. Does the fact that I am a slave-holder make me less respectable among them? Let those who have laboured long among them answer the question. Sir, I venture to say, that in Carolina or Georgia, I could to-day get more votes for the office of bishop from the coloured people than any supporter of this Resolution, let him avow himself an emancipator as openly as he pleases. To the coloured people of the South, then, and to their owners; to the entire membership of the slave-holding Conferences, I would not be unacceptable; but perhaps they are no part of 'our people.' In short, sir, I believe I should not be unacceptable to one-half the Connexion; but on this question I have nothing to say. Should the Conference think proper to pass me, there is plenty of ground where I can labour acceptably and usefully. The slave-holding Conferences will present a field sufficiently large for me, should I live to the age of Methuselah; and the bishops, in arranging the work, will certainly have discretion enough not to send me where I would not be received; nor would I obtrude myself upon any Conference, or lay my hands on the head of any brother who would feel contaminated by the touch. However, on this subject I have nothing to say. The Conference can take its course; but I protest against the proposed action as a violation of the laws of the Discipline, and an invasion of the rights secured to me by that book. Yet, let the Conference take the steps they contemplate, I enter no plea for mercy, I make no appeal for sympathy. Indeed, I love those who sympathize with me; but I do not want it now. I wish you to act coolly and deliberately, and in the fear of God; but I would rather that the Conference would change the issue, and make the Resolution to depose the bishop, and take the question at once, for I am tired of it. The country is becoming agitated on the subject, and I hope the Conference will act forthwith on the Resolution." .....

"Mr. Finley said, 'This Resolution is modified to the most easy

requirement it could be to meet the feelings of Southern brethren, and to cover the principle, and from this ground *I will not be moved.* No, sir; on this ground will I stand until I die.' He said, to retain a slave-holder in the episcopacy would be equivalent to voting for a slave-holder directly for that office, and that 'it would violate the constituted law. It would injure, if not totally destroy, this vital organ of our itinerancy. Any man who can say it is right for him to hold his fellow-being in bondage, and buy and sell him at pleasure, put him under an overseer, and *drive, whip, and half starve him*, and that this is connived at by the Methodist church, I think must have a queer view of the church and her Discipline. I now say before God, that whenever the Methodist Episcopal church shall sanction this doctrine, as much as I love her, I will leave her and seek another. I never will agree that slavery shall be connected in any way with episcopacy; nor any where else, only by necessity. I must state again, that from this principle *I never will be removed.*'"

We close our extracts from these speeches by one from Bishop Soule.

"I do not know but this may be a favourable moment for me to offer to the Conference the few remarks I desire to make before final action shall be had on the subject which is now pending before the Conference. I have had no solicitude with regard to the period of time when I should offer these remarks, only that it might be a time of calmness and reflection. I will indulge the hope that this is such a time, and therefore avail myself of the opportunity. I rise, sir, at this moment, as I before said, with all the calmness which the occasion, I think, requires. But this is not the calm that precedes the tempest and the storm; it is not the calmness of indifference; it cannot be. It is, sir, the calmness of conviction. It is the calmness of principle. If, indeed, I could be persuaded that my very respectable brother from the Pittsburgh Conference was entirely correct in his opinion, that all the light which could be furnished on this subject had been furnished, I should not rise here. There is a possibility that the brother may be mistaken. I cannot say that I should have forborne to arise, though I had been convinced of the correctness of the judgment of the respected brother from New-England, that, though we should sit here till January next, no brother would be changed in his vote on this question. I say, I do not know that I should have forborne my observations, though I might have been convinced of the correctness of this opinion; but if no more *light* could be produced, any thing that I could say would be unavailing.

"There are periods, sir, in the history of the life of every man who sustains any important station in society, who holds any important relations to it, when his individual character cannot, must not be neutralized by the laws of association. Under this view, in what I shall say to this Conference, I involve no man in responsibility. My venerable colleagues are in no way concerned in what I shall say to this Conference; so that, however I may be involved,

they are not involved. The South on my right is not involved. The North on my left is not involved. I stand in this regard alone. I hope not, indeed, alone in the sentiments that I shall express to the Conference. Brethren have manifested a solicitude to bring the question to an issue, to close the debate, and come to the vote. I ask brethren, if it is not possible, notwithstanding the time which has been employed in this discussion, notwithstanding the large views which brethren have expressed on the question before them,—I ask, is it not possible that action on the Resolution may yet be premature? Society, sir, whether civil or religious, has much more to fear from the passions of men, of its members, than it has to fear from calm investigation and sober inquiry. I am not afraid to meet the calmness of deliberation any where. I am not afraid to meet it here; I am not afraid to meet it in the Annual Conference; I am not afraid to meet it before the great religious community of which we are members and ministers. I am not; but I fear the rage of the passions of men. I fear excitements, ardent excitements, prematurely produced in society; and I apprehend, that if we trace the history of associations, whether civil or ecclesiastical, we shall find that these premature excitements, waking up the rage of passion, have produced greater calamities than ever were produced by the calmness of deliberation and the sobriety of inquiry, however extensive those investigations may have been. The sound of the trumpet of alarm may go forth from within these consecrated walls; the sound may spread itself on the wings of the wind, or of the whirlwind, over the length and breadth of these lands; but, sir, when this sound shall have died away, when the elements which may have been awakened to boisterous and tumultuous action shall subside into the calmness of inquiry and reason, a voice may return to this hall, wafted on a counter breeze; and though the voice be not heard in the thunder, the earthquake, or the storm, it may pierce through the veil of our speculations, and our theories, and the first sound will be heard in the inquiry, '*What is the cause?*' Well, sir, it will be the province of reason and sobriety to answer. Here it is, sir, spread out before me, spread out before you, in a plain, unsophisticated statement of facts by Bishop Andrew. I have not heard a brother from the North, I have not heard a brother from the South, (and I have listened to hear,) allege that there were any other facts, that there were any other circumstances, having any bearing whatever on the merits of the case now before you. I take it for granted, then, that we have the entire facts of the case before us; and these facts are the cause of whatever alarm, whatever excitement may have spread through our beloved Zion, and over this continent.

"Now, sir, I beg the indulgence of the Conference while I read an extract from the Address of your general superintendents at your last session. You will indulge me in this.

"'The experience of more than half a century, since the organization of our ecclesiastical body, will afford us many important lights and landmarks, pointing out what is the safest and most prudent

policy to be pursued in our onward course as regards African slavery in these States, and especially in our own religious community. This very interesting period of our history is distinguished by several characteristic features, having a special claim to our consideration at the present time, particularly in view of the unusual excitement which now prevails on the subject, not only in the different Christian churches, but also in the civil body. And, First, our general rule on slavery, which forms a part of the constitution of the church, has stood from the beginning unchanged, as testamentary of our sentiments on the principle of slavery, and the slave-trade. And in this we differ in no respect from the sentiments of our venerable Founder, or from those of the wisest and most distinguished statesmen and civilians of our own and other enlightened and Christian countries. Secondly, in all the enactments of the church relating to slavery, a due and respectful regard has been had to the laws of the States, never requiring emancipation in contravention of civil authority, or where the laws of the States would not allow the liberated slave to enjoy freedom. Thirdly, the simply holding or owning slaves, without regard to circumstances, has not, at any period of the existence of the church, subjected the master to excommunication. Fourthly, rules have been made from time to time, regulating the sale and purchase and holding of slaves, with reference to the different laws of the States where slavery is tolerated; which, upon the experience of the great difficulties of administering them, and the unhappy consequences both to masters and servants, have been as often changed or repealed.

"'These important facts, which form prominent parts of our past history as a church, may very properly lead us to inquire for that course of action in future which may be best calculated to preserve the peace and unity of the whole body, promote the greatest happiness of the slave-population, and advance generally, in the slave-holding community of our country, the humane and hallowing influence of our holy religion. We cannot withhold from you, at this eventful period, the solemn conviction of our minds, that no new ecclesiastical legislation on the subject of slavery, at this time, will have a tendency to accomplish these most desirable objects. And we are fully persuaded, that as a body of Christian ministers we shall accomplish the greatest good by directing our individual and united efforts, in the spirit of the first teachers of Christianity, to bring both master and servant under the sanctifying influence of the principles of that gospel which teaches the duties of every relation, and enforces the faithful discharge of them by the strongest conceivable motives. Do we aim at the amelioration of the condition of the slave? How can we so effectually accomplish this, in our calling as ministers of the gospel of Christ, as by employing our whole influence to bring both him and his master to a saving knowledge of the grace of God, and to a practical observance of those relative duties so clearly prescribed in the writings of the inspired apostles?

"'Permit us to add, that, although we enter not into the political contentions of the day, neither interfere with civil legislation, nor

with the administration of the laws, we cannot but feel a deep interest in whatever affects the peace, prosperity, and happiness of our beloved country. The union of these States, the perpetuity of the bonds of our national confederation, the reciprocal confidence of the different members of the great civil compact,—in a word, the *well-being* of the community of which we are members, should never cease to lie near our hearts, and for which we should offer up our sincere and most ardent prayers to the Almighty Ruler of the universe.

" ' But can we, as ministers of the gospel, and servants of a Master *whose kingdom is not of this world*, promote these important objects in any way so truly and permanently as by pursuing the course just pointed out? Can we, at this eventful crisis, render a better service to our country than by laying aside all interference with relations authorized and established by the civil laws, and applying ourselves wholly and faithfully to what especially appertains to our *high and holy calling;* to teach and enforce the moral obligations of the gospel, in application to all the duties growing out of the different relations in society? By a diligent devotion to this evangelical employment, with an humble and steadfast reliance upon the aid of divine influence, the number of *believing masters* and servants may be constantly increased, the kindest sentiments and affections cultivated, domestic burdens lightened, mutual confidence cherished, and the peace and happiness of society be promoted. While, on the other hand, if past history affords us any correct rules of judgment, there is much cause to fear, that the influence of our sacred office, if employed in interference with the relation itself, and consequently with the civil institutions of the country, will rather tend to prevent, than to accomplish, these desirable ends.'

" Sir, I have read this extract, that the members of this General Conference who were not present at the last session, and this listening assembly, who may not have heard it before, may understand distinctly the ground on which I, with my colleagues, stand in regard to these questions. I desire that this document may stand recorded with my name to it, till I sleep in the dust of the earth. (Amen.) I desire to leave it as a legacy to my children and my children's children; and, if I might be permitted to say so, I would leave it as a legacy to the church when I am no more. I want no man to write my epitaph. I will write it myself. I want no man to write and publish my life. I will do that myself, as far as I think it may be necessary for the interests of posterity, or for the benefit of the church of God. I regret, in reading the Life of my venerable colleague, who has gone from earth to heaven since your last session, that this document, as it stood connected with his name, has not appeared in that memoir. I thank the author of 'The History of the Methodist Episcopal Church,' I mean Dr. Bangs, for having presented this document in that History. I met it in Europe, and I am glad it is there. I never wished my name detached from it, no, never, *never*. When this was written, your superintendents believed that they were acting in perfect accordance with the Pastoral Address of the General Conference at its session in Cincinnati; we

think so now. Well, sir, I have only one further remark to make before I proceed to the chief object for which I address the Conference this morning. It is this: I desire that no undue influence may be produced from the peculiar relation in which I stand to the church. Sympathy may exert too great an influence when it is brought to bear on great principles. The only subject which has awakened my sympathy during the whole discussion, is the condition of my suffering brethren of the coloured race, and this never fails to do it. No matter where I meet the man of colour, whether in the South, or in the North, with the amount of liberty he enjoys, the sympathies of my nature are awakened for him. Could I restore bleeding Africa to freedom, to independence, to the rights, to *all* the rights, of man, I would gladly do it. But this I cannot do, you cannot do. And if I cannot burst the bonds of the coloured man, I will not strengthen them. If I cannot extend to him all the good I would, I will never shut him out from the benefits which I have it in my power to bestow. But, sir, I cannot withhold this sentiment from the Conference, that, with the mental and physical labours of this relation, I could never have been sustained, I could never have supported myself; I could never have ministered to the church, unless I had been settled down on some principles equally as changeless as the throne of God, in my estimation, never, never. It is a constant recurrence to these great principles that has sustained me in the discharge of what I conceive to be my duties; duties which grow out of my relation to the church, and not simply to this Conference. These principles have sustained me in the city and in the desert waste; they have sustained me in the North, and they have sustained me in the South; they have sustained me in the quarters of the black man, and in the huts of the Red man. Shake me from these principles, and I am done.—I have done, I say. But what is this? Why, sir, is the Methodist Episcopal church dependent upon me? Far from it; her interest hangs not upon my shoulders at all. She can do a great deal better without me than I can do without her; much better. Well, sir, laying aside this point, endeavouring to disengage myself as far as possible, consider me as expressing my own opinions, without reference to my colleagues. I wish to say, explicitly, that if the superintendents are only to be regarded as the officers of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, and, consequently, as officers of the Methodist Episcopal church, liable to be deposed at will by a simple majority of this body, without a form of trial, no obligation existing, growing out of the constitution and laws of the church, even to assign cause wherefore,—I say, if this doctrine be a correct one, every thing I have to say hereafter is powerless, and falls to the ground. But brethren will permit me to say, strange as it may seem, although I have had the honour and privilege to be a member of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church ever since its present organization, though I was honoured with a seat in the convention of ministers which organized it, in this respect I have heard for the first time, either on the floor of this Conference, in an Annual Conference, or

through the whole of the private membership of the church, this doctrine advanced: this is the first time I ever heard it. Of course, it struck me as a novelty. I am not going to enter the arena of controversy with this Conference. I desire that my position may be defined. I desire to understand my landmarks as a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal church; not the bishop of the General Conference, not the bishop of any Annual Conference. I thought that the constitution of the church, I thought that its laws and regulations, I thought that the many solemn vows of ordination, the parchment which I hold under the signatures of the departed dead; I thought that these had defined my landmarks, I thought that these had prescribed my duties, I thought that these had marked out my course. In my operations, I have acted under the conviction that these were my directions and landmarks; and it affords me great consolation this day to stand, at least in the judgment of this body, to which I hold myself responsible, and before which I will always be ready to appear to answer any charge they shall prefer against me,—I say, it affords me some gratification to have stood acquitted for twenty years in the discharge of the high trust committed to my hands; and I here desire to offer my grateful acknowledgments to the Episcopal Committee for the Report they have brought to this body, and to the Conference for their cordial acceptance of that Report. I say, I do it with sentiments of sincerity; and it is the more cordial to me in view of what may yet be to come. In this regard, although I have trembled beneath the weight of responsibility, and shrunk before the consciousness of my inability, and especially as I have felt my physical infirmities coming upon me, and knowing that I must be in the neighbourhood of mental infirmity, I stand this day acquitted in my own conscience, (O that I may be acquitted at the bar of my eternal Judge!) that I have, to the best of my ability, with sincerity of heart, and with the ardent desire to promote the great interests of the church, and the cause of God, in the discharge of the duties which you have intrusted to me; I have never, in the discharge of this trust, God is my witness, I have never given an appointment to any preacher with a desire or design to afflict him. Indeed, sir, if I could do it, I should abhor myself. Now, whether this Conference is to sustain the position on which I have acted or not, they are very soon to settle in the vote which is before them: I mean, they are to settle this question, whether it is the right of this body, and whether they have the power, to depose a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal church, whether they have a right to depose my colleague, to depose me, without a form of trial. See ye to that. Without specification of wrong, and by almost universal acclamation over this whole house, that Bishop Andrew has been unblamable in his Christian character; without blame in his ministerial vocation; that he has discharged the duties of his sacred office to the church of God with integrity, with usefulness, and with almost universal acceptability, and in good faith;—with this declaration before the community, before the world, will this Conference occupy this position, that they have power, authority to depose

Bishop Andrew, without a form of trial, without charge, and without being once called on to answer for himself in the premises? What he did say was voluntary.

"Well, brethren, I had conceived, I had understood from the beginning, that special provision was made for the trial of a bishop. The constitution has provided that no preacher, no person was to be deprived of the right of trial, according to the forms of Discipline, and of the right of appeal; but, sir, if I understand the doctrine advanced and vindicated, it is that you may depose a bishop without form of trial; you may depose him without any obligation to show cause, and therefore he is the only minister in your church who has no appeal. It seems to me that the church has made special provision for the trial of the bishop, for the special reason that the bishop has no appeal. Well now, sir, I only make these observations, as I said, to the ear of reason. You will remember that this whole thing is going out before the world as well as the church. I wish to know my landmarks, to find out where I stand; for, indeed, I do not hesitate to say to you, that if my standing and the relation in which I have been placed by the Methodist Episcopal church under my solemn vows of ordination, if my relation is to stand on the voice of a simple majority of this body, without a form of trial, and without an obligation even to show me cause why I am deposed, I have some doubt whether there is the man on this floor that would be willing to stand in my place. Now brethren will perceive at once the peculiar situation in which I am placed. Here are my brethren from the Ohio, and from other Conferences. We have been together in great harmony and peace. There has been great union of spirit every where; but I said at the beginning, there were periods in the history of every man occupying any important relation or station in society, when his individual character and influence could not be neutralized by the laws of association. You must unmoor me from my anchorage on the basis of this book, you must unsettle me from the principles, my settled and fixed principles. From these I cannot be shaken by any influences on my right hand or on my left hand; neither the zeal of youth nor the experience of hoary age shall move me from my principles. Convince me that I am wrong, and I yield. And here it may be necessary that I should make an observation in regard to what I have said before: it seems to have been misunderstood: I said, you cannot immolate me on a Southern altar; you cannot immolate me on a Northern altar; I can only be immolated on the altar of the union of the Methodist Episcopal church. What do I mean by this? I mean—call it a compact, call it a compromise, constitutional discipline, what you will—I mean on the doctrines and provisions of this book, and I consider this as the bond of union of the Methodist Episcopal church. Here, then, I plant my feet, and here I stand. Let brethren, sir, not misunderstand me in another point, a point in which they may misunderstand me, in which I have been misunderstood, and you join me on this point. I hold, that the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church has an indis-

putable right, constitutional, sacred, to arraign at her tribunal every bishop, to try us there, to find us guilty of an offence with which we are charged on evidence, and to excommunicate, expel us. I am always ready to appear before that body in this regard. I recognise fully their right. But not for myself, not for these men on my right hand and on my left hand, but for your sakes and the church of God of which you are members and ministers, let me ask you, let me entreat you not to rush upon the Resolution now before you. Posterity, sir, will review your actions, history will record them; and whatever we may do here will be spread out before the face of the world; the eyes of men will be fixed upon it. In this view I was not surprised to hear brethren say, 'Pause, brethren, I beseech you, pause;' and I was not surprised to see men of mind and of thought approach the thing with fear and trembling; but brethren apprehend that there are great difficulties involved in this subject; they apprehend that fearful consequences are to take place on whichever side of the question they shall move. Pass it, and the South suppose themselves involved in irretrievable ruin. Refuse to pass it, and the North consider the consequences perilous to them. Permit me to say, sir, that I have had some acquaintance, personal acquaintance, both with the North and the South; I think I have been able to cast an impartial eye over these great departments of the church. I may err in judgment, but I apprehend that the difficulties may not be as insurmountable as brethren have apprehended them to be. I know that some of my brethren of the North are involved in such a manner that I cannot apprehend; I see no way in which they can compromise this question. Why? For the obvious reason that it involves a principle. I will compromise with no man when a principle is involved in the compromise. What is that principle? The men that avow it are as honest as any men on this floor. I know them: in the men there is no guile. What is the principle? It was advanced by my worthy brother Cass the other day. Can he compromise the principle? You must convince him of the error of his principle before he will compromise it. What is it? It is that slavery, under all circumstances, is sin against God."

Mr. Cass interposed:—

"May I correct the bishop? I believe I did not say so; I said it was a moral evil."

Bishop Soule proceeded:—

"Well, I am glad to be corrected. This is not brother Cass's principle. A moral evil, a moral evil, and not a sin, under all circumstances. It affords me a great deal of pleasure to hear my worthy brother's statement, for it greatly increases my hope that we shall have a compromise.

"Now, sir, notwithstanding brethren have thought, and with perfect sincerity, that they were ready to act on the Resolution, although undoubtedly a large majority of this body have been prepared for it for some time, I cannot but believe that it might be premature in the Conference taking action on it even now. I will

offer one or two reasons why I think the Conference is not prepared for action on the Resolution. We have been informed here from documents, to a great extent petitions and memorials, on the subject of slavery in its various aspects and interests. These documents, these petitions and memorials, have been received with the respect due to the right of petition. They have been committed to a large and judicious Committee to examine and report. That Committee has not reported to this body: it will report, I need not say to you that it will report. The respect due to some thousand petitioners to this body will lay them under solemn obligations to report; and is it not possible that this report on the subject immediately connected with the Resolution before you, may afford you some light? You will have in the Report of that Committee several important items, clearly developed before you, of information. You will know the number of petitioners, of the memorialists in each of the Annual Conferences. You will know the relative proportion of these petitioners to the whole number of the Methodist church within these Conferences. You will know the aggregate number of all these memorialists and petitioners, and you will consequently know the relative number in regard to the whole community of the Methodist Episcopal church. It will not be disputed, I think, on the floor of this General Conference, that the subjects, so far as they have been presented when the memorials were up, that the subjects on which you are memorialized in these documents are not local. They are not subjects appertaining specially and exclusively to the memorialists. So far as I heard, every subject was of a general character, in which every member of the Methodist Episcopal church, east, west, north, and south, have an equal interest and concern. The Report of your Committee may throw much light on this great subject. But this is not all. I beg to suggest to the brethren, that the views of the great body of the Methodist church, and the great body of her ministers, are not, and cannot be, represented here, in regard to the special point before you; and if this be a subject in which all the ministers of the Methodist Episcopal church, and all the members of the Methodist Episcopal church, have an equal interest and concern, is it safe for this body to proceed to such an important action with regard to the whole interests of the church, without having a more full developement of the subject, both from ministers and church, than the memorials as yet presented afford? I ask it. Now, will the delegation from New-York tell us what are the views of the great body of Methodists within the New-York Conference on this subject? We have been sitting here, Mr. President, on this case almost from the time we commenced it. It has been, however, before this community. It has been out before the whole church; and from the views the brethren have taken, I have been almost surprised that we have not had memorials from the city where we sit; I have been almost surprised that we have not had memorials from the people in Philadelphia, from the people in Baltimore, from the people in Boston. We have had no memorials. There has been no expression on their part, as I have heard; and yet in the

midst of this enlightened body of Methodists, are we prepared thus to say what is the view of the people around us on this question? and, under such circumstances, do you hesitate to stay the question in the Resolution before you? I beg the brethren to go a little further on this subject. I will go with my brethren to Ohio. Now, I do not know—I am a resident in Ohio, I have some acquaintance in Ohio, both with preachers and with our very excellent and worthy membership in Ohio—my brethren from them, these delegates have more, and doubtless can say more: but I should not dare on the floor of this Conference to say, that the act would meet the approbation of the great body of preachers and members in Ohio: I dare not say it. It is sufficient for me, however, in the present position I occupy, to say, that the church has not known the subject, and has expressed no opinion on the subject whatsoever. I settle it down, then, as the basis on which I shall proceed, that we have not, and cannot have, the views of our ministers and people generally on this subject, so fully expressed to us as to others.

"The adoption of that Resolution deposes Bishop Andrew without form of trial; such is my deliberate opinion: I do not believe it is safe for you, and I am out of the question. What shall be done? The question, I know, wakes up the mind of every brother. Can it be possible that the Methodist Episcopal church is in such a state of excitement, in such a state, I had almost said, of revolution, as to be unprepared to send out the plain, simple facts in the case to the churches, to the Annual Conferences, every where through our community, and wave all action on this subject till another General Conference?

"I said, almost at the commencement of these remarks, sir, that I was not afraid of the deliberation of men, of our Annual Conferences, of the General Conference; I am afraid of the passions of men, and I could present before you some considerations to illustrate the views that I have given you; and if I give you these views in error of judgment, be assured that they are not views which originate on the spur of the moment: they are the result of sober and deliberate investigation. Can it be possible that the simple circumstance of Bishop Andrew's holding an office as a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal church four years longer, with this statement of facts in the case—simple facts in the case—spread out before the enlightened body of this great Methodist community,—is there to be an earthquake? I am not prepared to believe it: I soberly am not prepared to believe it. Well, sir, this is the view that I take of the subject. Permit me to make one other suggestion. The providence of God directs the whirlwind and the storm; clouds and darkness, indeed, may be around about us; but righteousness and justice are the habitation of his throne. Let us be careful that we never suffer a human arm to impede the operations of Providence. My beloved colleague, Bishop Andrew, and myself, and all my colleagues, may have passed away from these scenes of trouble, and the passions which now agitate the church of God may go to sleep, in God's providence, long before four years go by.

"How easy it is for God to direct the elements of society! Do not be surprised, then, brethren, when I say to you, Pause. Brethren may possibly have a little more light: there may be some ray from heaven or earth yet to shine upon this subject. Now, it is the solemn conviction of my mind, that the safest course you can pursue in the premises is, to pass this subject without any implication of Bishop Andrew's character at all, and to send out officially the plain and simple facts in the case to all your societies, to all your Conferences. Let it be read every where, and then we may have a further expression of opinion, without any kind of agitation. I am about to take my leave of you, my brethren. You must know, you cannot but know, that, with the principles I have stated to you, with the avowal of my sentiments in regard to this subject, it would not be Bishop Andrew alone that your word will affect. No, sir, I implicate neither my colleagues on my right hand nor on my left; but I say, the decision of the question could not affect Bishop Andrew alone. I wish it to be distinctly understood, it *cannot affect him alone*. I mean specially in this point,—I say, that the Resolution on which we are just about to act goes to sustain the doctrine, that the General Conference have power and right to depose one of the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal church without the form of trial; that you are under no obligation from the constitution or laws of the church to *show cause* even. Now, every man must see, and every man must know, that Bishop Andrew cannot be involved alone in the vote. It is the principle which is involved. It goes to say, that when this Conference shall vote on the subject, a simple majority of the Conference, without form of trial, can depose a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal church. Do you understand it so? If I am mistaken, I shall stand corrected; and I need not say to this Conference, that such a decision will involve others beside. It involves the office; it involves the charge; it involves the relation itself.

"And now, in taking leave, I offer devout prayer to Almighty God, that you may be directed wisely in the decision you are about to make. I have given to you what in my sober and deliberate judgment is the best and safest course which you can pursue, safest for all concerned. I want that opinion to have no more influence upon you than it justly deserves in the Conference. I thank the Conference for the attention they have been pleased to give me. I thank the audience for their attention. I very well know, I am not at all unapprized, that the position I occupy, in which I stand on the principles of that Resolution, on the principles involved in it, may seal my fate. I say, I am not at all unapprized of that. Let me go; but I pray you, hold to principles, to principles; and with these remarks I submit the whole to your and God's direction."

On May 31st, the following Address of the bishops was read:—

"Reverend and dear Brethren,—The undersigned respectfully and affectionately offer to your calm consideration the result of their con-

sultation this afternoon in regard to the unpleasant and very delicate question which has been so long and so earnestly debated before your body. They have, with the liveliest interest, watched the progress of your discussion, and have awaited its termination with the deepest solicitude. As they have pored over this subject with anxious thought, by day and by night, they have been more and more impressed with the difficulties connected therewith, and the disastrous results which, in their apprehension, are the almost inevitable consequences of the present action on the question now pending before you. To the undersigned it is fully apparent, that a decision thereon, whether affirmatively or negatively, will most extensively disturb the peace and harmony of that widely-extended brotherhood which has so effectively operated for good in the United States of America, and elsewhere, during the last sixty years, in the developement of a system of active energy, of which union has always been a main element. They have with deep emotion inquired, 'Can any thing be done to avoid an evil so much deprecated by every friend of our common Methodism?' Long and anxiously have they awaited for a satisfactory answer to this inquiry; but they have paused in vain. At this painful crisis, they have unanimously concurred in the propriety of recommending the postponement of further action in the case of Bishop Andrew until the ensuing General Conference. It does not enter into the design of the undersigned to argue the propriety of their recommendation, otherwise strong and valid reasons might be adduced in its support. They cannot but think, that if the embarrassment of Bishop Andrew should not cease before that time, the next General Conference, representing the pastors, ministers, and people of the several Annual Conferences, after all the facts in the case shall have passed in review before them, will be better qualified than the present General Conference can be to adjudicate the case wisely and discreetly. Until the cessation of the embarrassment, or the expiration of the interval between the present and ensuing General Conference, the undersigned believe that such a division of the work of the general superintendency might be made without any infraction of a constitutional principle, as would fully employ Bishop Andrew in those sections of the church in which his presence and services would be welcome and cordial. If the course pursued on the present occasion by the undersigned be deemed novel, they persuade themselves that their justification, in view of all candid and peace-loving persons, will be found in their strong desire to prevent disunion, and to promote harmony in the church.

"Very respectfully and affectionately submitted,

"Joshua Soule,
"Elijah Hedding,
"B. Waugh,
"T. A. Morris."*

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* "History of the Organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South," pp. 24—65.

It was then moved that this document lie on the table, which means rejected; this was carried, the votes being 95 for the rejection of the bishops' compromise, and 84 for it. The vote on Mr. Finley's Resolution, that is, on the main question, was then taken, the numbers being 111 for and 69 against. Thus ended this great controversy, after a debate which lasted more than a fortnight.

We close this long and interesting narrative by the "Protest" of the defeated minority,—if we mistake not, one of the most powerful and eloquent state-documents ever put into the hands of the reader.

"PROTEST.

"In behalf of thirteen Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal church, and portions of the ministry and membership of several other Conferences, embracing nearly five thousand ministers, travelling and local, and a membership of nearly five hundred thousand, constitutionally represented in this General Conference, we, the undersigned, a minority of the delegates of the several Annual Conferences in General Conference assembled, after mature reflection, impelled by convictions we cannot resist, and in conformity with the rights and usages of minorities, in the instance of deliberative assemblies and judicial tribunals, in similar circumstances of division and disagreement, *Do most solemnly, and in due form, protest* against the recent act of a majority of this General Conference, in an attempt, as understood by the minority, to degrade and punish the Rev. James O. Andrew, one of the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal church, by declaring it to be the sense or judgment of the General Conference, that he desist from the exercise of his episcopal functions, without the exhibition of any alleged offence against the laws or discipline of the church, without form of trial, or legal conviction of any kind, and in the absence of any charge of want of qualification or faithfulness in the performance of the duties pertaining to his office.

"We protest against the act of the majority in the case of Bishop Andrew, as extra-judicial to all intents and purposes, being both without law and contrary to law. We *protest* against the act, because we recognise in this General Conference no right, power, or authority, ministerial, judicial, or administrative, to suspend or depose a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal church, or otherwise subject him to any official disability whatever, without the formal presentation of a charge or charges, alleging that the bishop to be dealt with has been guilty of the violation of some law, or at least some disciplinary obligation of the church, and also upon conviction of such charge after due form of trial. We *protest* against the act in question as a violation of the fundamental law, usually known as the compromise law of the church, on the subject of slavery; the only law which can be brought to bear upon the case of Bishop

Andrew, and the assertion and maintenance of which, until it is constitutionally revoked, is guaranteed by the honour and good faith of this body, as the representative assembly of the thirty-three Annual Conferences known as contracting parties in the premises.

"*And we protest against the act further*, as an attempt to establish a dangerous precedent, subversive of the union and stability of the Methodist Episcopal church, and especially as placing in jeopardy the general superintendency of the church by subjecting any bishop of the church at any time to the will and caprice of a majority of the General Conference, not only without law, but in defiance of the restraints and provisions of law. The undersigned, a minority of the General Conference, in *protesting*, as they do, against the late act of the majority, in the virtual suspension of Bishop Andrew, regard it as due to themselves and those they represent, as well as the character and interests of the church at large, to declare, by solemn and formal avowal, that, after a careful examination of the entire subject, in all its relations and bearings, they protest as above, for the reasons and upon the grounds following: namely,—

"1. The proceeding against Bishop Andrew in this General Conference has been upon the assumption that he is connected with slavery,—that he is the legal holder and owner of slave-property. On the subject of slavery in the Methodist Episcopal church, both as it regards the ministry and membership, we have special law, upon which the adjudication of all questions of slavery must, by intention of law, proceed. The case of Bishop Andrew, therefore, presents a simple question of law and fact; and the undersigned cannot consent that the force of circumstances and other merely extrinsic considerations shall be allowed to lead to any issue, except that indicated by the law and the facts in the case. In the late act of the majority, law, express law, is appealed from; and expediency in view of circumstances, relative propriety, assumed necessity, is substituted in its place as a rule of judgment. It is assumed, and the assumption acted upon, that expediency may have jurisdiction even in the presence of law; the law, too, being special, and covering the case, in terms. In the absence of law, it might be competent for the General Conference to act upon other grounds; this is not disputed, nor yet that it would have been competent for the Conference to proceed upon the forms of law; but that the terms and conditions of a special enactment, having all the force of a common public charter, can be rightfully waved in practice, at the promptings of a fugitive, unsettled expediency, is a position the undersigned regard, not merely as erroneous, but as fraught with danger to the best interests of the church.

"The law of the church on slavery has always existed since 1785, but especially since 1804, and in view of the adjustment of the whole subject, in 1816, as a *virtual, though informal, contract of mutual concession and forbearance*, between the North and the South, then, as now, known and existing in distinct parties, in relation to the vexed questions of slavery and abolition: those Conferences found in States where slavery prevailed constituting the

Southern party, and those in the non-slave-holding States the Northern; exceptions to the rule being found in both. The rights of the legal owners of slaves, in all the slave-holding States, are guaranteed by the constitution of the United States, and by the local constitutions of the States respectively, as the supreme law of the land, to which every minister and member of the Methodist Episcopal church within the limits of the United-States government professes subjection, and pledges himself to submit, as an article of Christian faith, in the common creed of the church. Domestic slavery, therefore, wherever it exists in this country, is a civil regulation, existing under the highest sanctions of constitutional and municipal law, known to the tribunals of the country; and it has always been assumed, at the South, and relied upon as correct, that the North, or non-slave-holding States, had no right, civil or moral, to interfere with relations and interests thus secured to the people of the South by all the graver forms of law and social order, and that it cannot be done without an abuse of the constitutional rights of citizenship. The people of the North, however, have claimed to think differently, and have uniformly acted toward the South in accordance with such opposition of opinion. Precisely in accordance, too, with this state of things, as it regards the general population of the North and South respectively, the Methodist Episcopal church has been divided in opinion and feeling on the subject of slavery and abolition, since its organization in 1784; two separate and distinct parties have always existed. The Southern Conferences, in agreeing to the main principles of the compromise-law in 1804 and 1816, conceded by express stipulation their right to resist Northern interference in any form, upon the condition, pledged by the North, that while the *whole church*, by common consent, united in proper effort for the mitigation and final removal of the evil of slavery, the North was not to interfere, by excluding from membership or ministerial office in the church, persons owning and holding slaves in States where emancipation is not practicable, and where the liberated slave is not permitted to enjoy freedom. Such was the compact of 1804 and 1816, finally agreed to by the parties after a long and fearful struggle; and such is the compact now, the proof being derived from history and the testimony of living witnesses. And is it possible to suppose, that the original purpose and intended application of the law was not designed to embrace every member, minister, order, and officer of the Methodist Episcopal church? Is the idea of excepted cases allowable by a fair construction of the law? Do not the reasons and intendment of the law place it beyond doubt, that every conceivable case of alleged misconduct that can arise, connected with slavery or abolition, is to be subjected, by consent and contract of parties, to the jurisdiction of this great conservative arrangement?

"Is there any thing in the law or its reasons creating an exception in the instance of bishops? Would the South have entered into the arrangement, or in any form consented to the law, had it been intimated by the North, that bishops must be an exception to

the rule? Are the virtuous dead of the North to be slandered by the supposition, that they intended to except bishops, and thus accomplished their purposes, in negotiation with the South, by a resort to deceptive and dishonourable means? If bishops are not named, no more are presiding elders, agents, editors, or, indeed, any other officers of the church, who are nevertheless included, although the same rule of construction would except them also. The enactment was for an entire people, east, west, north, and south. It was for the church, and every member of it; for the common weal of the body; and is therefore universal and unrestricted in its application; and no possible case can be settled upon any other principles, without a direct violation of this law, both in fact and form. The law being what we have assumed, any violation of it, whatever may be its form or mode, is as certainly a breach of good faith as an infringement of law. It must be seen, from the manner in which the compromise was effected, in the shape of a law, agreed to by equal contracting parties, 'the several Annual Conferences,' after long and formal negotiation, that it was not a mere legislative enactment, a simple decree of a General Conference, but partakes of the nature of a grave compact, and is invested with all the sacredness and sanctions of a solemn treaty, binding respectively the well-known parties to its terms and stipulations. If this be so,—and with the evidence accessible who can doubt it?—if this be so, will it prove a light matter for this General Conference to violate or disregard the obligation of this *legal compromise*, in the shape of public recognised law? Allow that the present parties in this controversy cannot be brought to view the subject of the law in question in the same light, can such a matter end in a mere difference of opinion as it respects the immediate parties? The law exists in the Discipline of the church. The law is known, and its reasons are known, as equally binding upon both parties; and what is the likelihood of the imputation of bad faith under the circumstances? What the hazard, that such imputation, as the decision of public opinion, it may be from a thousand tribunals, will be brought to bear, with all the light and force of conviction, upon any act of this body, in violation of the plain provisions of long-established law, originating in treaty, and based upon the principles of *conventional compromise?*

"In proportion to our love of truth, of law, and order, are we not called upon to pause and weigh well the hazard, before, as a General Conference, we incur it beyond change or remedy? The undersigned have looked to the great *conservative law* of the Discipline on the subject of slavery and abolition, as the only charter of *connexional union* between the North and the South; and whenever this bond of connexion is rendered null and void, no matter in what form, or by what means, they are compelled to regard the church, to all practical purpose, as already divided without the intervention of any other agency. By how far, therefore, they look upon the union of the Methodist Episcopal church as essential to its prosperity, and the glory and success of American Methodism, by so far they are bound to *protest* against the late act of the General Conference in the irregular

suspension of Bishop Andrew, as not only without law, but in direct contravention of legal stipulations known to be essential to the unity of the church. And they are thus explicit in a statement of facts, that the responsibility of division may attach where in justice it belongs. The minority making this protest are perfectly satisfied with the law of the church affecting slavery and abolition. They ask no change. They need, they seek no indulgence in behalf of the South. Had Bishop Andrew been suspended according to law, after due form of trial, they would have submitted without remonstrance, as the friends of law and order.

"*They except and protest, further*, against the lawless procedure, as they think, in the case of Bishop Andrew, because, apart from the injustice done him and the South, by the act, other and graver difficulties necessarily incidental to this movement come in for a share of attention. The whole subject is, in the very nature of things, resolved into a single original question. Will the General Conference adhere to, and in good faith assert and maintain, the compromise-law of the church on the vexed question dividing us? or will it be found expedient generally, as in the case of Bishop Andrew, to lay it aside and tread it under foot? No question on the subject of slavery and abolition can be settled until the General Conference shall settle *this* beyond the possibility of evasion. In the present crisis, it is the opinion of the undersigned, that every bishop of the Methodist Episcopal church, and every member of this General Conference, is especially called upon by all the responsibilities of truth and honour to declare himself upon the subject, and they deem it proper, respectfully and urgently, to make such call a part of this protest. When so much depends upon it, can the General Conference, as the organ of the supreme authority of the church, remain silent without incurring the charge of trifling both with its interests and reputation? Law always pledges the public faith of the body ostensibly governed by it to the faithful assertion and performance of its stipulations, and the compromise-law of the Discipline, partaking as it does of the nature of the law of treaty, and embracing, as has been seen, all possible cases, pledges the good faith of every minister and member of the Methodist Episcopal church against saying or doing any thing tending to annul the force or thwart the purposes of its enactment. The only allowable remedy of those who object to the law is to seek a constitutional change of the law, and in failure to submit, or else retire from the church. All attempts to resist, evade, or defeat the objects and intended application of the law, until duly revoked, must be regarded as unjust and revolutionary, because an invasion of well-defined conventional right. And the undersigned except to the course of the majority in the informal prosecution of Bishop Andrew and the anomalous *quasi* suspension it inflicts, as not only giving to the compromise a construction rendering it entirely ineffective, but as being directly subversive of the great bond of union which has held the North and South together for the last forty years. Turning to the confederating Annual Conferences of 1804, and the vexed and

protracted negotiations which preceded the General Conference of that year, and finally resulted in the existing law of the Discipline, regulating the whole subject, and glancing at nearly half a million of Methodists, now in the South, who have come into the church with all their hopes and fears, interests and associations, their property, character, and influence, reposing in safety upon the publicly pledged faith of the Methodist Episcopal church, only to be told that this is all a dream, that a part of what was pledged was never intended to be allowed, and that the whole is at all times subject to the discretion of a dominant majority, claiming, in matter of right, to be without and above law, competent not merely to make all rules and regulations for the proper government of the church, but to govern the church without rule or regulation, and punish and degrade without even the alleged infringement of law, or the form of trial, if it be thought expedient,—presents a state of things filling the undersigned with alarm and dismay. Such views and facts, without adducing others, will perhaps be sufficient to show the first and principal ground occupied by the minority in the protest. They cannot resist the conviction, that the majority have failed to redeem the pledge of public law given to the church and the world by the Methodist Episcopal church.

" 2. The undersigned are aware, that it is affirmed by some of the majority, but meanwhile denied by others, and thus a mooted and unsettled question among themselves, that the Resolution censuring and virtually suspending Bishop Andrew, as understood by the minority, is mere matter of advice or recommendation; but so far from advising or recommending any thing, the language of the Resolution, by fair and necessary construction, is imperative and mandatory in form, and, unqualified by any thing in the Resolution itself, or in the preamble explaining it, conveys the idea plainly and most explicitly, that it is the judgment and will of the Conference, that Bishop Andrew shall cease to exercise the office of bishop until he shall cease to be the owner of slaves. 'Resolved, That it is the sense of this Conference that he desist.' That is, having rendered himself unacceptable to the majority, it is their judgment that he retire from the bench of bishops, and their field of action.

" No idea of request, advice, or recommendation is conveyed by the language of the preamble or Resolution; and the recent avowal of an intention to advise is, in the judgment of the undersigned, disowned by the very terms in which, it is said, the *advice* was given. The whole argument of the majority, during a debate of twelve days, turned upon the right of the Conference to displace Bishop Andrew without resort to formal trial. No one questioned the legal right of the Conference to advise; and if this only was intended, why the protracted debate upon the subject? But further, a Resolution respectfully and affectionately requesting the bishop to resign had been laid aside, to entertain the substitute under notice; a motion, too, to declare the Resolution advisory was promptly rejected by the majority; and in view of all these facts, and the *entire* proceedings of the majority in the case, the undersigned have been compelled to

consider the Resolution as mandatory judgment, to the effect that Bishop Andrew desist from the exercise of his episcopal functions. If the majority have been misunderstood, the language of their own Resolution, and the position they occupied in debate, have led to the misconception; and truth and honour, not less than a most unfortunate use of language, require that they explain themselves.

"3. We except to the act of the majority, because it is assumed, that conscience and principle are involved, and require the act complained of, as expedient and necessary under the circumstances. Bishop Andrew being protected by the law of the church, having cognizance of all offences connected with slavery, such connexion in his case, in the judgment of all jurisprudence, can only be wrong in proportion as the law is bad and defective. It is not conceived by the minority, how conscience and principle can be brought to bear upon Bishop Andrew, and not upon the *law*, and the *church* having such law. They are obliged to believe, that the law and the source from which it emanates must become the object of exception and censure, before Bishop Andrew, who has not offended against either, unless the church is against the law, can be subjected to trial at the bar of the conscience and principles of men who profess subjection and approval, in the instance both of the law and the church.

"The undersigned can never consent, while we have a plain law, obviously covering an assumed offence, that the offence shall be taken, under plea of principle, out of the hands of the law, and be re-subjected to the conflicting opinions and passions which originally led to a resort to law, as the only safe standard of judgment. They do not understand how conscience and principle can attach grave blame to action not disapproved by law—express law, too, made and provided in the case—without extending condemnation to the law itself, and the body from which it proceeds. The church can hardly be supposed to have settled policy and invariable custom, in contravention of law; the avowal of such custom and policy, therefore, excluding from the episcopacy any and every man, in any way connected with slavery, is mere *assumption*. No contract, agreement, decree, or purpose of this kind, is of record, or ever existed. No such exaction, in terms or by implication, was ever made by the North, or conceded by the South. No conventional understanding ever existed to this effect, so far as the South is concerned, or has been informed. That it has long, perhaps always, been the purpose of the North, not to elect a slave-holder to the office of bishop, is admitted. But as no law gave countenance to any thing of the kind, the South regarded it as a mere matter of social injustice, and was not disposed to complain. The North has always found its security in numbers, and the untrammelled right of suffrage; and to this the South has not objected. The assumption, however, is entirely different, and is not admitted by the South; but is plainly negatived by the law and language of the Discipline, as explained by authority of the General Conference.

"No such concession, beyond peaceable submission to the right of suffrage, exercised by the majority, will ever be submitted to by

the South, as it would amount to denial of equal abstract right, and a disfranchisement of the Southern ministry, and could not be submitted to without injury and degradation. If, then, the North is not satisfied with the negative right conceded to the South by the law in this matter, the minority would be glad to know what *principle* or *policy* it is likely to introduce beyond the existing provisions of law. As the contingency which has occasioned the difficulty in the case of Bishop Andrew, and to which every Southern minister is liable at any time, does not and cannot fall under the *condemnation* of existing law, and he cannot be punished, nor yet subjected to any official disability, without an abuse of both right and power, on the part of this General Conference, the minority are compelled to think, that the majority ought to be satisfied with the consciousness and declaration, that they are in no way responsible for the contingency, and thus, at least, allow Bishop Andrew the benefit of their own legislation, until they see proper to change it. This attempt by the majority to protect a lawless prosecution from merited rebuke, by an appeal to conscience and principle, condemning Bishop Andrew, while the law and the church, shielding him from the assault, are not objected to, is looked upon by the minority as a species of moral, we will not say legal, casuistry, utterly subversive of all the principles of order and good government.

"4. The act of the majority was ostensibly resorted to, because, as alleged, the church in the middle and Northern Conferences will not submit to any the slightest connexion with slavery. But if connexion with slavery is ruinous to the church in the North, that ruin is already wrought. Who does not know that the very Discipline, laws, and legislation of the church necessarily connect us all with slavery? All our provisional legislation on the subject has proceeded on the assumption, that slavery is an element of society, a principle of action, a household reality in the Methodist Episcopal church in the United States. It is part and parcel of the economy of American Methodism, in every subjective sense. It has given birth to law and right, conventional arrangements, numerous missions, and official trusts. Every bishop, every minister, every member of the church is of necessity connected with slavery. Each is brother and co-member, both with slave and master, by the very laws and organization of the church.

"If, then, connexion with slavery is so disastrous, the only remedy is to purify the church by re-organization, or get out of it as soon as possible. And would not this aversion to slavery, would not conscience and principle, so much pleaded in this controversy, appear much more consistent in every view of the subject in striking at the root of the evil, in the organic structure of the church, than in seeking its personification in Bishop Andrew, protected although he be by law, and proceeding to punish him, by way of calling off attention from the known toleration of the same thing, in other aspects and relations?

"Impelled by conscience and principle to the illegal arrest of a bishop, because he has incidentally, by bequest, inheritance, and

marriage, come into possession of slave-property, in no instance intending to possess himself of such property, how long will conscience and principle leave other ministers, or even lay members, undisturbed, who may happen to be in the same category with Bishop Andrew? Will assurances be given, that the lawlessness of expediency, controlled, as in such case it must be, by prejudice and passion, will extend no further, that there shall be no further curtailment of right as it regards the Southern ministry? Yet, what is the security of the South in the case? Is the public faith of this body, as instanced in the recent violations of the compromise-law, to be relied upon as the guarantee for the redemption of the pledge? What would such pledge or assurance be but to remind the South, that any departure at all from the great conservative pledge of law, to which we appeal, was much more effectively guarded against originally, than it is possible to guard against any subsequent infringement, and to make the South feel further, that disappointment in the first instance must compel distrust with regard to the future? The church having specific law on the subject, all questions involving slavery must inevitably, by intention of law, come within the purview of such special provision, and cannot be judged of by any other law or standard, without a most daring departure from all the rules and sobrieties of judicial procedure; and the undersigned accordingly except to the action of the majority in relation to Bishop Andrew, as not only without sanction of law, but in conflict with rights created by law.

"5. As the Methodist Episcopal church is now organized, and according to its organization since 1784, the episcopacy is a co-ordinate branch, the executive department proper of the government. A bishop of the Methodist Episcopal church is not a mere creature, is in no prominent sense an officer, of the General Conference. The General Conference, as such, cannot constitute a bishop. It is true, the Annual Conferences select the bishops of their church, by the suffrages of their delegates, in General Conference assembled; but the General Conference, in its capacity of a representative body, or any other in which it exists, does not possess the power of ordination, without which a bishop cannot be constituted.

"The bishops are, beyond a doubt, an integral constituent part of the General Conference, made such by law and the constitution; and because elected by the General Conference, it does not follow that they are subject to the will of that body, except in conformity with legal right, and the provisions of law, in the premises. In this sense, and so viewed, they are subject to the General Conference; and this is sufficient limitation of their power, unless the government itself is to be considered irregular and unbalanced in the co-ordinate relations of its parts. In a sense by no means unimportant, the General Conference is as much the creature of the episcopacy, as the bishops are the creatures of the General Conference. Constitutionally, the bishops alone have the right to fix the time of holding the Annual Conferences; and should they refuse or neglect to do so, no Annual Conference could meet, according to law, and, by conse-

quence, no delegates could be chosen, and no General Conference could be chosen, or even exist. And because this is so, what would be thought of the impertinent pretension, should the episcopacy claim, that the General Conference is the mere creature of their will? As *executive officers* as well as *pastoral overseers*, the bishops belong to the church as such, and not to the General Conference, as one of its councils or organs of action merely.

"The General Conference is in no sense the church, not even representatively. It is merely the representative organ of the church, with limited powers to do business, in the discharge of a delegated trust.

"Because bishops are in part constituted by the General Conference, the power of removal does not follow. Episcopacy, even in the Methodist church, is not a mere appointment to labour. It is an official consecrated station, under the protection of law, and can only be dangerous as the law is bad, or the church corrupt. The power to appoint does not necessarily involve the power to remove; and when the appointing power is derivative, as in the case of the General Conference, the power of removal does not accrue at all, unless by consent of the co-ordinate branches of the government, expressed by law, made and provided in the case. When the legislature of a State, to appeal to analogy for illustration, appoints a judge or senator in Congress, does the judge or senator thereby become the officer or creature of the legislature, or is he the officer or senatorial representative of the State, of which the legislature is the mere organ? And does the power of removal follow that of appointment? The answer is negative in both cases, and applies equally to the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal church; who, instead of being the officers and creatures of the General Conference, are, *de facto*, the officers and servants of the church, chosen by the General Conference, as its organ of action; and no right of removal accrues, except as they fail to accomplish the *aims* of the church in their appointment, and then only in accordance with the provisions of law. But when a bishop is suspended, or informed that it is the wish or will of the General Conference, that he cease to perform the functions of bishop, for doing what the law of the same body allows him to do, and, of course, without incurring the hazard of punishment, or even blame, then the whole procedure becomes an outrage upon justice, as well as law.

"The assumption of power by the General Conference beyond the warrant of law, to which we object, and against which we protest, will lead, if carried into practice, to a direct violation of one of the restrictive rules of the constitution. Suppose it had been the 'sense' of this General Conference, when the late communication from the bishops was respectfully submitted to the Conference, that such communication was an interference with their rights and duties, an attempt to tamper with the purity and independence, and therefore an outrage upon the claims and dignity, of the Conference, not to be borne with. And, proceeding a step further, suppose it had been the 'sense' of the Conference, that they *all* desist from

performing the functions of bishops until the 'impediment' of such offence had been removed: assume this, (and so far as mere law is concerned, no law being violated in either case, it was just as likely as the movement against Bishop Andrew,) and had it taken place, what had become of the general superintendency? If a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal church may, without law, and at the instance of mere party expediency, be suspended from the exercise of the appropriate functions of his office for one act, he may for another. Admit this doctrine, and by what tenure do the bishops hold office? One thing is certain, whatever other tenure there may be, they do not hold office *according to law*.

"The provisions of law and the faithful performance of duty, upon this theory of official tenure, afford no security. Admit this claim of absolutism, as regards right and power on the part of the General Conference, and the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal church are slaves, and men constituting this body their masters and holders. They are in office only at the discretion of a majority of the General Conference, without the restraints or protection of law. Both the law and themselves are liable and likely at any time to be overborne and trampled upon together, as exemplified in the case of Bishop Andrew. If the doctrine against which we protest be admitted, the episcopal office is, at best, but a quadrennial term of service, and the undersigned are compelled to think, that a man who would *remain* a bishop, or allow himself to be *made one*, under such circumstances, 'desires a good work,' and is prepared for *self-sacrifice*, quite beyond the comprehension of ordinary piety.

"As it regards Bishop Andrew, if it shall be made to appear, that the action in his case was intended only to *advise* and *request* him to desist from his office, it does not in any way affect the real or relative character of the movement. When a body claiming the right to compel, asks the resignation of an officer, the request is to all official and moral purposes *compulsory*, as it loads the officer with disability, and gives notice of assumed unworthiness, if not criminality. The request has all the force of a mandate, inasmuch as the officer is, by such request, compelled either to resign, or remain in office contrary to the known will of the majority. A simple request, therefore, under the circumstances supposed, carries with it all the force of a decree, and is so understood, it is believed, by all the world.

"To request Bishop Andrew to resign, therefore, in view of all the facts and relations of the case, was, in the judgment of the minority, to punish and degrade him; and they maintain that the whole movement was without authority of law, is hence of necessity null and void, and therefore not binding upon Bishop Andrew, or the minority protesting against it.

"6. We protest against the act of the majority, instructing Bishop Andrew to desist from the exercise of his office, not merely on account of the injustice and evil connecting with the act itself, but because the act must be understood as the exponent of principles and purposes, as it regards the union of the North and South in the Methodist Episcopal church, well nigh destroying all hope of its

perpetuity. The true position of the parties in relation to a long existing conventional arrangement, on the subject of slavery and abolition, has been fully under notice; and when men of years and wisdom, experience and learning, men of no common weight of character, and with a well-earned aristocracy of church influence thrown about them, assume and declare, in action as well as in debate, that what a plain law of the church—the only law applicable in the case—sustained and enforced, too, by an explanatory decree of this body, at a previous session, *decides*, shall *not* be a disqualification for office, of any grade, in the ministry,—when such men, the law and decision of the General Conference notwithstanding, are heard declaring, that what law provides for and protects nevertheless *always has been* and *always shall be* a disqualification, what further evidence is wanting to show, that the *compromise basis of union*, from which the South has never swerved, has been abandoned both by the Northern and middle Conferences, with a few exceptions in the latter, and that principles and purposes are entertained by the majority, driving the South to extreme action, in defence both of their rights and reputation? And how far the long train of eventful sequences, attendant upon the threatened result of division, may be traceable to the Northern and middle Conferences, by the issue thus provoked, is a question to be settled not by us, but by our contemporaries and posterity.

"It is matter of history, with regard to the past, and will not be questioned, that now, as formerly, the South is upon the basis of the Discipline, on the subject of slavery. The minority believe it equally certain, that this is not true with regard to the North proper especially. In view, then, of the unity of the Methodist Episcopal church, which party has been, in equity, entitled to the sympathy and protection of the middle or *umpire* Conferences? those who through good and evil report have kept good faith and adhered to law, or those whose opinions and purposes have led them to seek a state of things in advance of law, and thus dishonour its forms and sanctions?

"7. In proportion as the minority appreciate and cling to the unity of the Methodist Episcopal church, they are bound, further, to except to the position of the majority in this controversy. Allow that Bishop Andrew, without, however, any infringement of law, is, on account of his connexion with slavery, unacceptable in the Northern Conferences. It is equally known to the majority, that any bishop of the church, either violating, or submitting to a violation of, the compromise-charter of union between the North and the South, without proper and public remonstrance, cannot be acceptable at the South, and need not appear there. By pressing the issue in question, therefore, the majority virtually dissolve the government of the Methodist Episcopal church, because in every constitutional aspect it is sundered by so crippling a co-ordinate branch of it as to destroy the itinerant general superintendency altogether. Whenever it is clearly ascertained, that the compromise-law of the church, regulating slavery and abolition, is abandoned,

every bishop, each of the venerable and excellent men who now adorn the church and its counsels, *ceases* to be a general superintendent. The law of union, the principle of gravitation, binding us together, is dissolved, and the general superintendency of the Methodist Episcopal church is no more!

"8. The South have not been led thus to protest merely because of the treatment received by Bishop Andrew, or the kindred action of this body in other matters. The abandonment of the compromise, the official refusal by the majority, as we have understood them, to abide the arbitrement of law, is their principal ground of complaint and remonstrance. If the minority have not entirely misunderstood the majority, the abolition and anti-slavery principles of the North will no longer allow them to submit to the law of the Discipline on the general subject of slavery and abolition; and if this be so, if the compromise-law be either repealed or allowed to remain a dead letter, *the South cannot submit, and the absolute necessity of division is already dated.* And should the exigent circumstances in which the minority find themselves placed, by the facts and developements alluded to in this remonstrance, render it finally necessary, that the Southern Conferences should have a *separate, independent* existence, it is hoped that the character and services of the minority, together with the numbers and claims of the ministry and membership of the portion of the church represented by them, not less than similar reasons and considerations on the part of the Northern and middle Conferences, will suggest the high moral fitness of meeting this great emergency with strong and steady purpose to do justice to all concerned. And it is believed that, approaching the subject in this way, it will be found practicable to devise and adopt such measures and arrangements, present and prospective, as will secure an amicable division of the church upon the broad principles of right and equity, and destined to result in the common good of the great body of ministers and members found on either side *the line of separation.*"*

CHAP. IV.—*Organization of the Church, South—Preliminary Proceedings—Convention—Measures taken—Settlement—Real Position—Reflections.*

BEFORE separating at the General Conference, the South delegates took measures to form themselves into a separate church. A Committee of nine had been appointed to devise a plan of separation.

"June 7th. Dr. Paine, Chairman of the select Committee of nine, reported the following Plan of Separation:—

"'The select Committee of nine to consider and report on the declaration of the delegates from the Conferences of the slave-holding States, beg leave to submit the following Report:—

* "History of the Organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South," pp. 73—87. This Protest was answered by the Northern majority; but the document has not fallen into my hands.

" ' Whereas, a declaration has been presented to this General Conference, with the signatures of *fifty-one* delegates of the body from thirteen Annual Conferences in the slave-holding States, representing that, for various reasons enumerated, the objects and purposes of the Christian ministry and church organization cannot be successfully accomplished by them under the jurisdiction of this General Conference as now constituted; and

" ' Whereas, in the event of a separation, a contingency to which the declaration asks attention as not improbable, we esteem it the duty of this General Conference to meet the emergency with Christian kindness and the strictest equity; therefore,

" ' *Resolved*, by the delegates of the several Annual Conferences in General Conference assembled,

" ' 1. That, should the Annual Conferences in the slave-holding States find it necessary to unite in a distinct ecclesiastical connexion, the following rule shall be observed with regard to the Northern boundary of such connexion:—All the societies, stations, and Conferences adhering to the church in the South, by a vote of a majority of the members of said societies, stations, and Conferences, shall remain under the unmolested pastoral care of the Southern church; and the ministers of the Methodist Episcopal church shall in no wise attempt to organize churches or societies within the limits of the church, South, nor shall they attempt to exercise any pastoral oversight therein; it being understood that the ministry of the South reciprocally observe the same rule in relation to stations, societies, and Conferences, adhering, by vote of a majority, to the Methodist Episcopal church; provided, also, that this rule shall apply only to societies, stations, and Conferences bordering on the line of division, and not to interior charges, which shall in all cases be left to the care of that church within whose territory they are situated.

" ' 2. That ministers, local and travelling, of every grade and office in the Methodist Episcopal church, may, as they prefer, remain in that church, or, without blame, attach themselves to the church, South.

" ' 3. Resolved, by the delegates of all the Annual Conferences in General Conference assembled, That we recommend to all the Annual Conferences, at their first approaching sessions, to authorize a change of the sixth restrictive article, so that the first clause shall read thus:—They shall not appropriate the produce of the Book-Concern, nor of the Chartered Fund, to any purpose other than for the benefit of the travelling, supernumerary, superannuated, and worn-out preachers, their wives, widows, and children, and to such other purposes as may be determined upon by the vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Conference.

" ' 4. That whenever the Annual Conferences, by a vote of three-fourths of all their members voting on the third Resolution, shall have concurred in the recommendation to alter the sixth restrictive article, the agents at New-York and Cincinnati shall, and they are hereby authorized and directed to, deliver over to any authorized agent or appointee of the church, South, should one be organized,

all notes and book accounts against the ministers, church-members, or citizens, within its boundaries, with authority to collect the same for the sole use of the Southern church; and that said agents also convey to aforesaid agent or appointee of the South, all the real estate, and assign to him all the property, including presses, stock, and all right and interest connected with the printing establishments at Charleston, Richmond, and Nashville, which now belong to the Methodist Episcopal church.

" ' 5. That when the Annual Conferences shall have approved the aforesaid change in the sixth restrictive article, there shall be transferred to the above agent for the Southern church so much of the capital and produce of the Methodist Book-Concern as will, with the notes, book accounts, presses, &c., mentioned in the last Resolution, bear the same proportion to the whole property of said Concern that the travelling preachers in the Southern church shall bear to all the travelling ministers of the Methodist Episcopal church; the division to be made on the basis of the number of travelling preachers in the forthcoming Minutes.

" ' 6. That the above transfer shall be in the form of annual payments of 25,000 dollars per annum, and specifically in stock of the Book-Concern, and in Southern notes and accounts due to the establishment, and accruing after the first transfer mentioned above; and until the payments are made, the Southern church shall share in all the net profits of the Book-Concern, in the proportion that the amount due to them, or in arrears, bears to all the property of the Concern.

" ' 7. That Nathan Bangs, George Peck, and James B. Finley be, and they are hereby appointed, commissioners to act in concert with the same number of commissioners appointed by the Southern organization, (should one be formed,) to estimate the amount which will fall due to the South by the preceding rule, and to have full powers to carry into effect the whole arrangements proposed with regard to the division of property, should the separation take place. And if by any means a vacancy occurs in this board of commissioners, the Book-Committee at New-York shall fill said vacancy.

" ' 8. That whenever any agents of the Southern church are clothed with legal authority or corporate power to act in the premises, the agents at New-York are hereby authorized and directed to act in concert with said Southern agents, so as to give the provisions of these Resolutions a legally binding force.

" ' 9. That all the property of the Methodist Episcopal church in meeting-houses, parsonages, colleges, schools, Conference-funds, cemeteries, and of every kind within the limits of the Southern organization, shall be for ever free from any claim set up on the part of the Methodist Episcopal church, so far as this Resolution can be of force in the premises.

" ' 10. That the church so formed in the South shall have a common right to use all the copyrights in possession of the Book-Concerns at New-York and Cincinnati, at the time of the settlement by the commissioners.

"'11. That the Book-Agents at New-York be directed to make such compensation to the Conferences, South, for their dividend from the Chartered Fund, as the commissioners above provided for shall agree upon.

"'12. That the bishops be respectfully requested to lay that part of this Report requiring the action of the Annual Conferences before them as soon as possible, beginning with the New-York Conference.'" *

After considerable debate, this Plan was adopted; the votes being for the measure, 147; against, 22. On a motion to "authorize the Southern Conferences, instead of the delegates, to decide on the necessity of separation, the vote was again taken, and stood Ayes, 135; Noes, 15."

Thus the question of division was left to be decided by the several Annual Conferences; who, on meeting, determined the subject in the affirmative.

The question was brought forward in the South by the delegates to the General Conference sending the following Address to their constituencies:—

"*Address to the Ministers and Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in the Slave-holding States and Territories.*

"THE undersigned, delegates in the late General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, from *thirteen* Annual Conferences in slave-holding States and territories, would most respectfully represent, that the various action of the *majority* of the General Conference, at its recent session, on the subject of *slavery and abolition*, has been such as to render it necessary, in the judgment of those addressing you, to call attention to the *proscription and disability* under which the Southern portion of the church must of necessity labour in view of the action alluded to, unless some measures are adopted to free the minority of the South from the oppressive jurisdiction of the majority in the North, in this respect.

"The proceedings of the majority, in several cases, involving the question of slavery, have been such as indicate most conclusively, that the legislative, judicial, and administrative action of the General Conference, as now organized, will always be extremely hurtful, if not finally ruinous, to the interests of the Southern portion of the church; and must necessarily produce a state of conviction and feeling in the slave-holding States, entirely inconsistent with either the peace or prosperity of the church.

"The opinions and purposes of the church in the North on the subject of slavery, are in direct conflict with those of the South; and unless the South will submit to the dictation and interference of the North, greatly beyond what the existing law of the church on

* "History of the Organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South," pp. 90—93.

slavery and abolition authorizes, there is no hope of any thing like union or harmony. The debate and action of the General Conference in the case of the Rev. Mr. Harding, of the Baltimore Conference; the debate and action in the case of Bishop Andrew; and the opinions and purposes avowed and indicated in a *manifesto* of the majority, in reply to a *protest* from the minority against the proceedings complained of, together with hundreds of petitions from the east, north, and west, demanding that slavery, in all its possible forms, be separated from the church; these, and similar demonstrations, have convinced the undersigned, that they cannot remain silent or inactive without hazard and injustice to the different portions of the church they represent.

"They have, therefore, thought proper to invoke the attention of the church in the South to a state of things they are compelled to regard as worthy the immediate notice and action of the church throughout all the slave-holding States and territories. The subject of slavery and abolition, notwithstanding the plain law of the Discipline on the subject, was agitated and debated in the late General Conference, for *five successive weeks;* and even at the very close of the session, the aspect of things was less satisfactory and more threatening to the South than at any former period; and under such circumstances of mutual distrust and disagreement, the General Conference adjourned.

"Some time before the adjournment, however, upon a *declaration* made by the Southern delegations, setting forth the impossibility of enduring such a state of things much longer, the General Conference, by a very large and decided majority, agreed to a *plan of formal and pacific separation*, by which the Southern Conferences are to have a distinct and independent organization of their own, in no way subject to Northern jurisdiction. It affords us pleasure to state, that there were those found among the majority who met this proposition with every manifestation of justice and liberality. And should a similar spirit be exhibited by the Annual Conferences in the North, when submitted to them, as provided for in the plan itself, there will remain no legal impediment to its peaceful consummation.

"This plan is approved by the undersigned as the best, and, indeed, all that can be done at present, in remedy of the great evil under which we labour. Provision is made for a peaceable and constitutional division of church property of every kind. The plan does not decide that division shall take place; but simply, and it is thought securely, provides that it may, if it be found necessary. Of this necessity, you are to be the judges, after a careful survey and comparison of all the reasons for and against it.

"As the undersigned have had opportunity and advantages which those at a distance could not possess, to form a correct judgment in the premises, and it may be expected of them, that they express their views fully on the subject, they do not hesitate to say, that they regard a separation at no distant day as inevitable; and farther, that the plan of separation agreed upon is as eligible as the Southern

Conferences have any right to expect at any time. We most respectfully, therefore, and with no common solicitude, beseech our brethren of the ministry and membership in the slave-holding States, to examine this matter carefully, and, weighing it well in all its bearings, try to reach the conclusion most proper under the circumstances. Shall that, which in all moral likelihood must take place soon, be attempted now, or are there reasons why it should be postponed?

"We deprecate all excitement; we ask you to be calm and collected, and to approach and dispose of the subject with all the candour and forbearance the occasion demands. The separation proposed is *not* schism, it is *not* secession. It is a State or family, separating into two different States or families, by mutual consent. As the 'Methodist Episcopal church' will be found North of the dividing line, so the 'Methodist Episcopal church' will be found South of the same line.

"The undersigned have clung to the cherished unity of the church with a firmness of purpose and force of feeling which nothing but invincible necessity could subdue. If, however, nominal unity must co-exist with unceasing strife and alienated feeling, what is likely to be gained by its perpetuation? Every minister and member of the church in slave-holding States must perceive at once, that the constant, not to say interminable, agitation of the slavery and abolition question in the councils of the church, and elsewhere, must terminate in incalculable injury to all the Southern Conferences. Our access to slave and master is, to a great extent, cut off. The legislation of the church in conflict with that of the State—church policy attempting to control public opinion and social order—must generate an amount of hostility to the church, impossible to be overcome, and slowly but certainly diminish both the means and the hope of usefulness and extension on the part of the church.

"Disposed, however, to defer to the judgment of the church, we leave this subject with you. Our first and most direct object has been to bring it fully before you, and, giving you an opportunity to judge and determine for yourselves, await your decision. The minority from the South in the late General Conference were most anxious to adjourn the decision in the case of Bishop Andrew, with all its attendant results, to the Annual Conferences, and to the church at large, to consider and decide upon during the next four years, as no charge was presented against the bishop, and especially as this measure was urgently recommended by the whole bench of bishops, although Bishop Hedding subsequently withdrew his name. The proposition, however, to refer the whole subject to the church, was promptly rejected by the majority, and immediate action demanded and had. But as all the facts connected with the equivocal suspension of Bishop Andrew will come before you in other forms, it is unnecessary to detail them in this brief Address, the main object of which is to place before you, in a summary way, the principal facts and reasons connected with the proposed separation of the Southern Conferences into a distinct organization.

" Adopted at a meeting of the Southern delegations, held in New-York, at the close of the General Conference, June 11th, 1844, and ordered to be published." *

The Convention agreed upon met at Louisville on May 1st, 1845; and, after much discussion, adopted the following Report of the Committee on the subject of a separate organization :—

" REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION.

" The Committee appointed to inquire into the propriety and necessity of a separate organization of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal church, in the slave-holding States, for the purpose of a separate General Conference connexion and jurisdiction, within the limits of said States and Conferences, having had the entire subject under careful and patient consideration, together with the numerous petitions, instructions, Resolutions, and propositions for adjustment and compromise, referred to them by the Convention,—offer the following as their

" REPORT :—

" In view of the extent to which the great questions in controversy, between the North and the South of the Methodist Episcopal church, have been discussed, and, by consequence, must be understood by the parties more immediately interested; it has not been deemed necessary by the Committee to enter into any formal or elaborate examination of the general subject, beyond a plain and comprehensive statement of the facts and principles involved, which may place it in the power of all concerned, to do justice to the convictions and motives of the Southern portion of the church, in resisting the action of the late General Conference on the subject of slavery, and its unconstitutional assumption of right and power in other respects; and also presenting, in a form as brief and lucid as possible, some of the principal grounds of action, had in view by the South, in favouring the provisional plan of separation, adopted by the General Conference at its last session.

" On the subject of the legitimate right, and the full and proper authority of the Convention to institute, determine, and finally act upon the inquiry, referred to the Committee to deliberate and report upon, the Committee entertain no doubt whatever. Apart from every other consideration, which might be brought to bear upon the question, the General Conference of 1844, in the plan of jurisdictional separation adopted by that body, gave full and express authority to 'the Annual Conferences in the slave-holding States,' to judge of the propriety, and decide upon the necessity, of organizing a 'separate ecclesiastical connexion' in the South. And not only did the General Conference invest this right in 'the Annual Confer-

* " History of the Organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South," pp. 105—107.

ences in the slave-holding States,' without limitation or reserve, as to the *extent* of the investment, and *exclusively* with regard to every other division of the church, and all other branches or powers of the government, but left the method of official determination and the mode of action, in the exercise or assertion of the right, to the free and untrammelled discretion of the Conferences interested. These Conferences, thus accredited by the General Conference, to judge and act for themselves, confided the right and trust of decision and action, in the premises, to delegates regularly chosen by these bodies respectively, upon a uniform principle and fixed ratio of representation, previously agreed upon by each, in constitutional session, and directed them to meet in general Convention, in the city of Louisville, May, 1845, for this and other purposes, authorized by the General Conference, at the same time and in the same way. All the right and power, therefore, of the General Conference, in any way connected with the important decision in question, were duly and formally transferred to 'the Annual Conferences in the slave-holding States,' and exclusively invested in them. And as this investment was obviously for the purpose, that such right and power might be exercised by them, in any mode they might prefer, not inconsistent with the terms and conditions of the investment, the delegates thus chosen, one hundred in number, and representing sixteen Annual Conferences, under commission of the General Conference, here and now assembled in Convention, have not only all the right and power of the General Conference, as transferred to 'the Annual Conferences in the slave-holding States,' but, in addition, all the right and power of necessity inherent in these bodies, as constituent parties, giving birth and power to the General Conference itself, as the common Federal Council of the church. It follows hence, that, for all the purposes specified and understood in this preliminary view of the subject, the Convention possesses all the right and power both of the General Conference and the sixteen 'Annual Conferences in the slave-holding States,' jointly and severally considered. The ecclesiastical and conventional right, therefore, of this body to act in the premises, and act conclusively, irrespective of the whole church, and all its powers of government beside, is clear and undoubted. As the *moral* right, however, to act as proposed, in the General Conference plan of jurisdictional separation, rests upon entirely different grounds, and will perhaps be considered as furnishing the only allowable warrant of action, notwithstanding constitutional right, it may be necessary at least to glance at the grave moral reasons, creating the necessity, the high moral compulsions, by which the Southern Conferences and church have been impelled to the course of action, which it is the intention of this Report to explain and vindicate, as not only right and reasonable, but indispensable to the character and welfare of Southern Methodism.

"The preceding statements and reasoning present no new principle or form of action in the history of the church. Numerous instances might be cited, in the constitutional history of church polity, in which high moral necessity, in the absence of any recog-

nised conventional right, has furnished the only and yet sufficient warrant for ecclesiastical movements and arrangements, precisely similar in character with that contemplated in the plan of a separate Southern Connexion of the Methodist Episcopal church, adopted by the late General Conference. Wesleyan Methodism, in all its phases and aspects, is a most pertinent illustration of the truth we assume; and the fitness and force of the example must go far to preclude the necessity of any other proof. It was on the specific basis of such necessity, without conventional right, that the great Wesleyan Connexion arose in England. It was upon the same basis, as avowed by Wesley, that the American Connexion became separate and independent; and this Connexion again avows the same principle of action, in the separation and establishment of a Methodist Episcopal church in Canada, whose organization took place by permission and direction of the same authority under which this Convention is now acting for a similar purpose.

"Should it appear in the premises of the action proposed, that a high moral and religious duty is devolved upon the ministry and membership of the Methodist Episcopal church in the South,—devolved upon us by the great Head of the church, and the providential appointments of our social condition, which we cannot neglect without infidelity to a high moral trust, but which we cannot fulfil in connexional union with the Northern portion of the church, under the same General-Conference jurisdiction, owing to causes connected with the civil institutions of the country, and beyond the control of the church; *then* a strong moral necessity is laid upon us, which assumes the commanding character of a positive duty, under sanction of divine right, to dissolve the ties and bonds of a single General-Conference jurisdiction, and in its place substitute one in the South, which will not obstruct us in the performance of duty, or prevent us from accomplishing the great objects of the Christian ministry and church-organization. From a careful survey of the entire field of facts and their relations, the whole range of cause and effect, as connected with the subject-matter of this Report, it is confidently believed, that the great warrant of *moral necessity*, not less than unquestionable ecclesiastical right, fully justifies this Convention in the position they are about to take, as a separate organic division of the Methodist Episcopal church, by authority of its chief synod, 'the delegates of all the several Annual Conferences in General Conference assembled.' One of the two main issues, which have decided the action of the Southern Conferences, relates, as all know, to the assumed right of the church to control the question of slavery, by means of the ordinary and fluctuating provisions of church legislation, without reference to the superior control of State policy and civil law.—From all the evidence accessible in the case, the great masses of the ministry and membership of the Methodist Episcopal church, North and South, present an irreconcilable opposition of conviction and feeling on the subject of slavery, so far as relates to the rights of the church to interfere with the question,—the one claiming unlimited right of interference to the full extent

the church may, at any time or from any cause, be concerned; and the other resisting alike the assumption or exercise of any such right, because, in nearly all the slave-holding States, such a course of action must bring the church in direct conflict with the civil authority, to which the church has pledged subjection and support in the most solemn and explicit forms, and from the obligations of which she cannot retreat without dishonouring her own laws, and the neglect and violation of some of the plainest and most imperative requirements of Christianity. Under such circumstances of disagreement, in such a state of adverse conviction and feeling on the part of the North and South of the church, it is believed that the two great sections of the church, thus situated, in relation to each other, by causes beyond the control of either party, cannot remain together and successfully prosecute the high and common aims of the Christian ministry and church-organization, under the same General-Conference jurisdiction. The manifest want of uniformity of opinion and harmony of co-operation, must always lead, as heretofore, to struggles and results directly inconsistent with the original intention of the church, in establishing a common jurisdiction, to control all its general interests. And should it appear that, by a division and future duality of such jurisdiction as authorized by the late General Conference, the original purposes of the church can better be accomplished, or rather, that they can be accomplished in no other way, how can the true and proper unity of the church be maintained, except by yielding to the necessity, and having a separate General-Conference jurisdiction for each division? By the Southern portion of the church generally, slavery is regarded as strictly a civil institution exclusively in custody of the civil power, and as a regulation of State beyond the reach of church interference or control, except as civil law and right may be infringed by ecclesiastical assumption. By the Northern portion of the church, individuals are held responsible for the alleged *injustice* and *evil* of relations and rights, created and protected by the organic and municipal laws of the government and country, and which relations and rights, in more than two-thirds of the slave-holding States, are not under individual control in any sense or to any extent.

"Both portions of the church are presumed to act from principle and conviction, and cannot, therefore, recede; and *how*, under *such* circumstances, is it possible to prevent the most fearful disunion, with all the attendant evils of contention and strife, except by allowing each section a separate and independent jurisdiction, the same in character and purpose with the one to which both have hitherto been subject? What fact, truth, or principle, not merely of human origin, and therefore of doubtful authority, can be urged, as interposing any reasonable obstacle to a change of jurisdiction, merely *modal* in character, and simply designed to adapt a single principle of church government, not pretended to be of divine obligation or scripture origin, to the character and features of the civil government of the country? Nothing essential to church-organization, nothing essentially distinctive of Methodism, even American Me-

thodism, is proposed to be disturbed, or even touched, by the arrangement. It is a simple division of general jurisdiction, for strong moral reasons, arising out of the civil relations and position of the parties, intended to accomplish for both what, it is demonstrated by experiment, cannot be accomplished by one common jurisdiction, as now constituted, and should therefore, under the stress of such moral necessity, be attempted in some other way.

" The question of slavery, more or less intimately interwoven with the interests and destiny of nine millions of human beings in the United States, is certainly of sufficient importance, coming up as it has, in the recent history of the Methodist Episcopal church, and as it does in the deliberations of this Convention, to authorize any merely *modal* or even organic changes in the government of the church, should it appear obvious, that the original and avowed purposes of the church will be more effectively secured and promoted by the change proposed, than by continuing the present or former system. The evidence before the Committee establishes the fact in the clearest manner possible, that throughout the Southern Conferences, the ministry and membership of the church, amounting to nearly five hundred thousand, in the proportion of about ninety-five in the hundred, deem a division of jurisdiction indispensable to the welfare of the church, in the Southern and South-western Conferences of the slave-holding States; and this fact alone must go far to establish the *right*, while it demonstrates the *necessity*, of the separate jurisdiction, contemplated in the plan of the General Conference, and adopted by that body in view of such necessity, as likely to exist. The interests of State, civil law, and public opinion in the South, imperiously require, that the Southern portion of the church shall have no part in the *discussion* and agitation of this subject in the chief councils of the church. In this opinion, nearly universal in the South, we *concur*.

" Christ and his apostles, Christianity and its inspired and early teachers, found slavery in its most offensive and aggravated forms, as a civil institution, diffused and existing throughout nearly the entire field of their ministrations and influence; and yet, in the New Testament, and earlier records of the church, we have no legislation, no interference, no denunciation with regard to it, not even remonstrance against it. They found it wrought up and vitally intermingled with the whole machinery of civil government and order of society, so implicated with 'the powers that be,' that Infinite Wisdom, and the early pastoral guides of the church, saw just reason why the church should not interfere beyond a plain and urgent enforcement of the various duties growing out of the peculiar relation of master and slave, leaving *the relation* itself, as a civil arrangement, untouched and unaffected, except so far as it seems obviously to have been the divine purpose to remove every form and degree of wrong and evil connected with the institutions of human government, by a faithful inculcation of the doctrines and duties of Christianity, without meddling in any way with the civil polity of the countries into which it was introduced. A course pre-

cisely similar to this, the example of which should have been more attractive, was pursued by the great Founder of Methodism, in all slave-holding countries in which he established societies. Mr. Wesley never deemed it proper to have any rule, law, or regulation on the subject of slavery, either in the United States, the West Indies, or elsewhere. The effects of the early and unfortunate attempts of the Methodist church to meddle and interfere, in the *legislation* and *practice* of government and discipline, with the institution of slavery in the United States, are too well known to require comment. Among the more immediate results of this short-sighted, disastrous imprudence, especially from 1780 to 1804, may be mentioned the watchful jealousy of civil government, and the loss of public confidence throughout a very large and influential portion of the whole Southern community. These and similar developements led the church, by the most careful and considerate steps, to the adoption, gradually, of a medium compromise course of legislation on the subject, until the law of slavery, as it now exists in the *letter* of Discipline, became, by the last material act of legislation in 1816, the great compromise bond of union between the North and the South on the subject of slavery. The whole law of the church, all there is in the statute-book to govern North and South on this subject, is the following: *First:* The general rule, which simply prohibits 'the buying or selling of men, women, or children, with an *intention to enslave them.*' *Second:* 'No slave-holder shall be eligible to any official station in our church hereafter, where the laws of the State in which he lives admit of emancipation, and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom. When any travelling preacher becomes an owner of a slave, or slaves, by any means, he shall forfeit his ministerial character in our church, unless he execute, if it be practicable, a legal emancipation of such slaves, conformably to the laws of the State in which he lives.'

"Here is the law, the *whole*, the *only* law of the church, containing, first, a *prohibition*, and, second, a *grant*. The prohibition is, that no member or minister of the church is allowed to purchase or sell a human being, who is to be *enslaved*, or *reduced to a state of slavery*, by such purchase or sale. And further, that no minister, in *any of the grades* of ministerial office, or other person, having official standing in the church, can, if he be the owner of a slave, be allowed to sustain such official relation to the church, unless he shall legally provide for the emancipation of such slave or slaves, if the laws of the State in which he lives will admit of legal emancipation, and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom. Such is the plain *prohibition* of law, binding upon all. The *grant* of the law, however, is equally plain and unquestionable. It is, that persons *may* purchase or sell men, women, or children, provided such purchase or sale does not involve the fact or intention of enslaving them, or of *reducing the subjects* of such purchase or sale *to a state of slavery*. The intention of the law no doubt is, that this may be done from motives of humanity, and not by any means for the purpose of gain. But further, the law distinctly provides, that every minister, *in what-*

ever grade of office, and every person having *official standing of any kind*, in the Methodist Episcopal church, being the owner or owners of slave-property, shall be protected against any forfeiture of right, on this account, where the laws of the State do not admit of legal emancipation, and allow the liberated slave to enjoy freedom in the State in which he is emancipated. Here is the plain *grant of law* to which we allude. From the first agitation of the subject of slavery in the church, the Northern portion of it has been disposed to insist upon further *prohibitory* enactments. The South, meanwhile, has always shown itself ready to go as far, by way of prohibition, as the law in question implies, but has uniformly resisted any attempt to impair Southern rights under protection of the grant of law to which we have asked attention. Under such circumstances of disagreement and difficulty, the conventional and legislative adjustment of the question, as found in the general Rule, but especially the tenth section of the Discipline, was brought about, and has always been regarded in the South as a great compromise arrangement, without strict adherence to which, the North and the South could not remain together under the same general jurisdiction. That we have not mistaken the character of the law, or misconstrued the intention and purposes of its enactment, at different times, we think entirely demonstrable from the whole history both of the legislation of the church, and the judicial and executive administration of the government. The full force and bearing of the law, however, were more distinctly brought to view, and authoritatively asserted, by the General Conference of 1840, after the most careful examination of the whole subject; and the judicial determination of that body, connected with the language of the Discipline just quoted, gives in still clearer light *the true and only law of the church* on the subject of slavery. After deciding various other principles and positions incidental to the main question, the decision is summed up in the following words: 'While the general rule (or law) on the subject of slavery, relating to those States whose laws admit of emancipation, and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom, should be firmly and constantly enforced, the exception to the general rule (or law) applying to those States where emancipation, as defined above, is *not practicable*, should be recognised and protected with equal firmness and impartiality; therefore—

"'*Resolved by the several Annual Conferences in General Conference assembled*, That under the provisional exception of the general rule (or law) of the church, on the subject of slavery, the simple holding of slaves, or mere ownership of slave-property, in States or Territories, where the laws do not admit of emancipation, and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom, constitutes *no legal barrier* to the election or ordination of ministers to the various grades of office known in the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal church, and cannot, therefore, be considered as operating *any forfeiture* of right, in view of such election and ordination.' This decision of the General Conference was not objected to, or dissented from, by a single member of that body. It was the unanimous voice of the great represen-

tative and judicial council of the church then acting in the character of a high court of appeals for the decision of an important legal question. It will be perceived how strikingly the language of this decision accords with *both* the features of the law of slavery which we have thought it important to notice, the *prohibition* and the *grant* of law in the case; what may *not* be done as the general rule, and at the same time what *may be done*, under the provisional exception to the general law, without forfeiture of right of any kind. It is also worthy of particular notice, that beside the plain assurance of the original law, that where emancipation is not legally practicable, and the emancipated slave allowed to enjoy freedom, or where it is practicable to emancipate, but the emancipated slave cannot enjoy freedom, emancipation is not required of any owner of slaves in the Methodist Episcopal church, from the lowest officer up to the bishop, but the rights of all thus circumstanced are protected and secured, notwithstanding their connexion with slavery,—beside this, the full and elaborate decision of the General Conference as a grave and formal adjudication had upon all the issues involved in the question, published to all who were in or might be disposed to enter the church, that the law of slavery applied to States where emancipation is impracticable, and the freed slave not allowed to enjoy freedom, this clear and unambiguous decision, by the highest authority of the church, *leaves* the owner of slaves upon the ground—upon a basis of the most perfect equality with *other* ministers of the church, having no connexion with slavery. Such, then, is the law; such its construction; such the official and solemn pledge of the church. And these had, to a great extent, restored the lost confidence and allayed the jealous apprehensions of the South, in relation to the purposes of the church respecting slavery. There was in the South no disposition to disturb, discuss, or in any way agitate the subject. The law was not objected to or complained of, but was regarded as a settled compromise between the parties, a medium arrangement on the ground of mutual concession, well calculated to secure and promote the best interests of the church North and South.

"That this law, this great compromise conservative arrangement, which had been looked to as the only reliable bond of jurisdictional union between the North and South for nearly half a century, was practically disregarded and abandoned by the last General Conference, in the memorable cases of Harding and Andrew, both by judicial construction and virtual legislation, manifestly inconsistent with its provisions and purposes, and subversive of the great objects of its enactment, has been too fearfully demonstrated by various forms of proof, to require more than a brief notice in this Report. The actual position of the church was suddenly reversed, and its long-established policy entirely changed. The whole law of the church, and the most important adjudications had upon it, were treated as null and obsolete; and that body proceeded to a claim of right and course of action amounting to a virtual repeal of all law, and new and capricious legislation on the most difficult and delicate question ever introduced into the councils of the church, or named upon its statute book.

"By no fair construction of the law of slavery as given above, could the church be brought in conflict with civil legislation on the subject. It is true, as demanded by the convictions and opinions of the church, testimony was borne against the evil of slavery; but it was done without conflicting with the polity and laws of any portion of the country. No law, for example, affected the lay-membership of the church with regard to slave-holding; the church gave its full permission that the private members of the church might own and hold slaves at discretion; and the inference is indubitable, that the church did not consider simple slave-holding *as a moral evil*, personally attaching to the mere fact of being the owner or holder of slaves. The evil charged upon slavery must of necessity have been understood of other aspects of the subject, and could not imply moral obliquity, without impeaching the integrity and virtue of the church. Moreover, where the laws precluded emancipation, the ministry were subjected to no disabilities of any kind, and the requirements of the church, in relation to slavery, were not at least in any thing like direct conflict with civil law. In contravention, however, of the plain and long-established law of the church, the action of the General Conference of 1844, in the well-known instances cited, brought the church into a state of direct and violent antagonism with the civil authority and the rights of citizenship, throughout all the slave-holding States. This was not done by the repeal of existing law, or additional legislation by direct enactment, but in a much more dangerous form,—by the simple process of resolution by an irresponsible majority, requiring Southern ministers as slave-holders, in order to church eligibility and equality of right with non-slave-holding ministers of the church, to do what cannot be done without a violation of the laws of the States in which they reside, and is not required or contemplated, but expressly excepted and even provided against, by the law of the church.

"It will thus appear that the entire action of the General Conference on the subject of slavery, was in direct conflict with the law both of the church and the land, and could not have been submitted to by the South, without the most serious detriment to the interests of the church. The action in the instance of Bishop Andrew, was, in the strongest and most exceptionable sense, extra-judicial. It was not pretended that Bishop Andrew had violated any law of the church; so far from this, the only law applicable to the case, gave, as we have seen, ample and explicit assurance of protection. So to construe law, or so to proceed to act without reference to law, as to abstract from it its whole protective power, and deprive it of all its conservative tendencies in the system, is one of the most dangerous forms of legal injustice, and, as a principle of action, must be considered as subversive of all order and government. The late General Conference required of Bishop Andrew, the same being equally true in the case of Harding, as the condition of his being acceptable to the church, the surrender of rights secured to him, both by civil and ecclesiastical law. The purposes of law were contravened and destroyed, and its prerogative and place usurped by mere opinion.

"The requisition in the case was not only extra-judicial, being made in the absence of any thing like law authorizing the measure, but, being made at the same time against law, it was usurpation; and so far as the proceeding complained of is intended to establish a principle of action with regard to the future, it gives to the General Conference all the attributes of a despotism, claiming the right to govern *without*, *above*, and *against law*. The doctrine avowed at the late General Conference, and practically endorsed by the majority, that that body may, by simple resolution, advisory, punitive, or declaratory, repeal an existing law in relation to a particular case, leaving it in full force with regard to other cases,—or may enact a new and different law, and apply it judicially to the individual case, which led to the enactment, and all in a moment, by a single elevation of the hand,—is a position, a doctrine so utterly revolutionary and disorganizing, as to place in jeopardy at once both the interests and reputation of the church. The action in the case of Bishop Andrew not only assumed the character, and usurped the place, of law, but was clearly an instance of *ex post facto* legislation, by making that an offence after the act, which was not such before. The conduct charged as an offence, was at the time, and continues to be, under the full protection of a well-understood and standing law of the church; and yet this conduct was made criminal, and punishable by the retrospective action of the Conference to which we allude. The officially expressed will of the General Conference intended to govern and circumscribe the conduct of Bishop Andrew, without reference to existing law, and indeed contrary to it, was made the rule of action, and he found guilty of its violation, by acts done before he was made acquainted with it. The conduct charged was in perfect consistency with the law of the church, and could only be wrought into an offence by an *ex post facto* bearing of the after-action of the General Conference.

"Bishop Andrew became the owner of slave-property, involuntarily, several years before his marriage; and as the *fact* and not the *extent* of his connexion with slavery constituted his offence, it follows, that for a relation in which he was placed by the action of others, and the operation of civil law, and in which, as a citizen of Georgia, he was compelled to remain, or be brought in conflict with the laws of the State, he *was*, in violation of the pledge of public law, as we have shown, arrested and punished by the General Conference. That body, by direct requirement, such at least by implication, commanded him to free his slaves, or suffer official degradation. The law of Georgia required him to hold his slaves, or transfer them to be held as such by others, under heavy and painful penalties to master and slave. To avoid ecclesiastical punishment and disability, the church required him either to leave the State of his residence, or violate its laws. In this way, taking the judicial decision in Harding's case, and the anomalous action in Bishop Andrew's, the church is placed in most offensive conflict with the civil authority of the State. Can any country or government safely allow the church to enforce disobedience to civil law, as a Christian duty? If such attempts are

made to subordinate the civil interests of the State to the schemes and purposes of church innovation, prompted and sustained by the bigotry and fanaticism of large masses of ignorant and misguided zealots engaged in the conflict in the name of God and conscience, and for the ostensible purposes of religious reform, what can be the stability of civil government, or the hopes of those seeking its protection? And what, we ask, must be the interest of the South, in connexion with such movements?

"In the instance of slavery in this country, it is but too well known, that such antagonism as is indicated by the preceding facts and developements between the purposes of the church and the policy of the State, must result in the most disastrous consequences to both. The slavery of the Southern States can never be reduced in amount, or mitigated in form, by such a state of things. The Southern States have the sole control of the question, under the authority and by contract of the Federal Constitution; and all hope of removing the evil of slavery, without destroying the national compact and the union of the States, must connect with the individual sovereignty of the Southern States, as parties to the federal compact, and the independent policy of each State in relation to slavery, as likely to be influenced by moral and political reasons and motives, brought to bear, by proper means and methods, upon the understanding and moral sense of the Southern people. All trespass upon right, whether as it regards the rights of property or of character,—every thing like aggression, mere denunciation or abuse, must of necessity tend to provoke further resistance on the part of the South, and lessen the influence the North might otherwise have upon the great mass of the Southern people, in relation to this great and exciting interest. The true character and actual relations of slavery in the United States are *so predominantly civil and political*, that any attempt to treat the subject or control the question, upon purely moral and ecclesiastical grounds, can never exert any salutary influence South, except in so far as the moral and ecclesiastical shall be found strictly subordinate to the civil and political. This mode of appeal, it is believed, will never satisfy the North. The whole Northern portion of the church, speaking through their guides and leaders, is manifesting an increasing disposition to form issues upon the subject, so utterly inconsistent with the rights and peace of the slave-holding States, that, by how far the Methodist Episcopal church in the South may contribute to the bringing about of such a state of things, or may fail to resist it, the influence of Methodism must be depressed, and the interest of the church suffer. In addition, then, to the fact, that we have already received an amount of injury beyond what we can bear, except under a separate organization, we have the strongest grounds of apprehension, that unless we place ourselves in a state of defence and prepare for independent action, under the distinct jurisdiction we are now authorized by the General Conference to resolve upon and organize, we shall soon find ourselves so completely subjected to the adverse views and policy of the Northern majority, as to be left without right or remedy, except as a mere secession from the church. Now, the

case is entirely different, as we propose to do nothing, not authorized in the General-Conference plan of separation, either expressly or by necessary implication. The general view thus far taken of the subject, is intended to show, that 'the Annual Conferences in the slave-holding States,' embracing the entire church South, have found themselves placed in circumstances, by the action of the General Conference in May last, which, according to the declaration of the Southern delegates, at the time, render it impracticable to accomplish the objects of the Christian ministry and church-organization, under the present system of General-Conference control, and showing by the most clear and conclusive evidence, that there exists the most urgent necessity for the 'separate ecclesiastical connexion,' constitutionally provided for by the General Conference upon the basis of the Declaration just adverted to. At the date of the Declaration, the Southern delegates were fully convinced that the frequent and exciting agitation and action in that body on the subject of slavery and abolition, as in Harding's case, and especially the proceedings in the case of Bishop Andrew, each being regarded as but a practical exposition of the principle of the majority—rendered a *separate organization* indispensable to the success of Methodism in the South. The truth of the Declaration, so far from being called in question, by the majority, was promptly conceded in the immediate action the Conference had upon it, assigning the Declaration as the sole ground or reason of the action, which terminated in the adoption of the plan of separation, under which we are now acting as a Convention, and from the spirit and intention of which, it is believed to be the purpose of the Convention not to depart, in any of its deliberations or final acts. Although the action of this General Conference on the subject of slavery, and the relative adverse position of the parties North and South, together with the irritating and exasperating evils of constant agitation and frequent attempts at legislation, are made, in the Declaration, the grounds of the avowal, that a separate organization was necessary to the success of the ministry in the slave-holding States, it was by no means intended to convey the idea, or make the impression, that no other causes existed rendering a separate organization proper and necessary; but as the action of the Conference on the subject of slavery was certain to involve the church in the South in immediate and alarming difficulty, and it was believed that this could be so shown to the majority, as to induce them to consent to some course of action, in remedy of the evil, the complaint of the Declaration was confined to the simple topic of slavery. It will be perceived that the case of Bishop Andrew, although prominently introduced, is not relied upon as exclusively furnishing the data of this conclusion, at which we have arrived. The entire action of the General Conference so frequently brought to view, and which is made the ground of dissent and action, both in the Protest and Declaration of the Southern delegates, must be understood as belonging to the premises and language employed as including all the principles avowed, as well as the action had by the late General Conference on the subject of slavery. The attempt to disclaim the

judicial character of the action in Bishop Andrew's case, and show it to be merely advisory, cannot affect the preceding reasoning: for, first, the disclaimer is as equivocal in character, as the original action; and, secondly, the reasoning in support of the disclaimer negatives the supposition of mere advice, because it involves issues coming legitimately within the province of judicial process and legal determination; and, thirdly, Bishop Andrew is, by the explanation of the disclaimer itself, held as responsible for his conduct, in view of the alleged advice, as he could have been held by the original action without the explanation. While, therefore, the explanation giving the original action an *advisory* character, notwithstanding the inconsistency involved, fully protects Bishops Soule and Andrew from even the shadow of blame in the course they have pursued, the entire action in the case, and especially when connected with the case of Harding, as alluded to in the Declaration, fully sustains the general view of the subject we have taken in this Report. The Southern delegates at the General Conference, in presenting to that body their declaration and protest, acted, and they continue to act, as the representatives of the South, under the full conviction that the principles and policy avowed by the Northern majority are such as to render their *public* and *practical renunciation* by the Southern Methodist ministry and people necessary to the safety, not less than the success, of the church in the South.

"Other views of the subject, however, must claim a share of our attention. Among the many weighty reasons which influence the Southern Conferences in seeking to be released from the jurisdiction of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church as now constituted, are the novel and, as we think, dangerous doctrines, practically avowed and endorsed by that body and the Northern portion of the church generally, with regard to the *constitution* of the church, and the constitutional rights and powers, respectively, of the Episcopacy and the General Conference. In relation to the first, it is confidently, although most unaccountably, maintained, that the six short *Restrictive Rules* which were adopted in 1808, and first became obligatory, as an amendment to the constitution, in 1812, are, in fact, the *true* and *only* constitution of the church. This single position, should it become an established principle of action to the extent it found favour with the last General Conference, must subvert the government of the Methodist Episcopal church. It must be seen at once, that the position leaves many of the organic laws and most important institutions of the church entirely unprotected, and at the mercy of a mere and ever fluctuating majority of the General Conference. Episcopacy, for example, although protected in the abstract, in general terms, may be entirely superseded or destroyed by the simple omission to elect or consecrate bishops, neither of which is provided for in the Restrictive Articles. The whole itinerant system, except general superintendency, is without protection in the Restrictive Rules; and there is nothing in them preventing the Episcopacy from restricting their superintendency to *local* and *settled* pastors, rather than a travelling ministry, and thus

destroying the most distinctive feature of Wesleyan Methodism. So far as the Restrictive Rules are concerned, the Annual Conferences are without protection, and might also be destroyed by the General Conference at any time. If the new constitutional theory be correct, class-leaders and private members are as eligible, upon the basis of the constitution, to a seat in the General Conference, as any ministers of the church. Societies too, instead of Annual Conferences, may elect delegates, and may elect *laymen* instead of ministers, or local instead of travelling ministers. Very few indeed of the more fundamental and distinguishing elements of Methodism, deeply and imperishably imbedded in the affection and veneration of the church, and vital to its very existence, are even alluded to in the Restrictive Articles. This theory assumes the self-refuted absurdity, that the General Conference is in fact the government of the church, if not the church itself. With no other constitution than these mere restrictions upon the powers and rights of the General Conference, the government and discipline of the Methodist Episcopal church, as a system of organized laws and well-adjusted instrumentalities for the spread of the gospel, and the diffusion of piety, and whose living principles of energy and action have so long commanded the admiration of the world, would soon cease even to exist. The startling assumption, that a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal church, instead of holding office under the constitution, and by tenure of law, and the faithful performance of duty, is nothing, in his character of bishop, but a mere officer at will of the General Conference, and may accordingly be deposed at any time, with or without cause, accusation, proof, or form of trial, as a dominant majority may capriciously elect, or party interests suggest;—and that the General Conference may do, by right, whatever is not prohibited by the Restrictive Rules, and, with this single exception, possess power, 'supreme and all-controlling;' and this, in all possible forms of its manifestation, legislative, judicial, and executive,—the same men claiming to be at the same time both the fountain and functionaries of all the powers of government, which powers, thus mingled and concentrated into a common force, may at any time be employed, at the prompting of their own interests, caprice, or ambition:—Such wild and revolutionary assumptions, so unlike the faith and discipline of Methodism, as we have been taught them, we are compelled to regard as fraught with mischief and ruin to the best interests of the church, and as furnishing a strong additional reason why we should avail ourselves of the warrant we now have, but may never again obtain, from the General Conference, to 'establish an ecclesiastical connexion,' embracing only the Annual Conferences in the slave-holding States.

"Without intending any thing more than a general specification of the disabilities, under which the Southern part of the church labours, in view of existing difficulties, and must continue to do so until they are removed, we must not omit to state, that should we submit to the action of the late General Conference, and decline a separate organization, it would be to place and finally confirm the whole Southern

ministry in the relation of an *inferior caste*, the effect of which, in spite of all effort to the contrary, would be such a relation, if not (as we think) real degradation, of the ministry, as to destroy its influence to a great—a most fearful extent throughout the South. A practical proscription, under show of legal right, has long been exercised towards the South, with regard to the higher offices of the church, especially the episcopacy. To this, however, the South submitted with patient endurance, and was willing further to submit in order to maintain the peace and unity of the church, while the *principle* involved was disavowed, and decided to be unjust, as by the decision of the General Conference in 1840. But when, in 1844, the General Conference declared by their action, without the forms of legislative or judicial process, that the mere providential ownership of slave property, in a State where emancipation is legally prohibited under all circumstances, and can only be effected by special legislative enactment, was hereafter to operate as a forfeiture of right in all similar cases, the law of the church and the decision of the preceding General Conference to the contrary notwithstanding, the Southern ministry were compelled to realize, that they were deliberately fixed, by the brand of common shame, in the degrading relation of standing inferiority to ministers, not actually, nor yet liable to be, connected with slavery, and that they were published to the church and the world as belonging to a *caste* in the ministry, from which the higher officers of the church could never be selected.

"To submit, under such circumstances, would have been a practical, a most humiliating recognition of the *inferiority of caste*, attempted to be fixed upon us by the Northern majority, and would have justly authorized the inference of a want of conscious integrity and self-respect, well calculated to destroy both the reputation and influence of the ministry in all the slave-holding States. It may be no virtue to avow it, but we confess we have no humility courting the grace of such a baptism. The higher objects, therefore, of the Christian ministry, not less than conscious right and self-respect, demanded resistance on the part of the Southern ministry and church; and these unite with other reasons, in vindicating the plea of necessity, upon which the meeting and action of this Convention are based, with the consent and approval of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church. The variety of interests involved renders it necessary that the brief view of the subject we are allowed to take, be varied accordingly.

"Unless the Southern Conferences organize as proposed, it is morally certain, in view of the evidence before the Committee, that the gospel now regularly and successfully dispensed by the ministers of these Conferences to about a million of slaves, in their various fields of missionary enterprise and pastoral charge, must, to a great extent, be withheld from them, and immense masses of this unfortunate class of our fellow-beings be left to perish, as the result of church-interference with the civil affairs and relations of the country.

"The Committee are compelled to believe, that the mere division of jurisdiction, as authorized by the General Conference, cannot

affect either the moral or legal unity of the great American family of Christians, known as the Methodist Episcopal church; and this opinion is concurred in by the ablest jurists of the country. We do nothing but what we are *expressly authorized to do* by the supreme, or rather highest legislative, power of the church. Would the church authorize us to do wrong? The division relates only to the power of general jurisdiction, which it is not proposed to destroy or even reduce, but simply to invest it in two great organs of church action and control, instead of one as at present. Such a change in the present system of general control, cannot disturb the moral unity of the church; for it is strictly an *agreed modification* of General-Conference jurisdiction, and such agreement and consent of parties must preclude the idea of disunion. In view of *what* is the alleged disunion predicated? Is the purpose and act of becoming a separate organization proof of disunion or want of proper church unity? This cannot be urged with any show of consistency, inasmuch as 'the several Annual Conferences in General Conference assembled,' that is to say, the church through its only constitutional organ of action, on all subjects involving the power of legislation, not only agreed to the separate organization South, but made full constitutional provision for carrying it into effect. It is a separation by consent of parties, under the highest authority of the church. Is it intended to maintain that the unity of the church depends upon the modal uniformity of the jurisdiction in question? If this be so, the Methodist Episcopal church has lost its unity at several different times. The general jurisdiction of the church has undergone modifications, at several different times, not less vital, if not greatly more so, than the one now proposed. The high conventional powers, of which we are so often reminded, exercised in the organization of the Methodist Episcopal church, were in the hands of a Conference of unordained lay preachers, under the sole superintendence of an appointee of Mr. Wesley. This was the first General-Conference type and original form of the jurisdiction in question. The jurisdictional power now proposed by the General Conference, was for years exercised by small Annual Conferences, without any defined boundaries, and acting separately on all measures proposed for their determination. This general power of jurisdiction next passed into the hands of the bishops' Council, consisting of some ten persons, where it remained for a term of years. Next it passed into the hands of the whole itinerant ministry, in full connexion, and was exercised by them, in collective action, as a General Conference of the whole body, met together at the same time. The power was afterwards vested in the whole body of travelling elders, and from thence finally passed into the hands of delegates, elected by the Annual Conferences, to meet and act quadrennially as a General Conference, under constitutional restrictions and limitations. Here are several successive re-organizations of General-Conference jurisdiction, each involving a much more material change than that contemplated in the General-Conference plan; by authority of which, this Convention is about to erect the sixteen Annual Conferences in the slave-holding

States into a separate organization. We change no principle in the existing theory of General-Conference jurisdiction. We distinctly recognise the jurisdiction of a delegated General Conference, receiving its appointment and authority from the whole constituency of Annual Conferences. The only change in fact or in form, will be, that the delegates of the 'Annual Conferences in the slave-holding States,' as authorized in the plan of separation, will meet in one General-Conference assembly of their own, and act in behalf only of their own constituency, and in the regulation of their own affairs, consistently with the good faith and fealty they owe the authority and laws of the several States in which they reside, without interfering with affairs beyond their jurisdiction, or suffering foreign interference with their own. And in proceeding to do this, we have all the authority it was in the power of the Methodist Episcopal church to confer. We have also further example and precedent in the history of Methodism, to show that there is nothing irregular or inconsistent with church order or unity in the separation proposed. The great Wesleyan-Methodist family, everywhere one in faith and practice, already exists under several distinct and unconnected jurisdictions—there is no jurisdictional or connexional union between them; and yet it has never been pretended, that these several distinct organizations were in any sense inconsistent with church unity. If the Southern Conferences proceed, then, to the establishment of another distinct jurisdiction, without any change of doctrine or discipline, except in matters necessary to the mere economical adjustment of the system, will it furnish any reason for supposing that the real unity of the church is affected by what all must perceive to be a simple division of jurisdiction? When the Conferences in the slave-holding States are separately organized as a distinct ecclesiastical connexion, they will only be what the General Conference authorized them to be. Can this be irregular or subversive of church unity? Acting under the provisional plan of separation, they must, although a separate organization, remain in essential union with, and be part and parcel of, the Methodist Episcopal church, in every scriptural and moral view of the subject; for what they do is with the full consent, and has the official sanction, of the church as represented in the General Conference. The jurisdiction we are about to establish and assert as separate and independent, is expressly declined and ceded by the General Conference as originally its own, to the Southern Conferences, for the specific purpose of being established and asserted in the manner proposed. All idea of secession, or an organization alien in right or relation to the Methodist Episcopal church, is for ever precluded by the terms and conditions of the authorized plan of separation. In whatever sense we are *separatists* or *seceders*, we are such by authority—the *highest* authority of the Methodist Episcopal church. To whatever extent or in whatever aspect we are not true and faithful ministers and members of that church, such delinquency or misfortune is authenticated by her act and approval, and she declares us to be 'without blame.' 'Ministers of every grade and office in the Methodist Episcopal church may, as they prefer, with-

out blame, attach themselves to the church, South.' Bishops, elders, and deacons come into the Southern organization at their own election, under permission from the General Conference, not only accredited as ministers of the Methodist Episcopal church, but with credentials *limiting* the exercise of their functions *within the Methodist Episcopal church.* Is it conceivable that the General Conference would so act and hold such language in relation to an ecclesiastical connexion which was to be regarded as a secession from the church? Does not such act and language, and the whole plan of separation, rather show that, as the South had asked, so the General Conference intended to authorize, a simple division of its own jurisdiction, and nothing more?

"All idea of secession or schism or loss of right or title, as ministers of the Methodist Episcopal church, being precluded by the specific grant or authority under which we act, as well as for other reasons assigned, many considerations might be urged, strongly suggesting the *fitness* and *propriety* of the separate jurisdiction contemplated, rendered *necessary*, as we have seen, upon *other* and *different* grounds; and among these the increased value of the representative principle likely to be secured by the change, is by no means unworthy of notice. At the first representative General Conference, thirty-three years ago, each delegate represented five travelling ministers and about two thousand members, and the body was of convenient size for the transaction of business. At the late General Conference, each delegate was the representative of twenty-one ministers and more than five thousand members, and the body was inconveniently large for the purpose of deliberation and action. Should the number of delegates in the General Conference be increased with the probable growth of the church, the body will soon become utterly unwieldy.—Should the number be reduced, while the ministry and membership are multiplying, the representative principle would come to be little more than nominal, and, in the same proportion, without practical value. Beside that the proposed re-organization of jurisdiction will remedy this evil, at least to a great extent, it will result in the saving of much time and expense and useful services to the church, connected with the travel and protracted sessions of the General Conference, not only as it regards the delegates, but also the bench of bishops, whose general oversight might become much more minute and pastoral in its character, by means of such an arrangement. When, in 1808, the Annual Conferences resolved upon changing the form of General-Conference jurisdiction, the precise reasons we have just noticed were deemed sufficient ground and motive for the change introduced; and as we are seeking only a similar change of jurisdiction, although for other purposes as well as this, the facts to which we ask attention are certainly worthy of being taken into the estimate of advantages likely to result from a separate and independent organization, especially as the ministry and membership, since 1808, have increased *full seven hundred per centum*, and should they continue to increase, in something like the same ratio, for thirty years to come, under the

present system of General-Conference jurisdiction, some such change as that authorized by the late General Conference must be resorted to, or the church resign itself to the virtual extinction of the representative principle, as an important element of government action.

"In establishing a separate jurisdiction as before defined and explained, so far from affecting the moral oneness and integrity of the great Methodist body in America, the effect will be to secure a very different result. In resolving upon a separate Connexion, as we are about to do, the one great and controlling motive is to restore and perpetuate the peace and unity of the church. At present we have neither; nor are we likely to have, should the Southern and Northern Conferences remain in connexional relation, as heretofore. Inferring effects from causes known to be in existence and active operation, agitation on the subject of slavery is certain to continue, and frequent action in the General Conference is equally certain, and the result, as heretofore, will be excitement and discontent, aggression and resistance. Should the South retire and decline all further conflict, by the erection of the Southern Conferences into a separate jurisdiction, as authorized by the General-Conference plan, agitation in the church cannot be brought in contact with the South; and the former irritation and evils of the controversy must, to a great extent, cease, or at any rate so lose their disturbing force as to become comparatively harmless. Should the Northern church continue to discuss and agitate, it will be within their own borders and among themselves; and the evil effects upon the South must, to say the least, be greatly lessened. At present the consolidation of all the Annual Conferences, under the jurisdictional control of one General Conference, always giving a decided Northern majority, places it in the power of that majority to manage and control the interests of the church, in the slave-holding States, as they see proper; and we have no means of protection against the evils certain to be inflicted upon us, if we judge the future from the past. The whole power of legislation is in the General Conference; and as that body is now constituted, the Annual Conferences of the South are perfectly powerless in the resistance of wrong, and have no alternative left them but unconditional submission. And such submission to the views and action of the Northern majority on the subject of slavery, it is now demonstrated, must bring disaster and ruin upon Southern Methodism, by rendering the church an object of distrust on the part of the State. In this way, the assumed *conservative power* of the Methodist Episcopal church, with regard to the *civil union* of the States, is to a great extent destroyed; and we are compelled to believe that it is the *interest* and becomes the *duty* of the church in the South to seek to exert *such conservative influence* in some *other* form; and after the most mature deliberation and careful examination of the whole subject, we know of nothing so likely to effect the object, as the jurisdictional separation of the great church parties, unfortunately involved in a religious and ecclesiastical controversy about an affair of State —a question of civil policy, over which the church has no control, and with which it is believed she has no right to interfere. Among

the nearly five hundred thousand ministers and members of the Conferences represented in this Convention, we do not know *one* not *deeply* and *intensely* interested in the *safety* and *perpetuity* of the *National Union;* nor can we for a moment hesitate *to pledge them all* against *any* course of *action* or *policy*, not calculated, in their judgment, *to render that union as immortal as the hopes of patriotism would have it to be!*

"Before closing the summary view of the whole subject taken in this report, we cannot refrain from a brief notice of the relations and interests of Southern border Conferences. These, it must be obvious, are materially different from those of the more Southern Conferences. They do not, for the present, feel the pressure of the strong necessity impelling the South proper to immediate separation. They are, however, involved with regard to the subject matter of the controversy, and committed to well-defined principles, in the same way, and to the same extent, with the most Southern Conferences. They have with almost perfect unanimity, by public official acts, protested against the entire action of the late General Conference on the subject of slavery, and in reference to the relative rights and powers of the Episcopacy and the General Conference, as not only *unconstitutional*, but *revolutionary*, and, therefore, dangerous to the best interests of the church. They have solemnly declared, by approving and endorsing the declaration, the protest and address of the Southern delegates, that the objects of their ministry cannot be accomplished, under the existing jurisdiction of the General Conference, without reparation for past injury and security against future aggression; and unless the border Conferences have good and substantial reason to believe such reparation and security not only *probable*, but so certain as to remove *reasonable* doubt, they have, so far as *principle* and pledge are concerned, the same motive for action with the Conferences South of them. Against the principles thus avowed by every one of the Conferences in question, the anti-slavery and abolition of the North have, through official church-organs, declared the most open and undisguised hostility; and these Conferences are reduced to the necessity of deciding upon *adherence* to the principles they have officially avowed, or of a resort to expediency to adjust difficulties in some unknown form, which they have said could only be adjusted by substantial reparation for past injury, and good and sufficient warrant against future aggression. The question is certainly one of no common interest. Should any of the border Conferences, or societies South, affiliate with the North, the effect, so far as we can see, will be to transfer the seat of war from the remoter South, to these border districts; and what, we ask, will be the security of these districts against the moral ravages of such a war? What protection or security will the *discipline* or the *conservatism* of the middle Conferences afford? Of what avail were *these* at the last General Conference, and has *either* more influence now than then? The controversy of a large and rapidly increasing portion of the North, is not so much with the *South* as with the *Discipline*, because it tolerates slavery *in any form* whatever; and should the Southern Con-

ferences remain under the present common jurisdiction, or any slave-holding portions of the South unite in the Northern Connexion in the event of division, it requires very little discernment to see that *this controversy* will never cease until every slave-holder or every abolitionist is out of the Connexion. Beside, the border Conferences have a great and most delicate interest at stake, in view of their *territorial* and *civil* and *political* relations, which it certainly behoves them to weigh well and examine with care in coming to the final conclusion, which is to identify them with the North or the South. Border districts going with the North, after and notwithstanding the action of the border Conferences, must, in the nature of things, as found in the Methodist Episcopal church, affiliate, to a great extent, with the entire aggregate of Northern anti-slavery and abolition, as now embarked against the interests of the South—as also with all the recent official violations of right, of law, and discipline, against which the South is now contending. In doing this, they must of necessity, if we have reasoned correctly, elect and contribute their influence to retain in the connexion of their choice all the principles and elements of strife and discord which have so long and fearfully convulsed the church. Will this be the election of Southern border sections and districts, or will they remain where, by location, civil and political ties and relations, and their own avowed principles, they properly belong, firmly planted upon the long and well-tried platform of the Discipline of our common choice, and from which the Methodism of the South has never manifested any disposition to swerve? To the Discipline the South has always been loyal. By it she has *abided* in every trial. Jealously has she cherished and guarded that 'form of sound words'—the faith, the ritual, and the government of the church. It was Southern defence against Northern invasion of the Discipline, which brought on the present struggle; and upon the Discipline, the whole Discipline, the South proposes to organize, under authority of the General Conference, a separate connexion of the Methodist Episcopal church. This result, from first to last, has been consented to on the part of the South with the greatest reluctance.

"After the struggle came on, at the late General Conference, the Southern delegates, as they had often done before, manifested the most earnest desire, and did all in their power, to maintain jurisdictional union with the North, without sacrificing the interests of the South: when this was found impracticable, a *connexional* union was proposed, and the rejection of this, by the North, led to the *projection* and *adoption* of the present General-Conference plan of separation. Every overture of compromise, every plan of reconciliation and adjustment regarded as at all eligible, or likely to succeed, was offered by the South and rejected by the North. All subsequent attempts at compromise have failed in like manner; and the probability of any such adjustment, if not extinct, is lessening every day, and the Annual Conferences in the slave-holding States are thus left to take their position upon the ground assigned them by the General Conference of 1844, as a distinct ecclesiastical Connexion, ready and most willing to treat with the Northern division of the church, at

any time, in view of adjusting the difficulties of this controversy, upon terms and principles which may be safe and satisfactory to both.

"Such we regard as the *true position of the Annual Conferences* represented *in this Convention. Therefore, in view of all the principles and interests involved*, appealing to the *Almighty Searcher of hearts for the sincerity of our motives, and humbly invoking the divine blessing upon our action*,

"*Be it Resolved, by the delegates of the several Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal church, in the slave-holding States, in General Convention assembled*, That it is right, expedient, and necessary to erect the Annual Conferences, represented in this Convention, into a distinct ecclesiastical Connexion, separate from the jurisdiction of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, as at present constituted; and, accordingly, we, the delegates of said Annual Conferences, acting under the provisional plan of separation adopted by the General Conference of 1844, do solemnly *declare* the jurisdiction hitherto exercised over said Annual Conferences, by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, *entirely dissolved;* and that said Annual Conferences shall be, and they hereby *are constituted*, a separate ecclesiastical Connexion, under the provisional plan of separation aforesaid, and based upon the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal church, comprehending the doctrines, and entire moral, ecclesiastical, and economical rules and regulations, of said Discipline, except only in so far as verbal alterations may be necessary to a distinct organization, and to be known by the style and title of the *Methodist Episcopal church, South.*

"*Resolved*, That Bishops Soule and Andrew be, and they are hereby, respectfully and cordially requested by this Convention to unite with, and become regular and constitutional bishops of, the Methodist Episcopal church, South, upon the basis of the plan of separation adopted by the late General Conference.

"*Resolved*, That this Convention requests the bishops presiding at the ensuing sessions of the border Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal church, South, to incorporate into the aforesaid Conferences any societies or stations adjoining the line of division, provided such societies or stations, by the majority of the members, according to the provisions of the plan of separation aforesaid, request such an arrangement.

"*Resolved*, That answer the 2d of 3d section, chapter 1st, of the book of Discipline, be so altered and amended as to read as follows: 'The General Conference shall meet on the 1st of May, in the year of our Lord, 1846, in the town of Petersburg, Virginia, and thenceforward, in the month of April or May, once in four years successively, and in such place and on such day as shall be fixed on by the preceding General Conference,' &c.

"*Resolved*, That the first answer in the same chapter, be altered by striking out the word '*twenty-one*,' and inserting in its place the word '*fourteen*,' so as to entitle each Annual Conference to one delegate for every fourteen members.

"*Resolved*, That a committee of three be appointed, whose duty it shall be to prepare and report to the General Conference of 1846 a revised copy of the present Discipline, with such changes as are necessary to conform it to the organization of the Methodist Episcopal church, South.

"*Resolved*, That while we cannot abandon or compromise the principles of action upon which we proceed to a separate organization in the South; nevertheless, cherishing a sincere desire to maintain Christian union and fraternal intercourse with the church North, we shall always be ready kindly and respectfully to entertain, and duly and carefully consider, any proposition or plan, having for its object the union of the two great bodies, in the North and South, whether such proposed union be *jurisdictional* or *connexional*." *

Thus has been effected the juridical and administrative separation of the Methodist church in the United States. It is not properly a division in the church, much less a secession of one part from another. The church remains the same in doctrine, worship, communion, order, and form. All the difference is, that the legislative and administrative functions, instead of being one, are now two. We should have an exact analogy, if, at the present moment, the English church should exist under the jurisdiction of Canterbury alone, but, next year, be divided into Canterbury and York.

The fact itself, however, is a very grave event. The Methodist church had progressed with unexampled success; how the matter will be now, is to be tested by time. In case the two bodies can be brought to respect each other's position, to cultivate amicable relations, to strengthen and not weaken each other by jealousies and hostilities; to devote themselves, each in their separate sphere, to the spread of true religion, and the conversion of men to God; to establish and preserve fraternal relations, notwithstanding their separation; to conserve the original calling of Methodism every where, namely, "to spread Christian holiness through the land;" keeping clear, moreover, as much as possible, of worldly politics, and, by the divine blessing, causing the church to retain its rightful and only safe position, that of a spiritual power existing for spiritual purposes; then,—each will prosper. Both parties, however, are in some danger; the North, of pushing the principles on which they dealt with the question to such an extreme as to put to hazard

* "History of the Organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South," pp. 207—233.

the existing system of Methodist episcopacy and Annual Conference independence and jurisdiction; and the South, of falling under the influence of a political and worldly power.

Up to the session of 1844, the evident predominant doctrine and practice of the Methodist Episcopal church went to consider the General Conference as possessing two functions only, namely, the legislative and judicial. This is seen in its Discipline, its constitution, its relations to the Annual Conferences, its distribution of administrative power amongst the bishops, presiding elders, elders, and Quarterly-Meeting Conferences; and, in fine, by its entire action. We cannot but look upon this as a very wise and judicious arrangement; as embodying the only true principle of liberty, and as securing the equable administration of discipline and order.

Did not the proceedings of 1844 trench on these constitutional, these fundamental principles? Doctrines were broached regarding the power of the General Conference which, in effect, and if acted upon, would raise it above law; put it in a position beyond the pale of the constitution; give it the power of parliamentary omnipotence; and place the destinies of all imaginable interests within its grasp. The best analogy which I can think of, is the claim of "parliamentary privilege" in this country; that monstrous usurpation of power, by which one of the Houses of Parliament claims for itself the right, on the ground of its privileges, of setting aside the other branch of the legislature, the courts of law, the law itself, and, by its own majority, to deal summarily with any of Her Majesty's subjects offending against this power. Something like this was certainly claimed for the Conference at the above period. Such power can neither be possessed nor exercised safely. It must degenerate into a despotism. No human virtue can prevent this. And of all the despotisms in the universe, the undivided, unchecked power of one chamber, one aggregate body, is the most certain, the most fearful, the most crushing. The Annual Conferences, and the other divisions of the church into separate administrative bodies, held this power in check, in the General Conference, up to the time in question. The sooner the North returns to the old soundings of the church the better. A *unit* is a fearful power; bad enough in one tyrant, but when existing in a conclave, a council, a Conference, it is next to infi-

nite; nobody can resist, nobody can escape. The only happiness left in such cases is, that the despotism is certain to break down by its own weight.*

In dealing with the case of Bishop Andrew, these notions and claims were brought into practical operation. The bishop was not put upon his trial according to the law of the case; the matter did not come up for adjudication from a lower court, according to the practice in appeal cases; he was not accused, formally and judicially,

* Long after this passage was penned, the message of the president of the United States, dated Washington, December 5th, 1848, came to hand; and, amongst other things, Mr. Polk guards his countrymen most earnestly against the principle referred to in the text under the name of "consolidation." The subject under discussion is the exercise of the *veto* by the president, and the checks and guards prepared by the constitution to prevent the tyranny of majorities. Amongst other things, the president says:—"The Supreme Court of the United States is invested with the power to declare, and has declared, acts of Congress, passed with the concurrence of the Senate, the House of Representatives, and the approval of the president, to be unconstitutional and void; and yet none, it is presumed, can be found who will be disposed to strip this highest judicial tribunal under the constitution of this acknowledged power, —a power necessary alike to its independence and the rights of individuals."

Again:—"The objection to the *veto* power is founded upon an idea respecting the popular will, which, if carried out, would annihilate state-sovereignty, (that is, the sovereignty of the separate States,) and substitute for the present federal government a *consolidation*, directed by a supposed numerical majority; a revolution of the government would be silently effected, and the States would be subjected to laws to which they had never given their constitutional consent.

"It is obvious that to preserve the system established by the constitution, each of the co-ordinate branches, the executive, the legislative, and judicial, must be left in the exercise of its appropriate powers. If the executive or the judicial branch be deprived of powers conferred upon either as checks upon the legislature, the preponderance of the latter will become disproportionate and absorbing, and the others impotent for the accomplishment of the great objects for which they were established. Organized as they are by the constitution, they work together harmoniously for the public good. If the executive and the judiciary shall be deprived of the constitutional powers invested in them, and of their due proportions, the equilibrium of the system must be destroyed; and *consolidation*, with the most pernicious results, must ensue,—a *consolidation* of unchecked despotic power, as exercised by majorities of the legislative branch."—*Times, December 22d*, 1848.

of having broken any law,—and it is doubtful whether, in point of fact, he had done so;—in a word, all the usual forms of dealing with analogical cases—for charges against a bishop had never occurred before—were all broken through, and the General Conference is seen in the—in America—novel position of dealing out justice by a vote of its majority, *on motion*, without any of the forms of trial. A dangerous precedent this. It evidently involves the rights of more parties than bishops. Let the General Conference claim to be the one, indivisible, omnipotent administrative body in the Methodist Episcopal church, and exercise this function; and then that which, next to her religion and devotedness to evangelic work, we have most admired—namely, her episcopal superintendence, and division of power—must, as we fear, suffer irretrievable damage.

The old principle of British and American constitutional liberty, namely, that of keeping the legislative and governing bodies separate, we are certain is the only sound theory. Let the legislative power, the General Conference, take upon itself the office of *governing*, instead of allowing, as heretofore, the Annual Conferences, the Quarterly-Meeting Conferences, the presiding elders, and the bishops to govern on the rules of the constitutional *régime;* and we are perfectly certain that the Methodist church will soon be broken up. These remarks are not intended to impeach the principles of the North on the subject of slavery: we perfectly sympathize with these; they are our own. It is delightful to look upon the noble ground taken against this evil; and our hope is, that it will lead to blessed results. But good and evil in this world are often found in juxta-position. We hope that, in securing a good, a great and immeasurable blessing, in advancing the cause of human freedom, the liberty of the African race, they may not rush into a course which may ultimately enslave themselves.

The dangers and difficulties of the South are very obvious. The ministers and people are placed in a defensive attitude. They are obliged to resort to the best arguments in their power in vindication of their position. Amongst others,—a very natural course to good men, which they are, and many of them great men too,—their greatest anxiety is to free themselves from the charge of moral delinquency. This drives them to the necessity of resorting to reasonings on the subject of slavery not being in all cases, and of course in their own relation to it, a moral evil.

The two things are clearly very different. Slavery in itself is one thing, and the relations of men to it another. As to slavery, in its own nature, nothing can be said, but that it is the grossest evil existing under the sun. It is, in truth, every possible personal wrong in one. Rob a man of his watch, his clothes, his purse, his house, his lands,—is not this a moral evil, a sin? If not, what of the laws of civilized communities, jails, and the gallows? But is it not a greater crime to rob a man of himself, than to strip him of his coat, to pull down his house, and to drive him from his home? The degrees of evil in each case can bear no comparison. Slavery is robbery in its highest possible enormity. But it is a lingering injury. It is inflicted for life,—a life of conscious wrong; for to imagine that these wretches are not sensible of their condition, is to add calumny to injury. It is robbery, torture, degradation, misery, mental and physical, dealt out by the moment, the live-long day, the whole period of existence. It is as if, by some infernal contrivance, existence were sustained—as with the damned;—while the operations of the whip, the iron, the fangs of slavery, were constantly at work upon their tortured and lacerated limbs. This is not all. The wretched slave is obliged to bequeath his inheritance to his offspring. That which was pronounced a blessing, the ties of family, the relations of wedded life, the parental state, is by this system perverted into an unmitigated curse. All the political, all the social, all the municipal laws of civilized society are perverted. That cruel code which makes a man a thing, identifies him with the beast, classes him with farm-stock, places him amongst lumber, reduces him to the condition of household furniture, treats him as the canes, the tobacco, the cotton, the indigo, which his hands cultivate; then buys and sells him in the market like any other stock, or goods; is—but we are afraid to call it by its true name.

To say that villany like this can in any way be identical with Christianity, is to degrade our holy religion to a co-partnership or a connivance with man's greatest, most concentrated and unmitigated crimes against his fellow. There is not a truth, a doctrine, a principle, a precept, of the gospel, which, if fairly carried out, would not annihilate slavery. The very existence of the church is fundamentally opposed to the spirit and injustice of this evil. How can a slave-holder make his servants his pro-

perty, and then meet them in the church at the Lord's table, as his brethren? It would be a curious thing to see one of these gentlemen receiving the Lord's supper, the emblem of Christian brotherhood, with one of his slaves on the sabbath, and then on Monday morning selling him as a log of wood.

True Christianity asserts her rights in despite of this system. She treats them as men, though human cupidity treats them as things; she makes them free men in the Lord, though they are held in cruel bondage; she invests them with all the privileges, the franchises, of the church, though white men cannot acknowledge them as brethren; she fills their spirits with noble sentiments, feelings, and affections, though the hoof of man is on their necks; she points the way to a heavenly home with God, though the path is strewed with tears, with sorrow, with blood. It will one day, moreover, so assert its mercies over this degraded race, as to give them the rights of humanity.

But we say there is a difference between this system of slavery, and men's *unavoidable* connexion with it. Individual participation in the evil must depend on circumstances. The difficulties are prodigious. A child of white parents is born in the midst of slavery: how can he help the conditions of his birth? His parents leave him their property; at the period of their decease, this property partly consists of slaves; for real property can scarcely be found in the South, but some of these wretched creatures will be devised as a part of the inheritance; wherever there is landed property, slaves will be found. He cannot help this state of things. This is his portion in life; and to strip himself, if he could, of his wretched vassals, would be to render every thing else useless. And, as we have seen, in case this person should be disposed to emancipate his slaves, he finds the system guarded, like the gates of the infernal regions, by protective laws of so stringent a nature that he cannot possibly do it, except at the hazard of every thing he possesses in the world. Men, then, we may perceive, are obliged to participate in the evils of slavery; and, in innumerable instances, without their own choice, and in despite of their convictions.

The *personal* position of individuals, as must at once be seen, in the midst of this monster evil, is a very different thing to the *aggregate* injustice which first created and now perpetuates it. No man, no individual, in Europe or in America, or any where else, would dare to institute slavery, or

keep it in existence for a day. Such an enormity could only be perpetrated by such *aggregations* of men, as have the effect of annihilating individual volition. The whites are nearly as much enslaved as the blacks. They cannot do as they would, even with what is called their property. The confederacy has left them no freedom of action. They are obliged to bow to the behests of a popular tyranny, which leaves them only the choice of three things: —a participation in the public wrong,—the loss of caste, honour, and property,—or a flight into another region. This is more than the moral courage of most men can surmount. They are compelled to submit to the despotism which surrounds them as a hopeless misery; and all which the best amongst them can do is to lighten the burden of the slave by treating him with individual kindness.

In this state of things religious men are surrounded with prodigious difficulties. No doubt, in innumerable cases, their principles and convictions would lead them to emancipate their slaves; but how are they to do it? Their hands are tied; they cannot accomplish what their consciences dictate to them as right and proper; and they are involuntarily made to participate in the evils of a system which, in the indulgence of their better feelings, they cannot but abhor. This is a great wrong done to them in their religious character; and it is unexampled, except in the regions of slavery. Good men are objects of sympathy as found in such circumstances. Their principles would produce a change if they had fair-play; but as the matter now stands, they are obliged to smother their feelings, and bury their noblest sentiments in the one universal tomb of a lifeless, hopeless oppression.

The position now taken by the Methodist church is both perilous and glorious: perilous, inasmuch as it is in danger of sinking entirely into the spirit of slavery; and glorious, because placed in circumstances to confront the evil, to ameliorate the condition of the slave, and to lead on to a blessed change. The eyes of Christendom will be intently fixed upon them. They cannot escape the anxious scrutiny of all good men, and especially the Methodist body all over the world. They are now left to act for themselves. The irritating action of the North is got rid of, the voice of their anti-slavery brethren will no longer be heard in their assemblies, and any thing like coercion by adverse majorities is over. The principle of compromise, which served for so many years to hold the church

together, has failed; and henceforward the South will not be called upon to give any thing up to conciliate the North; the legislation and government are both in her own hands.

Theoretically, one would judge that it must be much safer for the two elements to blend; and for the North to neutralize, by their anti-slavery spirit, the tendencies of the South. Yet theories often prove disappointing; and it is to be hoped that now, when the church of the South can act freely, and enjoy the credit of a spontaneous and uncontrolled action, she will confront the evil. We have great confidence in many of the leaders at the head of her councils. They are men of unbending integrity, of unquestionable devotedness to the cause of God, of eminent talents, and of sound, practical sense. We know in the case of some,—of the very first,—that their conviction is deep, that the only possible way of ameliorating the condition of the slave, and ultimately effecting his emancipation, is by peacefully extending the blessings of the gospel to both master and servant. Their line of action has been chosen under the conviction, that they could do more for the good of these oppressed men by keeping to their duties in the South, than by abandoning them for the other portion of the church. We must respect these motives, and wait the issue of their labours.

In the mean time great consequences must result from either their failure, or their success. That things cannot always remain as they are, is certain. Christianity must either conquer slavery, or slavery must conquer Christianity. The two forces have every where, and in all ages, been antagonistic. To lower down the Christian system to slavery, would be to denude it of all its essential attributes. The very existence of the Methodist Episcopal church South is itself a living, palpable testimony against this tyranny over millions of men. If it fail in its testimony, it ceases to be Christian. For the church to fraternize with slavery, is for it at once to cease to be a religious fellowship: it sinks to the rank of a political confederacy of the very worst kind.

There is danger of this. The institutions of a country necessarily operate on the character and spirit of religious bodies. The individuals composing the Christian society are the same as those who compose the body politic; and, to a certain extent, carry their feelings and views with them into the church. To fashion the policy of the one by the spirit and maxims of the other must be their constant

effort. So to modify the discipline of the church as to meet the conditions of the social body, is to bring down the doctrines of the gospel to a worldly standard, and to drag the church after the car of the state. This subserviency must be fatal to the vitality and power of the church. Her freedom is essential to her efficiency. To mingle the forms of the Christian society with the policy of the state, when the state, as in this case, is antichristian, is to destroy its means of producing any kind of amelioration: it becomes a part of the same system; an element of evil, only swelling the general aggregate, and giving its amount of influence to the universal corruption.

This contest of principle is a fearfully grave subject. The men who are called to represent the Christian cause are placed in a most responsible position. Their fidelity must be severely tested; their duties are of the most momentous description. Will they retain their fidelity to true Christianity,—their adherence to the pure gospel,—their devotedness to the interests of humanity? We hope they will. We have much confidence in their character. They do not see it to be their duty to put themselves in direct collision with the civil government; but they feel the obligation of upholding the truth of God. They trust in the omnipotence of this truth; and, retained in its integrity, it is indeed undying, it is irresistible. These our brethren do not recognise as legitimate an avowed agitating opposition to the state: this is their avowal; but they have confidence in the efficacy of gentler means. They do not see the hand of God in the thunder and lightning; but they believe in the "still small voice." "Not by power, or by might, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord," is their motto. May they live to see that Holy Spirit raise the sable sons of Africa to the condition of "sons of God," to the dignity of intelligent and civilized men, to the happiness of freedom!

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